Minority within a Minority

Black Francophone Immigrants and the Dynamics of Power and Resistance

Amal I. Madibbo

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My hope of peace and prosperity for my home country,
Sudan, is inseparable from my unfailing love for my parents
to whom this book is also dedicated:

To my father who passed away at the age of 36,
before I started my schooling,
yet, after he became my first educator
and my mother who taught me the true
meaning and practice of the language of sacrifice.

His memory and her presence enlighten my heart,
embellish my life.

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Preface

This book examines the dynamics of power and resistance within Francophone communities in Ontario, Canada. It investigates the situation of Black Francophone Africans and Haitians who constitute a racial minority situated within the official linguistic minority, in the distribution of economic and political resources that are attributed by the Canadian State to Francophones as one of its two official linguistic minorities. It also identifies various resistance strategies Black Francophones invent in order to enter power structures.

Drawing on Antiracism and Black Feminism, this work pinpoints the racism that Black Francophones face coming from Canadian State and Francophone mainstream institutions. I name State Racism as a factor that resolves in disrupting the economic development of the Black Francophone community. I portray specific practices that explain Francophone mainstream institutional racism. I also show that the actions and counter-hegemonic discourses taken by Black Francophones are situated in the discourse of resistance and hold specific significance in terms of the development of the Black Francophone community.

An ethnographic approach conducted through qualitative methods enabled me to capture the connectedness between discourse and social change. I was also able to conceptualize how power relations are performed by examining them across the lenses of race, gender and language. This work focuses on the history of slavery and colonialism, in the migration of Africans and Haitians within Francophone space, and in the contribution of immigrants to Canadian society. My work affirms the reproduction of dominance by white Francophones towards Black Francophones. It also reveals that these Blacks endure forms of racism that other racialized groups encounter in Canada. These practices unveil connections and similarities between the Canadian State and Francophone institutions. My work

stresses the contradiction represented by the existence of racism in Western societies like Canada that are guided by the liberal democracy principles. The Black Francophone struggle informs us that the Canadian national project of official bilingualism that is based on the myth of the two founding peoples as well as its protection for linguistic minorities or immigration project continues to support ideologies of a predominantly white national project for white Anglophones and Francophones. The vigorous struggle of Black Francophones stresses the urgency of establishing a more inclusive *Francophonie* within a more just and equitable society.

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Chapter One
Introduction

> To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization (Franz Fanon, 1967, 17).

This book examines the dynamics of power and resistance within Francophone communities of Ontario. It explores the situation of African and Haitian Black[1] Francophones, who constitute a racial minority situated within the official linguistic minority, in the distribution of and access to the economic and political resources that are attributed by the Canadian State to Francophones as one of its official linguistic communities in a minority situation. My work also seeks to identify various strategies and sites of resistance Black Francophones develop to gain access to power structures.

Black Francophones in Ontario are a part of the Francophone official linguistic minority, but they also belong to a racial minority. Their presence in Canada represents contribution to the continuity of the existence of both Blacks and Francophones in Canada. The history of Blacks in Canada goes back to the 16th century. Numerous writers record the presence of slaves from France and Loyalists from the United States who established communities in places like Nova Scotia and Quebec (Case, 2002; Cooper, 1991, 2000). The facts remind us that, contrary to general belief, slavery was practiced in Quebec and other Canadian provinces (Trudel, 1960, 1990). In addition, the presence of Mathieu da Costa, who served as an interpreter of Micmaq, French and English, in Eastern Canada at the very beginning of the 17th century "around 1606" (Gouvernement du Québec, 1995), attests to the fact that there were French-speaking Blacks in the country prior to the establishment of the Canadian Federation in

1867. That was later followed by the migration of Blacks from the Caribbean and, more recently, from the African continent.

Significant proportions of Black Francophones started immigrating to Canada from many African countries and the Caribbean (mainly Haitians) since the 1960s when the first wave of Haitian migrants arrived in Quebec. Those migrants were highly educated professionals who were encouraged by the Quebec Government to migrate to Quebec to help build an urban society. This need emerged during the Quiet Revolution that began to occur in Quebec during the 1960s (Pompilus, 1999; Roc, 1997). In the sense that Black Francophones are part of Canada's racial minorities, I emphasize that Blacks' presence in Canada was often faced with racism that stemmed from the host society in terms of exclusionary racialized and gendered State immigration policies as well as hostility from settlers in various provinces (Calliste, 1993; Shepard, 1997). As the population of my study—Black Francophones—also belong to Francophone communities, it is worth mentioning that Franco-Ontarians constitute a linguistic minority vis-à-vis dominance of Anglophones (Choquette, 1977). Franco-Ontarians have been struggling throughout history for the right to establish and control their autonomous institutions in their own language. This process has had considerable success that includes the establishment of political, cultural, financial and educational institutions.

The migration of Haitians and Africans has led to the establishment of the Black Francophone community in Ontario. The case of Black Francophones is unique in that they constitute a linguistic and a racial minority. This entails that, if, in Ontario, white Francophones are subjugated because of their language, following the same principle, Black Francophones are also discriminated against because of their language, in addition to their skin color. Like other racial minorities they experience racial oppression within the broader Canadian context. They are, however, not only a linguistic and a racial minority but also a racial minority situated within the official linguistic minority (Ibrahim, 1998). In addition, Black Francophones are immigrant communities in a process of integration and settlement. These factors reveal that Black Francophones are located in a complex social context where they deal with various social dynamics that include connections with the State, with white Francophones, with Anglophone racial minorities, and within their community. The challenges that Black Francophones face include the possibilities of both racism coming from the Canadian State and Francophone institutions and of language discrimination.

My book examines the situation of Black Francophones in the struggle for access to power. The term "power" has been conceptualized in a multiplicity of ways (Kramarae et al., 1984). I, however, particularly focus

on what in the power structure informs the relationships between Black Francophones and the State on one hand, and between Black and white Francophones on the other hand. I also look at how power constructs the relationships among Black Francophones and their Anglophone counterparts. I will be using the term power to refer to the oppressive practices by which those who are more powerful in the hierarchy of power exert authority over subordinate groups. These practices filter through limitations of opportunities. The latter include social status, political resources and material wealth (Heller, 1994). This process is performed through relations that embody the intersection of variables such as race, gender and language. Power relations can therefore be linked to social inequities such as racism, sexism and language oppression. Power is articulated and maintained in both the macro and micro contexts of society, i.e., within institutions and in everyday life. These dimensions are inter-connected (Fairclough, 1992). In this work, power notably refers to the material, social and political resources (Heller, 1995; Ng, 1995) that are attributed by the Canadian State to Francophones as its official linguistic communities in a minority situation. Therefore, Black Francophones' access to power involves relations at governmental levels as well as within Francophone mainstream institutions and community organizations. The various levels include different settings: government agencies, political, social and educational institutions and community organizations. The dynamics of power between Black Francophones and the State are connected to the impact of some policies on Black Francophones as immigrants and as members of both racial—and official—linguistic minority. This can be seen in policies of resource distribution assigned by the State to its official linguistic minorities, as well as policies specific to racial minorities targeting racism and socio-economic integration of racial minorities, which fall under the umbrella of multiculturalism. At issue, then, is the access of Black Francophones to these resources and how the Canadian State, which is predominantly white and Anglophone, deals with an official linguistic minority that includes both whites and racial minority members.

These power relations also are linked to the official bilingualism of Canada and to its immigration and multiculturalism policies. I state that even though the issues pertaining to Black Francophones as part of the official linguistic minority are situated within the framework of Canadian official bilingualism, I am aware that considering Canada as a bilingual country—English and French—is itself an indication of potential State racism. Canada's official bilingual policy is based on the myth of "the two founding peoples," namely, the British and the French. It does not acknowledge other groups, such as the Aboriginal Peoples and racialized groups

who were present in Canada prior to the foundation of the Canadian Confederation. In addition, providing constitutional protection to two languages in Canada undermines the multilinguality that applies to the multicultural nature of Canadian society. Official bilingualism, therefore, serves to undermine languages that are spoken by communities who are integral parts of the social fabric of Canadian society. That Canada is a country of immigration also signifies that immigrants built it. Black Francophones come to Canada as immigrants, and it is important to bring to the forefront the social relations of race and language within the dynamics of the integrative process.

When it comes to the situation of Blacks within Francophone communities, the major issue is the share, among Francophones, of power and resources. The presence of Black Francophones in Ontario contributes to changing the image of the community into a more heterogeneous one in terms of culture, class, language, religion and race social relations (Ibrahim, 1998; Madibbo, 2004). However, tensions and conflicts arise between Black and white Francophones. The struggle is marked by Blacks claiming their rights to an equitable share of power in terms of financial and other resources and access to employment and decision-making. Blacks' main issues are equity and representation. In regard to power relations among Francophones, the question that arises is, if Franco-Ontarians have been fighting to gain power and if they have obtained it, how do they share it? And, which is the space occupied by Blacks in the Francophone mainstream's institutional hierarchy? As we will see, Black Francophones' connections with other racial minorities are demonstrated by social, economic and political affiliations developed between the two groups of Blacks based on race, history, culture and other identity markers.

I also seek to identify various strategies of resistance Black Francophones develop to enter power structures. I define resistance as a struggle against different forms of oppression such as colonialism, patriarchy, racism and homophobia (Bobb-Smith, 1998). Resistance is taken from oppressed people's common experiences of domination, calling upon their social histories to challenge oppressive practices (Elabor-Idemudia, 2000). As McIsaac (2000) alludes to, resistance should basically dismantle the hegemonic structures of power and should aim to challenge social inequities. She notes: "for resistance to be considered a legitimate concept in a discussion of social agency, it must be that it truly challenges or subverts dominant culture" (p. 91). That is, resistance can only be effective when it transforms dominant discourses and practices. I also re-iterate that resistance is not reactionary but revolutionary. It is performed in small and big activities such as revolutionary thinking, political mobility

and social action undertaken by subjects to oppose the hegemony of the dominant groups.

Resistance also includes a variety of actions performed in individual or collective ways: efforts to improve education and career status, armed resistance against dominant regimes, engagement in politically motivated movements, self-definition as sources of empowerment, organizing and ordinary people's daily strategies for survival (Wane, 2000). I emphasize that I find it important to speak about resistance because it reveals that social actors are not victims but are socially and politically aware. Social actors do not exist to confront groups but rather to develop their communities and to reinforce principles of social justice. In this work, the term "resistance" refers to strategies and counter-hegemonic discourses taken by Black Francophones vis-à-vis the State and Francophone mainstream institutions to overcome the various forms of oppression Blacks face, such as racism and language discrimination. Resistance is rooted in Black peoples' shared experiences of struggle and is connected to the broader movement for social justice. It aims to inspire solidarity between Black Francophones and other marginalized groups to create spaces for them within the Canadian society and its institutions and also to build stronger communities.

Therefore, this work also examines how the interplay of race, language and gender shapes the experiences of Black Francophones with respect to racism and resistance. I argue that language is not the only factor that affects them but that, in addition to language discrimination, they also face racism stemming from both the Canadian State and Francophone mainstream institutions. The lived experiences of Black Francophones will therefore allow us to conceptualize how oppressive practices and resistance are performed across the lines of social relations of race, gender and language. My work will explore how these factors manifest themselves in the specific case of Black Francophones in Ontario.

I function theoretically with and within Antiracism and Black Feminism, which challenge the racism and patriarchy of predominantly white Western societies such as Canada that are regulated by hegemonic Euro-centric practices and knowledge. Antiracism and Black Feminism are political projects that aim for social change (Dei, 1996a; James, 1996a; Ng, 1995). They recognize that the existence of inequitable hierarchies in Euro/Canadian societies is located within exploitative, predominantly white structures. The frameworks therefore acknowledge that there is an inequitable distribution of power and resources. They call for a critical examination of how social difference and power relations are performed in people's daily experiences and within societal structures (Young, 1995). The approaches

cited explicitly recognize the reality of racism, sexism and homophobia as historical, social and political factors and aim to build strong strategies for the struggle against social inequities and to attain social and institutional transformation. Within the theoretical framework I am employing, power and resistance draw on Black libratory movements and discourses. These discourses gave birth to movements, notably, the Haitian Revolution that, in 1804, led to the establishment of the first independent Black republic in the world, the Anti-colonial struggles on the African Continent (1950s-1960s) and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States during the 1960s.

At the methodological level, my study is conducted through analysis of discourse of Black Francophone individuals and members and leaders of community organizations in two cities: Toronto and Ottawa. The data have been collected through qualitative methods—interviews, observation and document analysis. My methodological approach is based on the principles of Critical Ethnography that has grown out of dissatisfaction with social and cultural analysis in which factors like patriarchy, racism and class are not addressed (Anderson, 1989). Critical ethnographers seek to describe and analyze power centers and the mechanisms that help to produce various forms of resistance (McLaren, 1995). Critical Ethnography is also a critique of scientific rationality. It challenges positivist notions of "detachment" and "neutrality" in conducting research but rather claims that research projects should be political and activist (Eisner, 1997; Fine, 1994). It also stresses that both the researcher and the researched should be implicated in the act of knowledge production and in the process of social change (Thompson & Gitlin, 1995). Drawing upon Critical Ethnography, I assert that my political beliefs and my social location inform this work. My work overlaps with my experiences as a Black woman living in Canada facing racism and going through the experience of immigration. My choice of this topic stems from my awareness of the existence of inequities, the preeminence of racism and an urgency to transform society in order to attain social justice.

I examine my data using discourse analysis in order to capture the connectedness between linguistic practices, institutional racism and patterns of communication (Heller & Labrie, 2003; Lemke, 1995; Van Dijk, 1992). Drawing on Antiracism and Black Feminism and acknowledging the heterogeneity of Black communities, this study of Black Francophones as a racial and linguistic minority, theoretically bridges two fields that have traditionally been studied separately, that is, Antiracism and *la Francophonie*. It therefore brings together a group that belongs to both the Black Diaspora and the International Francophone space. I also relate my study to the

contribution of Black peoples to building Black communities such as the ones that, in Western societies, are resulting from migration and displacement. This research is also informed by studying language and discursive practices as they offer valuable insights into the norms and representations performed within linguistic communities that consist of racial minorities. I also locate it in the inequitable power relations within Canadian/European contexts that are informed by the history of slavery and colonialism. It joins projects that challenge the racism and patriarchy that prevail in Canadian society (Brand, 1991; Case, 2002).

A considerable amount of research is available on Franco-Ontarian populations. For instance: history (Choquette, 1977; Juteau-Lee, 1980; Martel, 1995; Welch, 1988), anthropology and sociolinguistics (Heller, 1998; Mougeon & Beniak, 1989). However, with some few exceptions, these studies are specialized and focus more on white French-Canadians. I therefore understand that Francophone racial minorities are under-represented as subjects (and researchers). Despite the fact that this polarization is remarkable in Franco-Ontarian Studies, it has also been observed widely in other areas (Standfield, 1993). Moreover, recent books (Bernard, 1998; Thériault, 1999) undermine racial minorities in the sense that these studies do not even note the presence of Black Francophones.

Moreover, research on Black and ethnic Francophone minorities has been mainly located in Quebec (Bitjaa Kody, 1999; Juteau & McAndrew, 1992; Kanouté, 1999; Meintel et al., 1997; Ndouye, 2004; Renaud, 1998; Roc, 1997; Waldron, 1996) and only sporadically carried out in Ontario. For example, some focused on all these communities including Blacks, while few concentrated on the subjects of my research (Farmer et al., 2003; Ibrahim, 1998). There are also a number of studies conducted by other centers and groups (Centre Francophone, 1997a, 1997b; Comité, 1998). Similarly, existing literature on Blacks in Canada focuses on Anglophones. This reveals that, notwithstanding their belonging to the two communities, issues pertaining to Black Francophones have not been thoroughly analyzed in either of the two fields—Francophone Studies and Antiracism.

Therefore, it is important to examine the various issues that pertain to Black Francophones from antiracist perspectives. Analysis of their experiences of racism and language discrimination as immigrants and a double minority will allow developing and implementing policies targeting the betterment of socio-economic integration of racial and linguistic minorities. Therefore, this book will fill gaps in the literature concerning Black Francophones. While this work is part of ongoing efforts to introduce race and Antiracism to *la Francophonie*, it will hopefully shed light on the social dynamics within the Francophone communities: the power

inequities, racism, how multiple oppression functions and how various State policies impact on Black Francophones.

When I asked Christien Renard (pseudonym), a Haitian youth who is studying law, to explain what it means for him to be Black and Francophone, he replied: "That would take an entire life, more than a book."[2] Christien's response indicates that being Black and Francophone is a complex issue as it reveals, among other factors, that one is faced by language discrimination and by various forms of racism. Christien's view makes allusion to the major forms of discrimination Black Francophones face that will be the main elements described in this book. It signifies that Black Francophones are constantly faced with double marginalization based on their language and race. Racism that these subjects face is present at many levels; it comes from the Anglophone State and is also perpetuated by white Francophones. It is worth mentioning that, like other racialized groups in Canada, Black Francophones experience racism in various ways: in hiring processes and in the work place, through the lack of equity policies as well as the non-recognition and non-accreditation of foreign credentials. Black Francophones are also subjected to racialization of language or to stereotypes in everyday life and through youth encounters with the police.

In addition, these Blacks face forms of racism that are exerted within both Francophone mainstream institutions and communities. Specific forms of racism often converge in both Anglophone State institutions and Francophone mainstream organizations. Therefore, being a minority within a minority, these Francophones' experiences of racism and language discrimination as Blacks and Francophones, pass through the intermingling streams of race and language and also relate to the immigration process. As we will note, notwithstanding the multiplicity of forms of oppression Black Francophones face, these social actors develop various individual and collective strategies of resistance that aim at challenging State and Francophone communities racism and strengthening Black Francophone community development.

This book is divided in seven chapters. This first chapter, the introduction, offers an overview of the topic being studied and sums-up the content of the succeeding chapters.

The second chapter provides the socio-historical and contemporary perspective of the study. It provides a brief history of Franco-Ontarians with respect to their struggle as an official linguistic community in a minority situation. It then focuses on the socio-historical context of the migration of Black Francophones. It integrates the factors that triggered migration and specific policies of immigration that impacted on the migration of Black Francophones to Canada. It also provides a profile of the

Black Francophone community including statistics and socio-economic mobility and an overview of different organizations and community associations including the mandate, goals and role these groups play within the communities. It also sheds light on the struggle over the share of power between Francophones and explores in greater detail the major questions of the research.

The third chapter consists of two parts: the theory framework and the methodology. The first part offers the theoretical considerations of my book. It highlights the main theoretical foundations of the two approaches that I chose in conducting my study: Antiracism and Black Feminism. In the first part I also examine how these approaches enabled me to analyze my topic. I explore race, gender and language as social constructs and categories of analysis and explain why I employ these three social categories. The second part sheds light on the methodological approach employed. It identifies my research background, the principles of Critical Ethnography that I draw upon to conduct my research and the process of data collection and analysis. It also highlights some epistemological issues: my role as a Black person doing research on Black people.

The fourth chapter investigates how Black Francophones face structural racism coming from the Canadian State. This chapter consists of two sections. The first section looks at the institutional definition of the category "Francophones" as it is identified by Statistics Canada and shows the impact of this definition on the Black Francophone community and its organizations. This section also examines the limited access of Black Francophones to financial resources and raises the question of the impact of under-funding on Black Francophone organizations and community development. The section also presents State racism as a factor that contributes to the under-funding of Black Francophone organizations. As the issues outlined in these parts relate to State's policies, the second section of this chapter provides, as a case study, the debate around *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement (l'Entente), a major governmental program of funding that generates a process of social dynamics between the State and its Francophone communities and within these communities. The discussion of l'Entente will be based on discursive production—interviews and texts—produced by the State and by Black Francophones. This section offers a definition of l'Entente and underlies a series of consultations that were held by Francophone racial and ethnic minorities in order to identify their needs with respect to l'Entente. It identifies the main barriers faced by this population and also documents its community development needs. This section also pinpoints the elements of disagreement of Black Francophones with l'Entente and the

main claims made by these social actors with respect to the place of racial minorities in this program of funding. The analysis of this section will reveal how l'Entente relates to the discussion of State racism.

The fifth chapter explores some Black Francophone perceptions and experiences of racism within Francophone communities and mainstream institutions. It focuses on specific forms of racism relating to: how Blacks perceive power relations among Francophones, the dynamics among organizations of women and the absence of open discourse about racism wihtin the Francophone dominant discourse. This chapter also explores institutional practices—lack of equity and representation—that explain racism. It also analyzes a specific incident to illustrate institutional practices of racism, namely, a postcard depicting an ape issued by a college as part of its employment promotional campaign. This chapter will demonstrate that, even though Blacks face and speak of racism within Francophone collectivises, they face a major challenge in the silence of the Francophone dominant discourse where racism is concerned.

As these chapters identify the various forms of institutional racism Black Francophones face stemming from the State and Francophone mainstream institutions, the sixth chapter points out specific strategies of resistance Black Francophones develop to fight racism and therefore to build stronger Black/Francophone communities. From the various strategies of resistance that have emerged during my fieldwork (2000–02), I will examine three social positions that relate to specific actions taken by collectivities. These actions include: the Antiracist Forum that was organized by a youth organization in preparation for the World Conference Against Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Intolerance which took place in South Africa at the end of 2001; the creation of an umbrella organization named Solidarity that brought together about fifteen organizations with various social and political ties that had developed within the Black community between Black Francophones and their Anglophone counterparts. I will outline how these affiliations are situated in the discourse of Black/African Unity and how these connections relate to race and language relations. As we will observe, each of the three social positions is situated in the discourse of resistance and has specific significance for the development of the Black Francophone community. The three social positions identified will enable us to understand that Black Francophones are involved in a vigorous struggle to strengthen their community and to counter the inequities they face coming from Francophones and the State. The strategies will significantly impact on the Francophone community in general and on Black Francophones in particular as well as on the Community-State connections.

The seventh chapter focuses on the conclusion. It sums-up the main faces of discrimination and resistance and provides some suggestions in relation to what should be done. The suggestions will give us insights into what topics future research may undertake.

In applying Antiracism to *la Francophonie*, the discussion of these chapters will lead us to draw precise conclusions on race, gender and language as well as social dynamics in relation to racism faced by Black Francophones. My book affirms the reproduction of dominance by white Francophones—who have historically been perceived of as a minority—towards the racial minority that is situated within their Francophone community. It also stresses that Black Francophones face forms of racism that their Anglophones counterparts have endured in Canada years ago. Therefore, we will realize that Blacks are caught between the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. This work will also reveal the contradiction represented by the existence of racism in Western societies like Canada that are guided by liberal democracy. Accordingly, identifying resistance tools permits us to go beyond addressing historical and contemporary forms of discrimination to suggest how to eradicate racism and to make and implement policies that would enhance the socio-economic development of the Black/Francophone community. Therefore, my work identifies the "problems" but also advocates solutions. It unveils the impact of Francophone immigration on the immigrant/minority community itself and on Francophone mainstream institutions and State policies. My work and the Black Francophone struggle form part of an anti-oppression framework that reinforces broader progressive movements desirous of equity and social change.

Chapter Two

Socio-historical and Contemporary Contexts of the Migration of Black Francophone Africans and Haitians to Canada

> Our investigations have convinced us that the West has not been calm enough or objective enough to teach us our history correctly, without crude falsifications . . . The moral fruit of their [Black Egyptians] civilization is to be counted among the assets of the Black world . . . that Black world is the very initiator of the "western" civilization flaunted before our eyes today (Cheikh Anta Diop, 1974, p. xiv).

INTRODUCTION

Speaking of history is not only about stating facts and events but also relates to re-thinking these phenomena. History should not be perceived of as a matter of the past because it remains in our memories and because many historical events still need to be rectified and dealt with. The history of humanity is one of accomplishments and struggles for justice. It is also one of atrocities, genocide, exploitation and domination. Recorded history is selective in the sense that it has largely been written from the point of view of dominant peoples. This means that important facts, as well as the voices of the marginalized, were probably not included in the written history. I emphasize that our awareness of history should lead us to draw lessons and to understand how far we have gone in respecting human dignity. It should also enable us to learn from our experiences of victimization in order to avoid repeating mistakes of the past and to identify solutions and actions to improve the conditions of the marginalized.

We should acknowledge that the history of Canada is not free of atrocities that were committed by both Anglophones and Francophones. These atrocities include, but are not limited to, the genocide that the First Nations endured (Commission on Human Rights, 2004), the deportation

of Acadians and slavery that was practiced in New France and other places in Canada (Trudel, 1960, 1990).

This part of the book provides a brief history of Franco-Ontarians: their struggle as an official linguistic minority and their major gains. It then focuses on the socio-historical context of the migration of Black Francophones. I also seek to integrate the factors that triggered migration as well as specific policies of immigration that impacted on the migration of Black Francophones to Canada. I also highlight a profile of the Black Francophone community—statistics, socio-economic mobility and areas of concentration. It is also important to offer an overview of the different organizations and community associations of Black Francophones—their mandate, goals and the role these groups play within the communities.

THE FRANCO-ONTARIANS

Many Franco-Ontarians have been migrating to the province from Quebec, Acadia and other parts of Canada since the second half of the 19th century (Boudreau, 1995; Martel, 1995, 1997). Many studies (Cardinal et al., 1988; Juteau-Lee & McAndrew, 1992) reveal that Franco-Ontarians constitute a linguistic minority vis-à-vis the dominance of Anglophone State institutions. Together with other French-Canadians, they have been struggling throughout their history for the right to establish and control their own institutions in their own language. This process has had considerable success: The Official Languages Act was passed in 1969 and revised in 1988. It provides funding for official language minority communities. The Charter of French Language in Quebec (Bill 101) adopted in 1977, stimulated the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms at the federal level in 1982. The latter gives the right to schooling in any of the two official languages in a minority context and the establishment of political, social, cultural, financial and educational institutions: schools, media, community centers, health and employment services, colleges, universities, etc. Moreover, many associations were established to guide the struggle of Francophones for example, *l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario*/The French-Canadian Association of Ontario (ACFO) which has been perceived for many decades as the official representative for the minority in the province (Kingsley, 1998). It is, however, facing resistance from many Francophones at the present time.

Lately, large numbers of Francophones started immigrating to Ontario from different parts of the world, mostly from Europe, Asia, the Caribbean and Africa. They usually come from countries where French is the official, co-official or second language. These immigrants include

significant numbers of Blacks from many African countries and the Caribbean (mainly Haitians) who arrived in Canada at different points in time.

BLACK FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA: IMMIGRANTS IN A COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION

The history of Black Francophones is to be perceived of as a continuity of the history of both Francophones and Blacks in Canada. Unlike the history of Black Francophones, that of Black Anglophones in Canada is well-documented (Cooper, 2000; Henry & Tator, 2005). However, it is worth mentioning that the migration of Haitians to Canada is more studied than that of African Francophones (Pompilus, 1999). This leads us to maintain that the history of Black Francophones needs to be documented. Canada is a country of immigration. This fact implies that it is a State that is built by immigrants. It also means that all its residents, except the Aboriginal Peoples, have come from somewhere else at different points of time. These facts also bring to our attention the reality that the processes of socio-economic integration and settlement are priorities for the State.

As I have mentioned earlier, the presence of Blacks in Canada goes back to the 16th century. The presence of those Blacks was later followed by migration of Blacks from the Caribbean and, more recently, from the African continent. The arrival of Blacks in Canada since the turn of the twentieth century largely relates to global migration. This migration is mostly conducted in a linear way as movements of peoples from South to North, from poor to wealthy countries and from the "underdeveloped" world to the "developed" one. However, to understand what makes migration the process that it is, one needs to take into account the various factors that have triggered it. We should identify the historical logic that has informed and forced movements around the world.

These factors include the historical, political and economic contexts of migration both in sending and receiving countries. These factors are related to slavery and colonialism and their continuity in forms of imperialism and racism. When it comes to slavery, over a period of centuries, millions of women and men were exported from Africa to America and the Caribbean. That process led to population declines in many parts of the African continent. Slavery was followed by colonialism, which represented decades of exploitation of the colonies' human and natural resources. For example, the African continent was arbitrarily divided between colonial powers without considering its geography, ethnic and linguistic boundaries, or regional economies. That was one of the main factors that have engendered civil wars, conflicts and economic, political and social instability and crisis (Walter, 1972).

When colonization officially ended at the end of 1950s and the beginning of 1960s, most of the newly independent States were governed by dictators, mostly educated in the West and supported by foreign forces. In return, the neo-colonial powers obtained raw materials and natural resources. The developing world had (and still has) to deal with the ramifications of slavery and colonialism since the years of independence. However, the impact of destruction endured over a period of five centuries cannot be overcome in 50 years. Africa, Asia and the Caribbean have become part of what is disrespectfully termed "the third world" and spoken of as underdeveloped, backward and ignorant.

It is in that context that migration from these countries to former colonial powers and other States in the North took place. As Calliste (1993) states, the international labor migration was triggered by the unequal development associated with European colonialism and imperialism. This means that development was characterized by the massive concentration of capital and wealth in the North and the underdevelopment and dependence on those countries by others in the South. In this instance, Calliste's view relates to the economic and political disparities between countries that receive and those that send immigrants. Calliste (1993) goes on to explain that, in the case of the Caribbean, limited opportunities and low wages in Caribbean economy, coupled with high levels of unemployment and a demand for cheap labor in the developed capitalist countries like Canada, resulted in sustained migration from the Caribbean to Canada. Calliste's view applies to African immigration as well (2000).

I will not outline the history of migration of Black Anglophones to Canada as it has already been documented. I, however, emphasize that the presence of Blacks in Canada has always been coupled with racism that stemmed from the host society in terms of exclusionary State immigration policies and hostility from settlers in various provinces. Recalling these facts allows us to conceptualize the present context of migration and to identify what policies were implemented to ensure the socio-economic integration of those Blacks and others who continued to migrate to Canada, including Francophones from the Caribbean and Africa.

It is to be noted that the fugitive slaves who entered Canada from the United States of America faced social and economic discrimination (Cooper, 2000). Hostility to Blacks continued until the turn of the 20th century. When in the State of Oklahoma in 1907 a segregation law was passed, Blacks made plans to leave to Canada (Alberta). As Shepard (1997) reminds us, officials and the public in the West of Canada protested against Black immigration. Those reactions sought to keep the plains white, not wanting their province to be called Black Alberta. It was feared that the massive

presence of Blacks would cause economic and race-relations problems similar to those experienced in the United States. In that context, the Immigration Department in Canada informed its agents in Kansas City that it was not desired that any Black immigrants should arrive in Canada. In addition, local organizations collected petitions opposing the arrival of Blacks. Hostility to Blacks extended to other provinces. For example, Ontario and Nova Scotia legislated racially separate schools (Cooper, 1991). These facts remind us that both officials and the public replied negatively to suggestions that Blacks were to be allowed to settle in Canada.

Calliste (1993) maintains that immigration policies were racialized and gendered. She reminds us that section 38 of the 1910 immigration act prohibited entry of immigrants belonging to "any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada" (1993, p. 379). As we observe, this statement could have been used as a pretext by immigration officials to prohibit the entry of Blacks to Canada. The entry of Black migrants went unrestricted only when there was no choice. The Canadian State regarded immigration as a way of solving its labor shortage. Calliste (2000) states that in 1916 the Dominion Iron Steel Company in Nova Scotia was given permission to import a 1000 Caribbean workers as the labor needed was not available in the country at that time. However, those workers were restricted to jobs in mines and steel plants, doing cheap and unskilled labor. In the same vein, when it comes to the migration of women from the Caribbean, demand for Black women domestics increased during the First World War when Canadian women left domestic service to work in fields of industry, replacing men who joined the armed forces. Female domestic workers were recruited to help fill the demand for cheap domestic labor in Ontario, Quebec and other provinces. However, unlike European women, areas of employment other than domestic service were not accessible to Black women who faced deplorable working conditions—low pay, harsh labor (Calliste, 1993). With the beginning of Depression in the 1930s, immigration regulations restricted the arrival of Black women as domestics.

This historical background tells us that, if we examine the history of immigration in Canada in connection with State policies, official discourse and public reactions to immigrants, we realize that it is one of racism and exclusion. In this sense, immigration was linked to individual and institutionalized racism and stereotypes. These facts reveal to us that Blacks and other visible minorities were welcomed when their labor was in demand but not as citizens who would be part of the nation. This also tells us that, since then, discourse has been focused on negative and

not on positive contributions of immigrant such as their impact on the economy.

What should be kept in mind is what has changed in immigration policies and public reactions to Blacks since the beginning of the 20th century and how far the State has come in fighting racism, seeking the betterment of these groups and improving their socio-economic integration. In other terms, considering that the incidents referred to above occurred at the turn of the twentieth century, the question is: As Canada continued to receive Black migrants, what has happened to those who settled earlier, and those who have arrived since then? It is worthwhile to note that, during the following decades, Black Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec (Gouvernement du Québec, 1996; Torczyner & Springer, 2001), as well as Black Anglophones in the rest of Canada, continued to face racism. Therefore, in the sense that the migration of Black Francophones is relatively recent, the question that is posed in this book is how the State and white Francophones deal with Black Francophones. Before I thoroughly explore this question, I will now offer a brief overview of the major waves of immigration of Black Francophones.

Black Francophone Migrants

Significant numbers of Black Francophones started arriving in Canada in the 1960s. The context in which different waves of Haitians and Africans migrated to Canada must be considered both in light of the economic and political situation in their respective countries and the changes in the Canadian immigration policies that created immigration patterns. Immigration of these groups to Canada took various forms, including direct movements from sending countries to Canada. Other itineraries include, in the case of Haitians, arrival in Quebec through the United States and in the case of Africans, through European States like France and Belgium. This latter pattern of migration has been characterized by internal movement within Canadian provinces—mainly from Quebec to Ontario's largest cities, Toronto and Ottawa—that started in the 1980s (Chambon et al., 2001; Madibbo & Maury, 2002).

Migration of Haitians

Pompilus (1999) classifies Haitian migration to Canada by waves. He states that Haitian immigration to Quebec began during the 1940s with "the pioneers;" a few government officials and students who decided to stay in Quebec. At the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, Haiti went through severe economic and political crises, during the years of the Duvalier regime (1957–1971) which targeted and suppressed intellectuals

and all opponents. In that context, many left for Canada, the United States and Cuba. It is during that period that the first wave of Haitians migrated to Quebec.

The 1960s witnessed significant changes in Canadian immigration policies. The winds of change in the world during the 1960s, notably the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the anti-colonial struggles on the African continent, gave birth to liberation movements around the world. Those movements challenged the structural racism of Western societies. For example, the Civil Rights Movement had direct impact on the abolition of discriminatory immigration policies in the United States of America.

In Canada, immigration policies were reviewed at the beginning of the 1960s. Policies that were based on discriminatory laws began to soften. In addition, in the 1960s the economy was booming and there was a demand for new immigrants to develop Canadian industry. In 1967 discriminatory laws were removed from Canada's immigration policies and a point system based on level of education and occupational skills was implemented (Pompilus, 1999). That process opened doors for more educated minorities to enter Canada.

In Quebec, the Quiet Revolution began to occur during the 1960s. It was a period of political, social and institutional reforms. The society needed to build the sectors of education, health care and the economy. The Quebec Government needed intellectuals and professionals to reinforce the development of the society. Quebec had to look outside of Canada. It sought to encourage the immigration of French-speaking professionals from Europe. As European immigrants showed little interest in coming, efforts were then deployed to promote employment opportunities for French-speaking professionals from the Caribbean. It is in that context that the first wave of Haitian immigrants arrived in Quebec during the 1960s. They were highly skilled and educated intellectuals, middle and upper class professionals (Roc, 1997). That wave arrived in Quebec during the early stages of the Quiet Revolution. Their contribution continued throughout this period and they benefited from open immigration policies.

However, the outcome of the Quiet Revolution within a booming economy made the job market more competitive. The skills of the Haitians were no longer needed, and fear that they were taking jobs from whites resurfaced. The consideration and welcome for Haitian immigrants in Quebec society were replaced by hostility (Roc, 1997). In that context, immigration policies became more restrictive and attempted to stop the flow of Haitians to Canada (Waldron, 1996). In 1972, Canada changed

the policy which had allowed visitors to apply for permanent residence (Pompilus, 1999).

During the 1970s in Quebec, there was a demand for manual workers, contrary to the better jobs available in the 1960s. It is in that context that the second wave of Haitian migrants arrived in Canada during the 1970s. They had, in general, lower levels of education than those of the first wave. Those who arrived afterwards, the third and forth wave of migrants, who respectively arrived in Canada during the 1980s and 1990s, entered Canada as immigrants and convention refugees.

The socio-historic context of Haitian migration tells us of the contribution of immigrants to the economy and the building of infrastructure of Canadian society and the Canadian State. It also shows us that countries like Haiti were able to produce intellectuals and professionals at the time when places like Quebec and other regions in Canada were not doing so in sufficient numbers. In this sense, migration of the intelligentsia from the developing countries to Canada and other industrialized States is a process of brain drain from the sending, originating sources. However, the migration process of Haitians reveals that Black immigrants are welcomed when their skills and labor are needed but when situations change, the degree of tolerance in the host society is reduced. Consequently, discriminatory immigration policies replace others that were more welcoming. Therefore, official and public attitudes to Haitians during the 1970s were similar to reactions directed at Anglophone Caribbean migrants at the turn of the 20th century. This indicates that discrimination against Blacks in Canada continued. In that regard, a question that deserves to be posed in terms of socio-economic integration is: What has happened to the children of the first wave of migrants who were born in Canada and what is happening to the waves which arrived after from Haiti and from different African countries? These questions will be thoroughly explored in the following chapters. Let us now speak briefly of the migration of Africans to Canada.

Migration of Black Francophones from Africa

I focus on Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa. Francophone African migration to Canada has become more significant since the beginning of the 1980s. Africans arrive from: the Horn of Africa—Somalia and Djibouti, central Africa—Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, and Cameroon and from the western parts of the continent—Ivory Coast, Benin and Senegal. Each country has its political and socio-economic context that has led many Africans to leave their respective countries for other parts of the world. The conflicts, wars and political oppression that characterised a good number of African States during the 1980s often triggered this migration (Ibrahim,

1998). Africans mainly come under four categories of immigration: convention refugees, independent immigrants, business and family reunification.

As I mentioned earlier, the migration of Black Francophones used to be first directed to Quebec and was followed by internal migration to Ontario that started in the 1980s (Chambon et al., 2001; Madibbo, 2002). It then shifted becoming direct from countries of origin to Ontario. This internal migration creates various dynamics among communities in the two provinces. The question to be asked is: Why do Black Francophones leave the French-speaking province in which they are part of a majority for predominantly Anglophone cities where they are a double minority?

In those contexts, the migration experience became linked to issues of race, language and economy. Various factors trigger internal migration of Black Francophones to Ontario. The factors explained by my research subjects mainly relate to racism and the economic situation in Quebec—the high percentage of unemployment, easier access to better employment opportunities in Ontario, and the openness of locations of settlement chosen in Ontario to Black immigration. If language were to be considered the first issue that determined the integration process, then race and economy have since become essential factors in this process. Significant numbers of Black Francophones left for Ontario after the referendum of 1995. That coincided with infamous statements of Jacques Parizeau—the leader of the *Parti Québécois* at the time—who blamed the loss of the 1995 referendum on sovereignty on finance and the "ethnic" vote (Lenk, 1998). The latter is a constructed category that includes all racialized groups. That official discourse was a reminder for the different generations, including Haitians and Black Anglophones who were born and grew up in Quebec that they were not part of the nation and that the nation is constructed by and for whites in Parizeau's words. They were "ethnic" as opposed to white Quebecois. Those statements also reflected the fact that the majority image of the nation is deeply racialized (Bannerji, 2000). After all, that official discourse was produced in a province that had received the first waves of Black Francophones, Haitians, who had contributed substantially to the building of its society in the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution.

Such reactions usually arise during times of recession and economic crisis. In such situations, anti-immigrant sentiments may develop into xenophobia. The white majority places the blame on "immigrants." Visible minorities are situated within one category of the racialized other, strangers and outsiders. In such an environment, similar to European countries like France, extremist and far right movements play the anti-immigrant "card." The public falls into that trap and society forgets the contribution of immigrants. In that environment, Blacks and other racial minorities in Quebec came to feel

that they were not welcome. Racism and the economic crisis triggered their internal migration to Ontario and other Canadian provinces.

Recently, the migration trajectory has shifted as the majority of Black Francophones arrive directly in Ontario from their respective countries (Madibbo, 2005). While the driving factors that have generated this movement are economic opportunities and the "openness" of the society to Black immigration, the decision of moving to and arriving in Ontario is also impacted by language. In this context, language is also a factor that determines where and how immigrants live. Those who come to Ontario have to deal with the dynamics of bilingualism and face the challenges of living in a predominantly Anglophone environment. These challenges include, among other factors, acquiring a functional knowledge of English and coping with the lack of appropriate services in French. The migration of Haitians and Africans has led to the establishment of the Black Francophone community in Ontario. They have become part of the official linguistic minority and a racial minority that is in the process of integration and settlement.

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE BLACK FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY

On the basis of mother tongue, or the first language learned, the total number of Francophones in Ontario is 485,630. The number of Francophones as measured by their knowledge of only French is 42,305; 1,319,715 understand both English and French (Statistics Canada, 2001). It is important to mention that my research subjects doubt the veracity of the census questions and the interpretation of the data (Conseil pour l'intégration, 1997, 2001; Human Rights Commission, 2004). As it will be explained, Black Francophones argue that the definition of Francophones based on mother tongue criteria largely undermines their actual number. It is fair to say that Blacks constitute a significant proportion of Ontario's Francophone population.

According to the 2001 census, the Black Francophone population is distinctly younger than the general Francophone population. The percentage of Black Francophones in the age groups 0 to 20 is almost twice as high as for the total Francophone population (38, 7% compared to 19, 6%). Blacks are underrepresented in the age groups 40 to 64 (22.4% compared to 38.4%) and 65 and over (3.6% compared to 14.4%), (Office of Francophone Affairs, 2005). This indicates that a significant proportion of this community is presently attending schools and colleges and that significant proportions could or may be in the workforce. This factor draws our attention (as well as the attention of government officials and policy makers and

planners) to the potential and the vitality of the Black Francophone community. With the high birth rate and the continuing arrival of immigrants, it is expected that this number will double in the foreseeable future. This fact will have its impact on the socio-political and economic dynamics within both the Black and the Francophone communities.

The level of education of Francophones from racial minorities is higher than for the total Francophone population, all racial minorities, and for the entire Ontario population. The proportion of Francophones from racial minorities who obtained an undergraduate or graduate degree is twice as high as for Francophones in general (31.7% compared to 14.7%), (ibid, 2005). The correspondence between this population's level of education and employment deserves more attention. In this regard, if better job opportunities imply a high level of education, in the case of Black Francophones, this does not necessarily apply. Unemployment and underemployment are high among Black Francophones despite the fact that they are highly educated (Conseil pour l'intégration, 1997, 2001). The unemployment rate of Francophones from racial minorities is almost twice as high as for Francophones in the general population (11.2% compared to 6.1%), (Office of Francophone Affairs, 2005). Therefore, notwithstanding the emphasis on education as criteria in the immigration points system, education does not guarantee Black immigrant integration in the workforce. One factor is the non-recognition of foreign credentials. However, the same situation applies to those who are educated in Canada.

The connection between employment and education leads to observations on socio-economic status. Some studies show that Blacks endure a low socio-economic status and that Black Francophones are among the groups which are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in Canada (Galabuzi, 2001). The average income of Francophones from racial minorities is substantially lower than for Francophones in the general population ($29,039 compared to $35,796). Francophones from racial minorities are overrepresented in the income categories under $20,000 and underrepresented in those over $20,000 (Office of Francophone Affairs, 2005). These facts also reveal the drastic socio-economic disparities among Black and white Francophones (Conseil pour l'intégration, 2001).

Let us now identify the link between time of arrival and class. Analysis of socio-economic status of immigrants reveals that "Little has changed in the socio-economic situation of the Haitian immigrants since the second wave" (Pompilus, 1999, p. 19). The same is true for Africans. I have interviewed many Haitians and Africans belonging to different generations, and class ratio comparisons reveal that there is no significant economic change between the successive generations of Blacks. What contributes to

this poverty? As it will be observed, the community is un-and-underemployed and most of its organizations are under-funded. The drastic poverty of this community is alarming. It reveals a contradiction in the sense that this community is part of the Francophone official linguistic minority to which the State assigns substantial resources and is situated in a country of immigration, which is expected to target the socio-economic integration of immigrant communities.

The socio-historical background and the characteristics of the Black Francophone community lead us to observe that Blacks face the challenges of integration as a part of linguistic and racial minorities. Along the way, Blacks have found it necessary to establish their own organizations and associations, which have been used as tools both to contest and rectify State racism and power inequities within Francophone communities and to reinforce their community development.

Black Francophone Community Organizations

Since the beginning of the 1980s Black Francophones have started to have their own organizations and associations that include community associations, groups of musicians and artists, media, community economic development, organizations of women and youth, arts, theatre, sports, media—newsletters and radio, coalitions, churches, and umbrella, local and regional groups (Bisson et al., 2003). All of these are urban associations which play crucial roles in voicing social differences between Black and ethnic minorities vis-à-vis white Francophones. The various groups support community development, offer various services, fight racism, defend the rights of their communities and promote the social and economic integration of their community members. These groups organize and initiate the connection between Black Francophones, connections with the State and also ties with Francophone or Anglophone communities and institutions (AIFO, 1992; Comment prendre racine, 2003; Conseil économique et social d'Ottawa-Carleton, 2003). To achieve the numerous goals, the organizations take actions and develop strategies that include promoting partnership and economic development through entrepreneurship, job creation, orientation sessions and Canadian experience of work.

Thus, there are numerous organizations that intervene in various fields. However, the issue is not only how many exist but also how many of these organizations are able to function. As we will find out, a good number of these organizations are newly emerging. However, we should keep in mind that many organizations have existed for years and that they have succeeded, made significant achievements and played pivotal roles in community development. Many of these groups have collapsed. We need

to keep in mind the various challenges that these organizations face and the factors that led to the collapse of earlier efforts. These observations are important because they relate to the main themes of this study in relation to the attribution of resources by the Canadian State to Francophones and the sharing of power among these social actors.

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER BLACKS COME TO ONTARIO? THE STRUGGLE OVER THE SHARE OF POWER

Significant numbers of Blacks preserve their Francophone traditions, choose to live within Francophone communities in Ontario, send their children to French language schools and participate in Francophone associations. Even before the arrival of these immigrants, the Franco-Ontarian population was increasingly diversified, particularly along class (and gender) lines (Heller, 1995). However, the arrival of Black Francophones has contributed to changing the image of the community into a more heterogeneous one in terms of culture, class, language, religion and race social relations (Madibbo, 2004). A very positive impact of Black Francophones' presence can be observed, especially in terms of their high numbers; a factor essential in the very existence of the entire Francophone community and its institutions. For example, in Toronto they have doubled the numbers of Francophones who are faced with possible assimilation into the English-speaking majority and they have therefore become an important factor in supporting claims for more Francophone institutions and services (Quell, 2000). As it will be indicated in forthcoming chapters, they also fight for the rights of the Francophone linguistic minority, playing a significant role in that struggle.

In that context, relations have evolved, on the one hand between Black and white Francophones and, on the other hand, among Black Francophones and other racial minorities. Race, language and gender social relations have informed the power relationships between Black Francophones and others. Upon their arrival to Ontario, Black Francophones realize that white Francophones constitute just another mainstream community that both has and controls its own institutions. Relations between Black and white Francophones are situated within a majority-minority context. Tensions and conflicts have arisen between Black and white Francophones: the struggle has been mainly over the share of power. One group aims to maintain its power and privilege. The other seeks to be an integral part of the community and full citizens. Blacks also claim their rights to the equitable share of power in terms of financial and other resources such as access to employment and decision-making. The main issues are therefore equity and

representation. Black Francophones contend that they face racism within Francophone communities and mainstream institutions.

Thus, at the heart of any racism coming from Francophone mainstream institutions is the degree to which power and resources are shared with Black Francophones. As stated, Black Francophones constitute a double—visible—minority located within the French-speaking minority. This fact suggests that Black Francophones are discriminated against by both the white, predominantly Anglophone State and by white Francophones. It also reveals possibilities that white Francophones, a group that is considered, and perceives itself, to be a linguistic minority, reproduces dominance towards the racial minority which is situated within it. This illustrates an example of a dominant group—white Francophones—who, while struggling against their oppression, replicate the injustice by subjugating others—Black Francophones.

At stake in the Ontario Francophone context is the issue of how power was obtained and how can it be distributed and shared? The question of power is vital in understanding internal relations. It allows us to go beyond the conflict between Franco-Ontarians and Anglophones to concentrate on the social dynamics within and across Francophone communities in Ontario. The question is: If Franco-Ontarians have been fighting to gain power and if they have obtained it, how do they share it with Black Francophones? To discuss issues of power between Francophones it is important to examine to what extent the distribution of resources is performed through race, language and gender relations. If there are institutions that are created and publicly funded to serve the entire Francophone community, then why do Black Francophones and ethnic minorities create separate social and political spaces that concentrate on issues related strictly to them? Similarly, if we have *L'Association canadienne-française*/The French-Canadian Association of Ontario (ACFO*)* to represent the entire community, then what leads Black Francophones to organize themselves in groups such as *L'Association Interculturelle Franco-ontarienne*/The Franco-Ontarian Intercultual Association (AIFO) that are separate from those of white Francophones? Similarly, why do Black women form organizations and centers separate from those of the mainstream and other minorities?

With respect to Francophone mainstream institutions, Heller (1995) notes that these institutions are sites of resistance against the hierarchical relations of power that Anlgophones exert on Francophones, but are also sources of the reproduction of these relations. This observation indicates that Francophone mainstream institutions are capable of reproducing inequitable power relations among white Francophones across lines of class,

gender and sexual orientation. Heller's argument may also explain that the institutions reproduce domination between white and Black Francophones through race relations. It is the latter possibility that I will explore further. This can be done by looking at the space Black Francophones occupy in Francophone mainstream institutions but also the way different bodies are represented in the hierarchy. The issue is to examine who holds key positions in these institutions and who does not, who offers services and who are the clients. The relationship between levels of education and the position occupied must also be explored.

One also needs to investigate how the distribution of resources is organized within and across existing institutions and associations (mainstream and minority), to see if all organizations have the same degree of access to material resources i.e., funding. Some questions arise: Who controls key resources in the Ontario Francophone context? Who is in the position of decision-making? Who gets benefits? How are different bodies represented in the hierarchy? How are these relations shaped by gender, race and language? Where do these relations intersect? What do these relations tell us about racism, sexism and language discrimination?

As we will see, the various forms of power inequities that Black Francophones face—racism and linguistic discrimination—lead them to develop numerous strategies of resistance. To explore the mechanisms of resistance, I will look at how subjects act and react vis-à-vis power distribution and analyze the different positions taken by them. Who chooses to adhere to existing mainstream institutions? Who joins the racial minorities? Who identifies with Anglophones and/or Anglophone racial minorities? How do Black women position themselves vis-à-vis different groups? To what extent is the creation of associations and organizations a site of resistance? As race, language and gender social relations inform the power relationships between Black and white Francophones, they also structure the connections within the Black community.

While some Black Francophones choose to counteract State and Francophone racism from within the Francophone community, many prefer to ally with Black Anlgophones. Groups of Black Francophones create various political, social and economic affiliations with their Anglophone counterparts. The racism that all Blacks face, lead Black Francophones to go beyond the language (French) to come together with their Anglophone counterparts, to fight racism and to strengthen the development within the Black community. As it will be revealed, the ties established among Blacks are rooted in commonalities of historical, cultural and economic experiences and interests that concern all Blacks. These experiences include slavery, colonialism, racism and the will to seek the economic and social

betterment of Blacks in Canada and in the countries from which migrants have originated.

CONCLUSION

This historical and contemporary context of the migration of Black Francophones to Canada tells us that this migration is informed by the socio-economic disparities between the North and the South and by the regulations of the international labor market. We are also reminded that Black immigrants are welcomed in Canada when their skills and labor are needed but when situations change, the degree of tolerance in the host society is reduced. This indicates that discrimination against racialized groups in Canada persists as other minorities such as Black Francophones continue to migrate to Canadian provinces. We have also seen that, with limited resources, Black Francophones who arrive in Ontario establish numerous organizations which play crucial roles in Black Francophones' process of socio-economic intergration. Based on the discussion raised in this chapter, we can conclude that the Francophone linguistic minority *milieu* is also an immigration context. This fact brings the dynamics of integration and settlement to the arena of existing race and language social relations. Those factors also relate to the project of nation building, in terms of who is desirable as a member of the nation and who is not (Bannerji, 2000). They also tell us that immigration is racialized.

As I have argued at the beginning of this chapter, the migration of Black Francophones should be spoken of as a continuity of the presence of both Francophones and Blacks. The statement notably connects to what has happened to Blacks who arrived in Canada and what faces the generations raised in this country and implies that Black Francophones in Ontario become part of both Francophone and Black communities. Migration also relates to demographic change and impacts on institutional transformation. It therefore refers to the dynamics of power and resistance. These dynamics imply connections between immigrant communities—linguistic and racial minorities and the State that receives them, between immigrants and the host society—in this instance Francophone communities—and within immigrant communities themselves. Therefore, Black Francophones' process of settlement and integration is impacted by the challenges of the Sate and Francophne racism and by language discrimination. As we discuss the theoretical and methodological approaches that were employed to analyse this study, in the next chapter, these issues will become clear.

Chapter Three

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

PART 1: THEORY FRAMEWORK: ANTIRACISM AND BLACK FEMINISM

This work on the dynamics of power and resistance among Francophones locates itself within Antiracism and Black Feminism epistemologies. In what follows, I highlight the salient aspects in the two approaches which are relevant to my study. These aspects relate to how Antiracism and Black Feminism conceptualize power, race and racism, resistance, equity and the intersection of race, gender and language.

Antiracism is a theoretical and discursive framework; moreover, it is a political project that aims for social change and calls for a critical examination of "[T]he study of how dynamics of social difference (race, class, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability, language and religion) are mediated in people's daily experiences" (Dei, 1996a, p. 55). Antiracism theory has emerged from the struggles of racial minorities against imperial, colonial and neo-colonial experiences (Rezai-Rashti, 1995a). As James (1995b) maintains, the experiences of oppressed groups are crucial to understanding how social inequalities and racism are produced in and maintained by social institutions.

When it comes to power, a salient feature of the approach is the recognition of inequitable power between groups (Ng, 1995). The existence of inequitable hierarchies in Euro/Canadian societies is located within exploitative white, predominantly male, power structures (Young, 1995). The framework, therefore, acknowledges the privilege associated with whiteness: it recognizes that society is stratified and that there is an inequitable distribution of power and resources. The argument is that white individuals from dominant racial groups are the ones who have historically benefited from social and economic power (James, 1995b). The understanding of the

discourse of power should be situated within a broader framework of the historical, social and political processes that have institutionalized and continue to maintain such inequitable power. These processes include enslavement, colonization and imperialist economic and political practices carried out by European powers that have and continue to construct inequalities in these societies (Bannerji, 1987; Dei, 1993). In Canada, the politics of a white power base influence structures of society and therefore, access to power and opportunities are influenced by race, ethnicity and other related factors (James, 1995a). As a consequence, people from racial minorities are the ones deprived of equitable access to power structures in Canadian society (James, 1996a).

Antiracism highlights the saliency of race as a social and political factor and explicitly recognizes the reality of racism (Clottey & Clottey, 1998; Sekyi, 1994). Racism is defined as a social construct and a discriminatory social, as well as discursive, practice that is institutionalized (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). Racism may be viewed as an ideology or a negative attitude based on the belief that races are distinct and thus, can be regarded as "superior" and/or "inferior" (Christencen, 1996). As Grandy (1998) observes, racism is the interpretation of difference, in order to justify advantage, or the abuse of power, whether that advantage is economic, political, cultural or psychological. One concept of racism refers to the individual expression of overt feelings or actions (Henry & Tator, 2005). However, racism extends to include all processes that sustain white domination through groups, organizations and institutions up to the highest levels of the State, also known as institutional racism (Bannerji, 1991; Miles, 1989, 1993). Institutional racism exists where established rules and policies reflect and produce differential treatment of marginalized groups within institutions. Individual and institutional forms of racism are directly connected to each other, as the individuals are the ones who develop and implement the institutional policies. As Satzewich (1998, p. 39) contends, racism "is also about power and the unequal distribution of scarce resources." The argument is that institutional practices and structures exclude significant numbers of people of racial groups from accessing power structures (James, 1996b). Therefore, racism operates to distribute material resources between and among social groups as well.

Racism is interpreted as a form of inequitable practice. The principles of social inequities acknowledge that in various societies, many of the assumptions, values and practices of individuals and institutions from the dominant groups serve to the disadvantage of the non-dominant groups (Bürgenmeier, 2002). Therefore, inequities are associated with the existence of social and systemic disparities between groups of people in society.

Braveman and Gruskin (2002, p. 1) maintain that inequities "systematically put groups of people who are already socially disadvantaged (for example, by virtue of being poor, female, and/or members of a disenfranchised racial, ethnic or religious group) at further disadvantage." The authors refer to social dis/advantage in terms of "wealth, power or prestige" (p. 1). Inequities are represented by systemic as well as social practices such as racism, sexism and homophobia.

The forms of racism spoken about in this book are: systemic racism, institutional racism, State racism and Francophone racism. In order to identify systemic racism, I will first explain what the term "system" signifies. This concept means the epistemology of a given people, its way of knowing and of learning and doing things (Hyper dictionary, 2004b). The system is the source of people's practices and ideologies. The notion "system" is also a way of organizing or doing something that follows a fixed plan. The system also refers to the government or administration of a country (Webster-dictionary, 2004). This concept also means an organization or institution that is organized according to a particular set of rules. I use the term "system" to refer to various State and Francophone institutions—parliament, universities, schools, centers which offer services—as well as individuals who function within these institutions. I am also aware that these institutions and individuals are only a small proportion of the system.

Systemic racism is the value system which is embedded in society, which supports and legitimizes discriminatory practices (Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2004). I identify systemic racism as thoughts, practices and attitudes which are an integral part of the morals of a given people and which are therefore linked to forms of oppression based on macro criteria, for example, of language, race, religion, gender and history (Satzewich, 1998). Institutional racism is specific to a given institution and takes forms that are particular to the specific institution. This form of racism includes institutional policies and practices which operate to sustain the disadvantages of racialized groups (James, 1995b). Institutional racism is systemic in a microcosmic optic while systemic racism is not limited to institutional practices. In this work, State racism means the institutional racism coming from the State. The notion "Francophone racism" identifies institutional racism stemming from Francophone communities and mainstream institutions.

When it comes to racism in Canada, as Brown and Brown (1996) remind us, there is a popular belief that Canada is a society free of racism. They, however, argue that historical and contemporary experiences have proved that institutional and individual racism pervades Canadian society. In this regard, one may recall the inhumane treatment of Aboriginal Peoples

through various laws imposed by the Canadian governments, or the enslavement of Africans in New France and Upper Canada from the 17th to the 19th centuries (Khenti, 1996). In addition, contemporary examples of racism are manifest in discriminatory practices directed mainly at Native People, Blacks and South Asians (Ng, 1991). We may also think of the racism and sexism in immigration laws (Arat-Koc, 1999; Gupta, 1999; Matas, 1996). A long history of prejudice and discrimination has led to the unjust restriction of women, native peoples, disabled persons and visible minorities in their access to the opportunities generally available in society (Council of Ontario Universities, 1988; Iseke-Barnes & Wane 2000; Steinback, 2004). These opportunities include employment prospects as well as access of these racialized groups to decision-making that critically affects them. As a result, racial and ethnic minorities are unable to participate equitably in the social, political and cultural institutions of Canadian society.

The application of an antiracist framework means that racial minorities should not be viewed as "victims" and "subordinated." As Dei (1996b) maintains, the histories of resistance taken by marginalized groups provide key sources for empowerment and social change. Therefore, Antiracism is also a call for resistance and the struggle to transform the existing power inequities and structures in society. We are reminded that inequities and racism must be examined with a comprehensive analysis, by questioning existing political structures and the norms and values that sustain these structures (Rezai-Rashti, 1995b). In addition, the antiracism approach identifies many strategies and sites of the struggle for institutional transformation: organizing, coalitions, unions and networks.

Antiracism also advocates for equity to counteract racism and ensure fair access for marginalized groups to societal resources. Equity is an ethical value that can be treated as a social practice (Bürgenmeier, 2002) and it is linked to social institutions, which are extended to the legal framework (Hyper dictionary, 2004a). As Braveman and Gruskin (2002) note, equity is consonant with and closely connected to human rights and social justice principles. I perceive equity as the cornerstone of social justice, synonymous with fairness and righteousness (Braveman & Gruskin, 2002). I maintain that equity is an ongoing process of social change. It supports the right to the highest attainable standards of opportunities. I also consider equity as intolerance to all forms of adverse discrimination. It signifies that social actors should not be denied opportunities for attributed rather than actual characteristics. I am also aware that equity means assuming individual and collective responsibilities to overcome systemic barriers and to fight sexism, racism, homophobia, language discrimination as well as other forms of oppression. It is also important to stress that the term "equity"

encompasses a number of measures designed to remove barriers to the fullest participation of disadvantaged groups in society's structures.

Proponents of equity in the Canadian context stress that "systemic discrimination requires systemic remedies" (Abella, 1984, as cited in Council of Ontario Universities, 1988, p. 8). Therefore, mandatory programs and equity policies are necessary to eliminate systemic barriers and to improve the disadvantages faced by marginalized groups in society (Steinback, 2004). I therefore stress that we should vigilantly support the adoption and implementation of equitable programs and policies that will lead us towards greater social justice.

Antiracism applies to my work particularly, because it allows an examination into how the power inequities manifest themselves in the various State and Francophone structures and institutions. It also permits an investigation into the impact that white privilege has on the access of Black Francophones to resources within State and Francophone institutions. This theoretical stance also leads me to study how institutional racism, as reflected in the policies and the practices of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions, influences the distribution of resources among Fancophones in Ontario. Antiracism offers insight into how race relations are articulated within a linguistic minority community that also comprises a racial minority. This approach also sheds light on how these relations impact on the ties Black Francophones build with Black Anglophones. Antiracism is also of interest in exploring equity with regard to the access of Black Francophones to resources and to identify the equitable measures and programs that should be implemented to ensure fair distribution of resources among Franophones. In addition, Antiracism allows exploring the various strategies of resistance developed by Black Francophones.

Little research has been conducted using an antiracism approach or addressing race relations in issues pertaining to Francophone communities (Ibrahim, 1998). Ibrahim's work examines the politics of identity formation among a group of Francophone African youth attending an Ontario French-language high school. Using a critical antiracist framework, Ibrahim shows that the experiences of these youth with racism are of utmost significance in the process of identification: of becoming Black. He makes a distinction between "being Black" and "becoming Black." He locates racism within a framework of discriminatory practices where the dominant group's hegemonic discourses and practices position these youth and treat them as "Blacks." These experiences relate (but are not limited) to differential treatment because of their skin color, absence of Black teachers, underrepresentation in the curriculum of Black History and culture, enrollment of these students in the Basic and General levels and lack of recognition of

the experience gained in their countries. Offering student narratives, Ibrahim pinpoints various ways and sites of student resistance and notes that "African students are querying ways of restructuring power relations that allow them to be creative, to succeed, liberate themselves and others from oppression," (Ibrahim, 1998, p. 279). He concluded that the students learn "to become" Black by learning Black English as a second language and taking up Black identities and Black popular culture performances: i.e. hip hop and rap.

Ibrahim's work is of utmost relevance to my study because it explicitly links racism to language discrimination in the Ontario Francophone context. This work is therefore important because it draws our attention to the need to bring Antiracism to the *Francophonie*. Ibrahim's study has revealed structural barriers targeting Black youth in Francophone schools. He illustrates Black African Francophone youth's experiences with racism across the lines of race, language and culture. The study of these issues needed, however, to be expanded to include more institutions, organizations and other settings in the communities. Building on Ibrahim's work, I will extend these issues to other settings (State and Francophone mainstream institutions and community organizations) including differing age groups from both African and Caribbean descent. Moreover, I will further explore the intersections of gender, race and language. I will further investigate the relations of power, racism and the process of domination. My book will particularly focus on groups of Black women, their organizing and positioning vis-à-vis power distribution. I will also examine some recent events through the lens of resistance in my research. Ibrahim's study of resistance is also of interest. As it shows that Black Francophone youth learn English and perform Black Diasporic identities by means of resistance, I will look at the ties Black Francophone's establish with other Blacks within the Black Diaspora as a means of contesting power inequities.

Therefore, my study will fill gaps in the antiracist literature concerning Black Francophones. It will hopefully shed light on the social dynamic within Francophone communities: power inequities, how multiple oppression functions and how various State policies impact on this population. It will also look at the connections built between Black Francophones and their Anglophone counterpart from antiracist perspectives.

Antiracism provides valuable insight in questioning power inequities and racism. I, however, argue that oppression should not be viewed separately. Indeed, I recognize the saliency of racism in its historical and contemporary contexts, how it produces inequitable relations of power and its negative impact on racial and ethnic minorities. I also believe that racism should be linked to other forms of oppression such as sexism and language

oppression. Similarly, race is an important area to consider, but others such as sexuality, age, language and religion do also matter. Although power relations are about racism, they are also about homophobia and sexism. These points will be explored in greater detail in the following sections as I continue the discussion on Black Feminism which complements Antiracism by providing more focus on sexism, Black women's activism and the intersection of race, gender and language.

Black Feminist Thought is conceptualized as an activist approach that is grounded in Black women's shared histories and their experiences of colonialism, sexism and racism. It is rooted in Black women's shared legacies of political, social and economic struggles against the different types of oppression (Collins, 1990). Black Feminism is also a self-defined perspective which underlies the saliency of the power to define the Black women's identities instead of having these identities defined by dominant groups (Wane, 2002). Although this approach focuses on Black women, it also recognizes that the struggle for liberation can only be effective if it takes place within a movement that aims at liberating all people. Black Feminism is therefore also a "mass movement against the various sources of oppression" (Nain, 1991, p. 19). Black Feminism addresses the hierarchy of power in society, in general, and within Black communities, in particular. It evokes the need for solidarity and seeks to build stronger Black communities and develop strategies to struggle against social inequalities (Leah, 1999). Black Feminism is also significant when it comes to defining the dimensions of domination of all the oppressed, in general, and of Black women, in particular.

The politics of Black Feminism particularly seeks to identify the sources of Black women's oppression, the dimension of suppression of Black women's thought and the form of activism these women take to resist. In terms of oppression directed to Black women, since the end of the 19th century some Black feminists have indicated that Black women were "confronted by both a woman question and a race problem" (Cooper, as cited in King, 1988, p. 220). As hooks (1981) states, Black feminists demand recognition of the impact of sexism on their socio-political status. In other words, Black Feminism is a standpoint that acknowledges that sexism could be as oppressive as racism and it also entails that both race and gender oppressions are intertwined as they operate together on women's lives. To separate these two categories is to deny that both race and gender are integral parts of human identity.

This theoretical trend pinpoints the exclusion of Black women's thinking from hegemonic Western mainstream academia and from both white feminism and nationalist Black discourses. We contend that in spite of the existence of an independent Black female intellectual tradition that

has largely contributed to the production of knowledge such as feminism and Afro-centric culture, this tradition has been ignored within all of these intellectual streams (Collins, 1990).

When it comes to white feminism, Black feminists point out that this branch of feminism allots little discussion to the impacts of racism on Black women (hooks, 1984, 1991) and that Black women are not represented in this discourse as it is based on experiences of white middle-class women (Wane, 2000). This argument supports the fact that white feminism concentrates on gender as the main factor that has impact on women's lives. As it undermines race, the framework does not acknowledge the impact of racism on Black women and other racialized groups. With respect to Black nationalist traditions, Black feminists observe that Black male leaders do not want to acknowledge that racism is not the only oppressive force in Black women's lives (hook, 1995).

Although Black women and men struggled together for liberation during slavery and for racial equality during the Civil Rights Movement, Black male leaders maintained patriarchal values. The argument is that, while Black males advanced in economic and political structures of society, they encouraged women to assume more submissive roles. As a consequence, women are excluded from positions of power within Black organizations. Therefore, Black feminists aim to document Black women's histories, their experiences of resistance and their contribution to Black communities. For example, Shadd (1994) highlights the experiences of slave women who escaped from the United States to Canada through the Underground Railway. She emphasizes the dangers those women faced during their long journey to freedom and the role they have played in helping others to become free of slavery and in establishing Black communities in Canada and in the United States. This example illustrates the accomplishments of Black women and the sacrifice they have made to reinforce the welfare and liberation of Black people.

Therefore, Black Feminist Theory provides a significant space for Black women's activism and resistance. Black women are not portrayed as victims but as empowered subjects who resist. For example, some Black feminists remind us that Black women's resistance is vital to the survival of Black communities (Wane, 2000). Many examples come to mind: Black women were an integral part of the struggles against slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism (Amadiume, 1997; Hine, 1990). Moreover, women in Africa are currently engaged in political movements against neo-colonial and patriarchal regimes. Black Feminism alludes to the fact that racism and sexism are the main sources of our subordination as Black women. However, other factors do also shape our lives. Besides race, gender and class

discrimination, Black women are also faced with economic, political and ideological subjugation. Therefore, Black feminists underline the need to incorporate racial, sexual, class and cultural dimensions of oppression to produce a more inclusive brand of feminism (Leah, 1993; Steady, 1989). As Brewer (1993) notes "the conceptual anchor of recent Black feminist theorizing is the understanding of race, class and gender as simultaneous forces" (p. 16). Brewer's view highlights the Simultaneity of Oppression in the sense that each of these forces—racism, sexism and classism—cannot be understood in a decontextualized form from others. The simultaneity of oppression principle constitutes an interactive model relevant to the study of power and resistance within Francophone communities while taking into account the multiple layers of oppression and the impact of the interplay of race, gender and language on Black Francophone women.

Simultaneity of Oppression

The principle of Simultaneity of Oppression points out that it is impossible to view oppression in isolation. As Pharr (cited in James, 1995a. p. 42) states: "[S]exism, racism, homophobia, classism, ableism, anti-Semitism, ageism . . . are all linked by a common origin . . . economic power and control . . . and by common methods of limiting, controlling and destroying lives." Pharr's argument is that each of the systems of oppression, for example, language oppression, sexism and homophobia does not operate alone. They are all interrelated and one cannot capture the full impact of any one system without understanding the interconnectedness between various forms of oppression. The same argument applies when it comes to resistance. To eradicate one form of oppression, we have to work to challenge all of them. To do otherwise, would render the struggle against oppression incomplete (Ng, 1991). I therefore argue that movements for social change must be anti-sexist, antiracist, anti-homophobic and anti-oppression that is based on language.

I therefore consider it important to examine the experience of Black Francophone women and their migration trajectory using a framework that is based on the very real experiences of Black women. Black Feminism enables me to identify the positions these women fill in the functioning of their organizations and coalitions and the relations between them and other Francophones including white Francophone women. In addition, the principle of the Simultaneity of Oppression is of utmost relevance to my work. As my study is also situated within a linguistic minority, State and Francophone racism cannot be understood properly without an analysis that addresses gender and language. The principle of Simultaneity of Oppression allows an articulation of racism, sexism and language discrimination by identifying

not only the nature of the forces that cause it, but also how they interact to shape Black Francophones' lives and how they can be contested. Therefore, an analysis through Antiracism and Black Feminism offers complementary perspectives that allow me to more fully examine the power distribution among Francophone and how Black women resist by studying the interplay of the social categories of gender, race and language.

Race, Gender and Language: Social Constructs and Categories of Analysis

The definition of concepts and their meanings provides an understanding of how to use them to analyze, discuss and understand topics we study (James 1995b). It is worth mentioning that there are a number of competing definitions for the notions race, gender and language which I locate them within Antiracism and Black Feminism, approaches that consider them as social constructs (Rothenberg, 1998). It follows that race, gender and language are categories with social and cultural meanings that we attach to them. As Dei (1996a) observes, these factors are sociopolitical constructs, but are real in terms of material and social effects. In other words, they also become features that define social position, the distribution of economic and social opportunities and influence institutional and social practices. More importantly, these constructs are used to include and to exclude, to superiorize and to marginalize; they are also maintained through State and other mainstream structures.

These constructs also have effects on a group's history and identity (Satzewich, 1998). As Ng (1995) notes, social constructs such as gender and race are not only analytical categories, but should also be treated as social relationships performed in everyday life. She explains that these relationships have to do with how people communicate with each other and how they relate to societal structures. Ng's perspective is of great significance as it allows an understanding of how language, race and gender regulate relationships among Francophones, between Black Francophones and Black Anglophones and within the State structures of power. Ng's approach also permits us to investigate how far and to what extent these relations are shaped by power. However, the use of these concepts as analytical and practical tools is only meaningful if they allow for adequate discussion of social inequities and relations of power (Dei, 1996b). This point leads me to emphasize that social constructs are based on material, historical and political facts and not just matters of imagination. These social constructs and categories are embedded in relations of power and in institutional and social practices that impact people's lives.

With these thoughts, I use race, language and gender as analytical categories that are also socio-political constructs. I also emphasize that they

are interrelated and that they all do matter. My goal is to employ these social constructs in a way that enlighten our understanding of power relations and resistance. It is therefore important to examine how each of these social categories—race, gender and language—is socially and politically constructed and how they relate to the study of power relations and resistance in the specific case of Black Francophones in Ontario.

Race

Race has been interpreted in different ways: biology, ideology and a socio-historic construct, to mention but a few. Race is based on beliefs that populations of the world constitute distinct groups and can therefore be classified as "superior" and "inferior" (Khenti, 1996; Miles, 1989). I locate my approach to race within Antiracism and Black Feminism, frameworks that do not consider race as biological. These theories rather consider race as a social and political construct that is a product of specific socio-historical, political and geographic contexts (Grandy, 1998; Lopez, 1995; Omi & Winant, 1994). Race continues to be significant because of its role in distributing inequitable power and social privileges. In this regard, Higginbotham (as cited by Brewer 1993, p. 16–17) indicates that "like gender and class, then, race must be seen as a social construct predicated upon the recognition of difference and signifying the simultaneous distinguishing and positioning of groups vis-à-vis one another." Race is also a contested representation of relations of power between racial categories. Dominant groups tend to be conscious of skin color and classify people accordingly but not when it comes to them. In other words, there is a tendency to see race as referring mainly to racial minorities. The argument is that whiteness is also a skin-color, but one embedded in privilege.

Using race as an analytical category in this book enables me to study how Black Francophones are situated in the distribution of resources attributed by the Canadian State to Francophones as an official linguistic community in a minority situation. It also permits me to examine how race relations affect power distribution among Francophones. Race therefore allows me to understand how Blacks are situated as a racial minority within the Francophone linguistic minority. Analysis through race leads me to further understand the experiences of immigrants with Francophone communities and in the Canadian society at large. I stress that race is to be interfaced with other categories, notably, language and gender.

Gender

Gender refers to the meanings we attribute to being a "woman" or being a "man" (Benderly, 1987). These meanings are based on beliefs that biological

and physical differences between the sexes automatically suit people who are masculine (men) to certain tasks such as governing and planning, while those who are feminine (women) are thought to be inclined to tasks like caring for and listening to others. Moreover, the activities that masculine people carry out receive greater social value and status. Therefore, they are considered more "productive," more "intellectual," more "skilled" (Connel, 1987). Gender is also based on heterosexual assumptions that organize gender roles and sexual practices in terms of the social dichotomy of women and men (Cameron, 1997). As Benderly (1987) contends, these stereotypes are part of our specific way of thinking about gender and therefore constitute social and political constructs imposed on a physical fact. Gender roles are based on patriarchal views that privilege masculinity in political and social life. It gives men a privilege to occupy the most powerful positions in public life (Carty, 1999).

Presumptions surrounding gender roles underlie sexism which can be defined as the "discrimination based on gender" (Davidson & Gordon, 1979). These beliefs are supported by collectivities, institutions and historical processes. A direct power relation links how gender is constructed in a manner that privileges men. This can be observed in the way the economic sector is controlled: cheap or unpaid labor and lower wages are assigned to women (Brand 1999). The concept of gender is used as a tool to limit women's access to opportunities and therefore determines access to power (Connel, 1987). As we observe, gender is conceptualized and organized differently within various societies and cultures. When it comes to Canada, Ng (1991) maintains that gender relations operate in society at large. She also states that women are traditionally the group that is marginalized in the power structures, because they are denied the right to be experts and intellectual leaders. In this context, Ng's view indicates that sexism is inherent in Western societies. I therefore argue that sexism is not limited to racialized communities. It also prevails in Western societies like Canada and in predominantly white structures.

I maintain that even though gender is a tool of domination, it also constitutes a site of resistance and solidarity. It has become a strong basis for political and social feminist movements and women organizing to transform power structures and to create a space for women within societal institutions. As Bannerji (1987) observes, gender as a category of analysis is to be connected to categories such as race and class and I would add, language. She also states that discussions on issues pertaining to "women" in the Canadian context should be located in historical and societal contexts. Therefore, to understand the experiences of Black Francophone women as immigrants, for example, their social itinerary has to be located within

the social construction of Black womanhood—and manhood. To do that, we need to take into account factors such as colonialism and immigration within the Francophone space and labor market.

The discussion on race and gender as social constructs and analytical tools leads me to contend that, in the Franco-Ontarian context, while race helps to analyze power relations within Francophone structures, analysis through gender sheds light on internal discourse within the Black community. Gender analysis reveals insight into that community and the way Blacks as individuals and organizations are situated within its structures. Gender analysis also provided tools to explore the social relations among Black and white Francophone women. In addition, gender leads me to identify how this social category forges solidarity: whether Black women ally with Black men and/or with white women, white men, or with Black women who are not Francophone. The experiences of Black Francophone women should, however, be understood in the context and intersection of gender, race and language.

Language

Language has been analyzed in a number of ways. Some scholars have considered it a system of signs (De Saussure, 1966) while others view it as an abstract universal code (Chomsky, 1965) or a mere means of communication. My view on language echoes the conclusions of researchers who treat it as a social construct (Purushotam, 1998) and a social phenomenon (Amin, 2000) and those who locate it within symbolic significance (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1991). Therefore, many scholars argue for situating language in its socio-historical and political contexts (Ogbu, 1999) and for exploring the intertwining of language and power (Fairclough, 1989; Fairman 1986; Kamarae et al., 1984). Language is also an integral part of colonial projects (Bebel-Gisler, 1981) as well as a strong means of resistance (Battiste, 1986; Bobb-Smith, 1998; Ibrahim, 1998).

Of particular interest to this research is language as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1991) that regulates people's access to different resources (material, political, social). It also relates to the way language becomes a tool that mobilizes groups of people and therefore establishes linguistic communities. Studying language from these perspectives reveals the process by which some languages gain more status than others and how that affects the production of power relations that influences the distribution of resources between language users.

Bourdieu locates his approach to language as a form of symbolic capital within a theory that he calls a Theory of Practice (1977b). He argues that particular practices are a product of and produced in "fields" or

"markets"and that these markets have their own "properties": "capital," "profit," "value" and "price formation." As Thompson (1991) observes, even though the concepts Bourdieu uses to describe fields relate to the science of economics, they are flexible ones that are largely applied (along with his theory) to the analysis of disciplines such as education, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (Ibrahim, 1998; Roy, 2000).

Therefore, fields or markets may be considered as specific social contexts such as institutions and workplaces within which individuals perform their language and social practices. Markets are also spaces in which people occupy positions differentially and seek to alter the distribution of different kinds of resources and "capital." Bourdieu (1977b, 1991) identifies various forms of capital: "cultural capital" (i.e. knowledge, languages and cultural acquisitions) "economic capital," (i.e. material wealth, stocks, property) and "symbolic capital" (i.e. value attached to prestige, honor and privilege). He explains that symbolic capital is the one that functions by "disguising" itself by being "unrecognized" as capital and "recognized" as legitimate competence. It is therefore an implicit capital that appears in a form of privilege that legitimates and organizes the distribution of material wealth and valuable resources. He also states that distribution of each form of capital is related in specific ways to the distribution of other forms. Within his approach, Bourdieu (1977a, 1991) considers language as a form of "linguistic capital" that is produced and exchanged in particular contexts or "linguistic markets." He argues that linguistic exchanges that are usually defined as communication based on enciphering and deciphering also constitute an economic exchange established within a particular relation of power between a sender and a receiver. In his view, utterances "are not only signs to be understood and deciphered"; but are rather "signs of wealth" and "signs of authority," intended to be believed and obeyed (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 66).

As Bourdieu (1977a, p. 648) contends, language is "not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but an instrument of power" intended to be evaluated and appreciated. Therefore, linguistic exchanges become relations of power between speakers or groups in linguistic markets where language is a means of power. Bourdieu (1977b) calls this form of power as it relates to language "symbolic power." He notes that symbolic power is an "invisible" power, which is "misrecognized" as such and thereby "recognized" as capital. He explains that power is seldom exercised as overt physical force or obligation. Rather, it is exerted through more subtle means. Power is transmitted into a symbolic form and thereby embedded in a kind of legitimacy that it would not otherwise have. Therefore, like symbolic capital, which is unrecognized

as such, symbolic power, although implicit, has major effects. It becomes part of the mechanisms that sustain domination through interpersonal and State and institutional strategies. I now take a closer look at the way language functions as symbolic power.

In this regard, Bourdieu (1991, p. 67) goes on to mention that in order for a language to be legitimated and accepted as capital, it needs to be located in a market: "utterances receive their value (and their sense) only in their relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation." He reminds us that these markets have their own structures and regulations. They shape meanings of language and reward linguistic products with a certain "value." Bourdieu, however, notes that in these markets some products are valued more highly than others and that resources are not equally distributed. Some get more benefits while others are deprived in terms of economic and cultural capital. Relation between language and power functions either at the level of one language variety or the entire structure of a language. Differences within a language, differences in terms of accent, grammar and vocabulary, determine the social positions of speakers and enable to secure a profit. When it comes to the level of an entire language, Bourdieu notes: "linguists are right in saying that all languages are linguistically equal; they are wrong in thinking they are socially equal" (1977a, p. 652). The process by which a language becomes more valued than another or other languages is produced in and imposed by educational systems, political, religious and economic institutions. Bourdieu notes that institutions are markets with their own properties. They determine the social value of language differentially. They also legitimize and impose a particular language. It can be a language of a ruling class, or those who have economic power. This language benefits from institutional conditions and is recognized as legitimate capital. It becomes dominant and the official language of the State. This is usually done at the expense of other languages that become minority languages.

Therefore, as Heller (1994) observes, distribution of resources is organized along linguistic lines. Joining Bourdieu, Heller's view stresses that language becomes the major source of access to valued resources and wealth and it affects one's chances of gaining material and symbolic profit. Therefore, Bourdieu's theory is also about power. Based on his concepts of marketplace and its properties and regulations, in Canada, it is the English language that is the privileged capital, dominant language and source of power and prestige. It is predominantly used in the marketplace of the State, public life and media (Ibrahim, 1998). The prestige of this language has been associated with the political power of its speakers (see also Nichols, 1984). People who speak it can therefore participate

in social and economic networks and benefit from the status of prestige obtained through it. French is dominated vis-à-vis English language. As Heller (1994) reminds us, even if French is devalued in situations where English is used, it has symbolic and materiel value within Francophone communities and institutions.

As I have mentioned, Francophones have established institutions that operate in French. In other words, they have constituted a market with its own properties: economic, political and symbolic resources. When Black and other Francophone immigrants arrive in Ontario, many claim linguistic legitimacy and choose to identify with Francophone communities. All Francophones share common linguistic capital. Conversely, as part of their linguistic capital, immigrants also have their first languages (African languages, Haitian) and they also speak a different variety of French. This capital has value for them even if it may not be valued in the larger Canadian society.

Let us take a look at the constitution of the marketplace of Francophone communities and its regulations. How is different capital rewarded? Do all Francophones have access to resources and economic activities in the same way? Bourdieu (1977b, 1991) reminds us that opportunities are not equally distributed and that social agents are differentially situated. How does symbolic power function? (By disguising itself to limit access to the marketplaces?) Using Bourdieu's framework of market and its capital and properties, the aim is to answer these questions while considering that the Francophone market comprises populations that differ across race, gender, language and class lines, to mention but a few.

Language is also relevant to this work in a number of ways. For example, language (French) has the strength to mobilize across cultures and countries. This refers to the institutions of *la Francophonie Internationale*. The latter brings together all countries where French is used, spoken and written, as a mother tongue, first language or official language, or learned as a second language (Senghor, as cited in Traoré, 1989). It is also a coalition that comprises governmental and non-governmental organizations that attempt to preserve and expand the status of French (Haut Conseil de la Francophonie, 1999; Weinstein, 1984). It is within this Francophone space that this research is situated as most of the countries of origin of Black Francophones as well as Canada are part of this international organization.

Similarly, language mobilizes Ontario Francophones from different cultures and constitutes the spirit of their communities. This work also connects to the language politics of the Canadian State, notably, Bilingualism (English-French) and Multiculturalism. Those policies shape immigrant experiences in different ways. For example, knowledge of, or lack of, English

affects immigrants in terms of access to education, employment, services and so on. In order for them to benefit from those networks and services they need to acquire the language. Language is therefore important to this work. It is a factor that significantly influences the daily lives of Black Francophone and their access to resources such as employment and education within State and Francophone mainstream institutions. Language, however, does not function in isolation from other categories. To fully conceptualize language oppression in the Francophone context, it is crucial to examine gender and race relations among Francophone.

Why Use Language, Race and Gender?

As I have stated, I analyzed my topic through the lenses of race, language and gender as social categories. The choice of the three constructs refers to the fact that using the three categories intertwined offers a valuable insight into the topic being studied. For example, language is primordial because Francophones in Ontario constitute a linguistic minority. Language is, therefore, the main tool that mobilizes them. Gender is also indispensable as it regulates social relations among men and women and within groups of women and offers an understanding of sexual identities. Conversely, race is focal since the Francophone communities in Ontario comprise a racial minority. We live in a society where ethnic and racial minorities are subject to racial prejudice that limits their access to the structures of power. The three constructs weaved together therefore allow us to properly study the situation of Black Francophones in the power distribution within the Francophone community.

Blending the Approaches

Each of the two approaches: Antiracism and Black Feminism, offers valuable insights into the study of power and resistance. I, however, do not believe that I have to agree completely with a given theoretical stance; there is no need for me to adopt a uniform theory. Similarly, I would not reject a viewpoint because of disagreement on a single aspect of its intellectual or political formulation. I have taken what will allow me to conceptualize my study more thoroughly.

I therefore join researchers who argue that there is no need to privilege one form of oppression over another (hooks, 1991; Ng, 1995). Instead of determining whether homophobia, sexism or racism is the primary source of our oppression, we should rather admit that all forms of oppression count and that what counts more is that we cannot fight them separately. Therefore, energies should be directed in a positive manner, to think of ways to overcome oppression within minorities, communities and in society at large.

I also believe that we should not identify one center: there should be many centers. For example, I do not want to question whether the discrimination based on race is more severe than that based on language, but rather to explain that language, gender and race shape the lives of Black Francophones and that our task is to develop strategies that will overcome barriers.

There are differences between the two approaches and there are similarities as well. The point is that the blend will allow me to study power and resistance, taking into account race, gender and language more fully. Antiracism and Black Feminism are similar in that they both emerge from the experiences of the oppressed. They both question power inequities and situate power relations in historical and political contexts such as slavery and colonialism. They both evoke and identify sites and ways of resistance such as workshops, organizing and community actions.

The antiracism approach focuses on race and Antiracism. However, some antiracist advocates ignore the complex interrelationship between racism and sexism (Rezai-Rashti, 1995b). This leads to a shortcoming of antiracist literature in dealing with gender issues. While the emphasis is placed on antiracist education, there seems to be little concern with anti-sexist education. This will undermine the fact that women from minority groups deal with systemic racism and sexism in society at large, but also with sexist practices within our Black communities (Rezai-Rashti, 1995b). I, however, contend that Antiracism is of great significance in studying power and racism. There is, however, the entire experience of Black Francophone women that needs to be explored.

Black Feminism permits us to locate the power dimensions while analyzing how Black women are situated in the Black community and the Francophone community at large. For example, I use Black Feminism to explore how these women position themselves vis-à-vis different institutions and groups of the community and how they organize. The two frameworks, however, do not focus on language as their theorizing mostly focuses on race, gender and class. I therefore argue that it is important to emphasize the role of language as a tool that constitutes reality and social practices. We should take into account that language is also a major means of oppression and resistance and that it impacts on racial and ethnic minorities in a number of ways. Therefore, we should talk about the need to eliminate the discrimination based on language. We also need to conceptualize how language intersects with gender and race to shape our lives. Introducing language to Black Feminism, for example, will make it an inclusive framework that studies various dimensions of oppression including that based on language. My goal is to argue that the study of power and resistance in the specific case of Francophones of Ontario

cannot be done through an analysis of only one category. For the purpose of this book, gender, race and language will allow us to comprehensively understand the topic being studied. Therefore Antiracism and Black Feminism provide us with valuable theoretical tools to examine in depth the complex empirical reality of the multiple dimensions of oppression and resistance within Francophone communities.

PART 2: METHODOLOGY

> The radical, committed to human liberation, does not become the prisoner of a "circle of certainty" within which reality is also imprisoned. On the contrary, the more radical the person is, the more fully he or she enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he or she can better transform it (Paul Freire, 1970/93, p. 39).

As Franceschini (1998) notes, the term methodology is vast. It refers to the methods used in the research being conducted and the process of interpretation as well as the role of the researcher and her/his reflections on the process of research. Methodology integrates empirical analysis with theoretical conceptualization and critical and ethical insights into the fieldwork. To illustrate how methodological issues apply to my study, I will explain my research background, the methodological principles I followed to conduct my study and my role as a researcher. In addition, I will identify the methods I used to collect my data and outline why I chose those specific methods. I will finally explain how I proceeded in data collection and analysis and describe the data that were gathered.

Research Background

Before I provide the synopsis of my work, I find it appropriate to provide a brief background of the source of my research interest. I started my undergraduate studies in my home country Sudan. I then pursued studies in France before I moved to Canada. Therefore, my education stems from both colonial and colonized spaces. When I was studying in France, I became interested in understanding the everyday life experiences of immigrant communities of African and Caribbean background. From that time, I developed an interest in the area of *la Francophonie*. I became aware of the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion within this sphere with respect to how racialized groups are situated and how the developing world is located within this sphere. After I moved to Ontario, where my community is an immigrant one in the process of integration, I became more interested in Blacks in the Diaspora. I focused on racial minorities in Western States and

the contradiction of Western countries between liberalism and racism. I therefore decided to study some of the experiences of Black Francophones who bridge the two spaces.

Since my arrival in Ontario, I have had connections with Arabic, Anglophone and Francophone communities. I have been working and studying in both mainstream and minority Francophone institutions and community organizations. I have been involved in projects assigned to study different topics related to the immigration and integration of French-speaking racial minorities. I joined the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in 1998 to pursue my studies on Antiracism and Francophone studies. I have also been involved in a number of research projects in the Franco-Ontarian Research Center (CREFO) notably the projects *Prise de parole*/Speaking Out[1] (1996–2000) and *L'immigration et la communauté francophone de Toronto*/Immigration and the Francophone community of Toronto[2] (1999–2001). The former investigated the construction of Francophone identities. The latter looked at the experiences of Francophone immigrants vis-à-vis Francophone institutions and the impact of immigration on Francophone structures in Toronto. Being part of these two and other projects, I have participated in all processes of data collection that are usually conducted through qualitative methods: interviews, observation and document analysis. I organized and took part in the different steps of the fieldwork that include Francophone racial communities mainly in Toronto and Ottawa. I was also involved in the process of data coding and analysis and I frequently attended the project team's meetings.

Therefore, my connections with Francophone and other Black immigrant communities enable me to realize the benefits of crossing the linguistic boundaries between these communities. They also allow me to identify the similarities and divergences between these communities. My active involvement in the Francophone community offers me direct contacts with members and leaders of these communities. It permits me to witness the evolution of the community. It also facilitates my involvement in various educational, political and cultural events and my access to various individual and organizational sites. My participation in CREFO's projects familiarized me with doing ethnographic research. These experiences reinforced my interest in *la Francophonie*. They particularly encouraged me to explore the reproduction of dominance, of diverse histories, the present situation of Black Francophones in Ontario, and what it means to be a double minority.

Critical Ethnography

I situate my methodology within Critical Ethnography Research. As Anderson (1989) observes, interpretive movements in anthropology and

sociology have recently produced a form of ethnographic research defined as Critical Ethnography. Thomas (1993) maintains that the term "critical" describes both an activity and an ideology. In terms of social activity, critical thinking implies a call to action that may range from thinking modest thoughts or making suggestions to more direct engagement that involves political activism. In terms of ideology, critical thinking offers a shared body of principles about the relationship between knowledge, its consequences, and researchers' commitment to society. It is important to mention that critical ethnography has grown out of dissatisfaction with social and cultural analysis in which factors like patriarchy, racism and class are not discussed (Anderson, 1989). As we can notice, like Antiracism and Black Feminism theories, Critical Ethnography questions class, race and gender inequities. Critical ethnographers seek to describe and analyze power centers and the mechanisms that help produce various forms of resistance (McLaren, 1995). In this sense, critical ethnography corresponds to the major themes of my study—power relations and resistance—while incorporating race analysis.

Critical ethnography is also a critique of scientific rationality (McLaren, 1995). This means that the trend goes beyond positivist assumptions that support "objective" and experimental research (Denzen & Lincoln, 1994). In this instance, Anderson (1989) notes that one should not view subjects' lives with the detachment of TV viewing. This form of research is therefore considered "subjective" because researchers attempt to display the perspectives of those they study (Thomas, 1993). It seeks to use knowledge for social change and therefore claims that research goals should include social and educational change. In admitting the political nature of doing research, critical ethnographers explain that research should work towards social and political transformation. They also support the idea of the engagement of the researcher in the building of a more just society (Reinharz, 1992). Some researchers state that their work has a theoretical and political agenda (Cameron, 1998). This point indicates that the kind of research conducted and the purposes, for which it is carried out, are informed by our theoretical, personal and political beliefs (Beaud & Weber, 1997). In addition, critical ethnography places human actors and their lived experiences at the center of analysis (Anderson, 1989). Therefore, like Antiracism and Black Feminism, this stance views subjects as more than victims and as social actors who are aware of and resist dominant structures and practices. It gives authority to the voice of social actors and the way they construct meaning. Based on these views, we contend that doing research that has political and social agendas implies different forms of involvement. It means that the work is used to offer advice for social change and to

help enforce emancipatory goals. Similarly it implies that the researcher may make suggestions, offer new ways of thinking or may organize, take part in workshops and conferences and contribute to community organizing (Thomas, 1993).

Bearing this discussion in mind, I concur with critical ethnographers who do not agree with positivist notions of "detachment" and "neutrality" in conducting research but rather claim that research projects should be political and activist (Fine & Vanderslice, 1991) and that both the researcher and the researched should be implicated in the act of knowledge production and in the process of social change (Thompson & Gitlin, 1995). I believe in doing politically oriented research. I argue that we do research to contribute to knowledge but also to take part in social change. Therefore, the research that we—researchers—carry out should not only aim to understand lived experiences, but also to challenge dominant orders and transform them. In addition, we should identify our social locations, to acknowledge our privilege, to assume our responsibilities and to take part in social change. We are also social actors who are engaged in social—power—relations in the sense that some of us experience power relations as part of dominant groups while others exert or struggle against them. That is where the diversity of background, our politics, interests and responsibilities come into play.

We, as researchers, have our own political views that guide our methodology in collecting and interpreting data. As theory informs methodology, my theoretical framework, my methodology, the choice of my topic and my experiences and my politics as a Black woman, co-relate. The methodology I am using inter-relates with my theoretical approach and the objectives of my research. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that both Black Feminists and Antiracists conduct political and activist research seeking social change. Their analyses focus on the personal experiences of the oppressed. They underlie perspectives on racial and ethnic minorities and, I would add on linguistic minorities as well. This means that their research is not only theoretical but also encompasses political projects that assume responsibilities and take action by participating in social change.

I am writing this research from my social location as a Black African woman who believes in social justice. My study is located within my awareness of historical and contemporary exploitation that the West continues to exert on the developing world. That exploitation has resulted in practices like slavery and colonialism and their continuity in forms of imperialism and racism, including power and economic inequities between the North and the South. My study notes the role of the West in disrupting development and nation-building projects in developing countries (Asante, 1988).

This research is also based on my awareness of the exploitation that racial minorities face in Western societies. I am thereby politically conscious that while Canada is perceived of by the world as an example of success of integration, it is a predominantly white patriarchal society regulated by hegemonic Euro-centric knowledge (Brand, 1991; Henry, 1992). Its history is one of colonialism rooted in the genocide that Native Peoples have faced and the marginalization of racial and ethnic minorities.

I explicitly stress that this project is political. My work overlaps with my experiences as a Black woman living in this society where I experience the process of immigration and face racism. My choice of this topic is informed by my awareness of the persistence of inequities and injustices and my consciousness of the urgency of vigorously fighting racism. My discussion is not about whether racism exists or not, but about how to eradicate it. I also conduct this study to be able to identify my positions and assume my responsibilities. I look at it as part of the process of social change. Therefore, this can be a question of epistemology: a Black person doing research on Black people. I am located in the Academy that, like other societal institutions, is regulated by Euro-centric knowledge and positivist assumptions about the universality of notions of "truth and validity." It is an institution where minorities are under-represented at the various levels and where minorities are often regarded and used as case studies, not theorizers. Power relations are linked to legitimacy of knowledge production. It concerns my situation within the Academy, the latter's politics towards Black researchers, and how research on Blacks is used for the interests of the dominant culture. It also means that I am writing on Antiracism and *la Francophonie* within one of the Francophone mainstream institutions where racism is not openly spoken about. These observations mean that "the racial politics of the academy" may come in place. The epistemological factors also concern how I relate to the research subjects. In that relationship, I am not an outsider.

At another level, ethnographical sociolinguistic approaches examine language and discursive practices. These approaches are concerned with verbal and social interactions as a means of negotiating meanings in social contexts. As Mondada (1998a, 1998b) notes, in sociolinguistics, interaction is the site of language use and it is therefore predominant in the data and work of sociolinguists. Sociolinguists study these interactions to examine social relations between language users, norms and values (Gumperz, 1982). Therefore, joining critical ethnography and sociolinguistic approaches will allow me to identify the historical and social contexts of language practices. This analysis also explores how relations of domination and resistance are maintained through and by construction of

meaning within linguistic communities that include racial minorities. This also enables me to consider race and language identities and practices of my research participants.

My work is situated . . .

I situate my research within Ontario *Francophonie* in different settings: institutions, organizations and associations, work place and in everyday life. This research brings together Francophone and Black communities in Ontario. However, these issues are not separated from those of other Francophone racialized groups in Ontario, in Quebec or in France. Therefore, my study is also located within *la Francophonie Internationale* and the Black Diaspora. The points raised in this study are grounded in the history of colonialism and domination and on experiences of resistance of racialized minorities such as Black Francophones.

What will the parties be called?

I use the first person singular "I" to refer to me as a researcher. I choose to use it because it indicates that it is actually a person using the specific words (see also Eisner, 1998). I also employ the plural person "We" to indicate the readers and myself. This is to engage readers in the discussion. I also employ the notions "subjects" and "social actors" interchangeably to identify the research participants. This is not to consider them as only "informants" or "interlocutors" but rather as social actors whose role is not limited to providing information. As Freire (1971), (cited in Anderson, 1989, p. 260) observes, to deal with humans as empowered actors, we should consider them "subjects" rather than "objects" of history and events. In this context, Freire's view explains that "subjects" are those who know and act; "objects" are those who are known and acted upon. As feminist Reinharz (1992) observes, "subjects" is a term that reflects the inter-subjective nature of the fieldwork. In other words, subjects are not necessarily powerless and researchers are not always powerful. As Cameron (1998) notes, relations on the field may go the other way in the sense that both researcher and subjects empower each other. I also employ the term "social actor/s" because it stresses the social agency of people, their ability to take action and play pivotal roles in social change.

As stated, my research subjects are Black Francophones. I want to emphasize that Francophone communities are diverse and that they consist of various groups. Francophone racial and ethnic minorities are themselves heterogeneous. Therefore, I want to acknowledge the presence of Francophone First Nations—Métis, of Vietnamese, of North Africans, of Mauritians, of Arabs and of some Armenians. However, I choose to focus on Black

Francophones from Haiti and from Sub-Saharan Africa. As I am speaking of a Black population, one should keep in mind that Black peoples should not be essentialized. Blacks include various groups having different histories and diverse cultures and languages. However, there are also commonalties and shared histories of struggles among them. Processes of racialization and racism bring Blacks together and they have common interests in fighting global racism and imperialism that target Blacks in the Diaspora (Gilroy, 1993; Walcott, 1995). I also want to stress that even though my research speaks of Franco-Ontarians, white Francophones in Ontario consist of Franco-Ontarians as well as immigrants from France, Belgium and other States.

All names of research subjects, organizations, events and some documents were altered. However, the altered names belong to real persons. Organizations and documents are real. All mentioned events did actually occur. I emphasize that I am aware that I employ terms such as: "Canadian," "Francophone," "immigrants" and "host" and "originating" countries that need to be challenged and re-thought. As all interviews were conducted in French, I translated the quotes into English. I included the original French quotations of each translation in an endnote. I, however, acknowledge that translation may not properly capture the essence of subject's discourse as it was originally produced in the gathered data.

Process of Data Collection and Analysis

I initially planned to use data collected within CREFO's two projects: *Prise de parole* and *L'immigration et la communauté francophone de* Toronto. When my ethical review was approved, I conducted additional fieldwork in order to include more parties—individuals and organizations—and to analyze issues strictly related to my research. I finally realized that the data I collected were exhaustive. I therefore decided to employ them. I used only a small portion of CREFO's data. My data were gathered between 2000–2002 in two cities in Ontario: Toronto and Ottawa. The subjects of my research are African and Caribbean Black Francophones—individuals as well as members and leaders of different organizations and associations of Francophone racial minorities. I also collected data from Black Francophones situated within Francophone, Anglophone and Bilingual mainstream institutions and organizations. I thereby included a few individuals who are not part of any organization or association. To respect equity and diversity and to represent various social locations, subjects were chosen taking into account gender, ethnicity, education, age, country of origin, place of birth, time of arrival in Canada, class, religion, employment and locality. The choice of organizations took into account my desire for representation of different fields of action and of women's organizations. I gathered my

data from multiple sources. I mainly used qualitative methods i.e. interviews, participant observation and document analysis. I, however, also used quantitative approaches for statistical purposes, i.e. to get information on numbers of immigrants and their time of arrival in Canada.

To give priority to subjects' voices, interviews were a major source of data. I conducted individual and focus group and life history interviews. I carried out semi-structured interviews based on open-ended questions. As Meriam (1990) observes, this type of interviewing is guided by a list of questions or issues that need to be explored. Within this method, the exact words and the order of questions are not determined ahead of time. This format enabled me to explore new ideas on the topic and emerging views of subjects. I also obtained data through informal conversational interviews. This form of interviewing allowed further exploration of data obtained from formal interviews. It also revealed what subjects have not outlined during formal interviews. The interviews were coupled with notes of observations. Each interview lasted approximately one to two hours. Interviews were carried out in person and over the phone in participants' workplace or households or in other locations. In some cases, I returned to some subjects. I asked questions in order to obtain further clarifications. Finally, interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed (see Appendix C).

Another method I used is participant observation. As defined by Patton (1990: 226), this method is "a combination of observing and informal interviewing." This means that the observer is also participant in a setting being studied. The strength of this method is that it enables us to understand the context within which events occur. It provides more familiarity with the physical and social environment. Participant observation also permits us to see and understand, in different settings, what cannot be captured by discourse (Cook, 1998). The latter refers particularly to non-verbal language i.e. body language, dress, how subjects express themselves and how they arrange themselves in physical settings. Therefore, this method also enabled me in observing and examining language practices, gender dynamics and role taking. I kept field-notes of observation and information gained from informal interviews and discussions during the process of observation. I took part in most of the events that occurred during the fieldwork. I attended community and committee meetings, general meetings of organizations and a variety of events within the Black Francophone community in Toronto and Ottawa. I also conducted participant observations of selected events within the chosen centers and associations. I also spent some days at a center in Toronto and two organizations in Ottawa. In some cases, I was invited by organizations to take part in specific events, for example to facilitate workshops or to participate in organizing events.

The third method I employed is document analysis. I searched for all documents that pertain to the topic being analyzed i.e. documents produced on or by Black Francophone communities and organizations. I gathered a significant number of documents from different sources: government and also from individuals and associations and organizations. The documents collected from organizations included photos, newspapers including the community publications that appear regularly or otherwise, brochures and reports, radio and television documentaries. I was also allowed to consult internal documents such as minutes of meetings and other reports. The documents collected constituted a valuable source of information. They allowed me to understand what is not said or observed during the process of interviewing and observation. They also revealed, among other views, information on the history and social contexts and the internal functioning of associations and organizations.

I afterwards coded part of the interviews and observations using *NUD*IST*. As Coffey (1996, p. 26) notes, coding refers to "condensing the bulk of our data sets into analyzable units by creating categories with and from data." This process of coding implied identifying key themes and concepts that correspond to the main patterns of the topic being studied. Coding facilitated classifying and organizing the information and provided significant help in the analysis. The collected data were interpreted through discourse analysis with the aim of accessing language and discursive practices (Heller & Labrie, 2003) and of identifying the connection between discourse and the re/production of racism (Van Dijk, 1992).

These three methods; interviewing, observation and document analysis, are complementary (Beaud & Weber, 1997; Smith, 1990). Using the three methods together revealed what subjects say and what they do. In other words, this approach provided documented materials that offered deeper insights into the topic being studied and enabled me to observe the Black Fracophone discourse when it is said, when it is performed in action and as it is produced in various forms and contexts of social interactions.

Incorporating Critical Discourse Analysis

I use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to examine the dynamics of power relations and resistance within Francophone communities. This approach provides me with aspects that are relevant to my work: considering language and discourse as social practices; the interplay between discourse, power and resistance; the access to social actor's positions, their representations of the world, how they construct the world, and the importance of connecting the text with the larger socio-political context.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) views discourse as language in use, whether speech or writing. It also treats discourse as a form of "social practice" (Fairclough, 1992; Lemke, 1995). Discourse constitutes the social in its different dimensions: social relations and social identities. It is therefore seen as real action constituting reality (Wodak & Reisigl, l999). Considering discourse as social practice entails a dialectical relationship between a discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 26). This relationship indicates that situations and institutions shape the discursive event, but the latter also shapes the former. In other words, discourse constitutes situations and relationships between people in that it helps sustain and reproduce the social and power relations and in this sense it also contributes to challenging them.

When it comes to Critical Discourse Analysis's (CDA) concern with power, this approach is founded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources, resources that are institutionally controlled. The dimensions of access to discourse and communicative events constitute an essential element for CDA. Therefore, CDA attempts to uncover how discursive practices, events and texts arise from, and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. It explores relationships between discourse and society, and society in itself is seen as a way of securing power and hegemony. Discourse, therefore, shapes and is shaped by relations of power. Van Dijk (1992, 1993b) notes that as discourse constitutes society and culture, power relations are (at least partially) discursively constituted. In this regard, Titscher et al. (2000) contend that discursive practices may have major ideological effects as they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

Fairclough (1992) explains that power-in-discourse translates through control over the content—what is said or done in discourse, control over the relations among individuals or groups, and control over "subjects": the social roles fulfilled by interlocutors in discourse. In this instance, racist beliefs and discriminatory practices are produced, prepared and legitimated through discourse (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). Similarly, State-affiliated institutions exercise power through legitimization of specific kinds of language practices and ideologies. For example, official discourse (mainstream media) either ignores minorities totally or actually perpetuates stereotypes. Moreover, minorities are not only represented as "poor," "backward," or "primitive" but also as criminal and aggressive (Van Dijk, 1993b). Such discourse serves to express, convey, legitimize and even deny racist attitudes, beliefs and practices. Therefore, institutional activities help establish and

maintain the kind of power—including racist practices—exerted through discourse practices.

Like Antiracism, Black Feminism and Critical Ethnography, CDA has an overtly political agenda. It aims to counter inequities and to alter distributions of economic, cultural, and political goods in our societies (Van Dijk, 1993c). Therefore, CDA has the potential to become a tool of resistance. As discourses are considered to be central modes and elements of the production and maintenance of systems of power and inequality, they can also be treated as components that can disrupt these systems. I therefore argue that discourse connects to resistance as well. It is through and by discourse that exclusionary and dominant practices are challenged and contested (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). Discourse serves to criticize and contest racist opinions and practices. It can also be used to build and pursue anti-oppression i.e., anti-sexist and antiracist strategies and discursive counteractions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can also document how the world is portrayed, how political and social actions are represented and categorized by social actors. In studying language practice as social practice, Bautier (1995) notes that language illustrates a specific version of the interpretation that subjects construct of their practices. She shows that the importance of this construction lies in "what subjects think that their practices are, what is pertinent for them and what they want their practices to be for others" (A. M., Trans.)[3]. As Bautier observes, description of language practice allows us to observe themes and categorizations constructed by subjects. In this instance, her view indicates that categories (language, sexuality, race and gender) are constructed, invoked and negotiated "either in discourse or by discourse" (see also Mondada, 1998b). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is therefore particularly pertinent because it allows us to access gender, race and social identities and to understand how subjects construct representations of the world, their social relationships, and their language practices and social practices.

As Labrie et al. (2000) state, the analysis of social practices and language practices through discourse is useful as language users make sense of their actions or their social realities by expressing positions and representations. The writers go on to provide definitions for concepts such as "language practices," "social practices" and "positions" in a manner that allows for their use in various forms of analysis. According to Labrie et al. (2000), language practices refer to our use of linguistic resources, that is the different elements of a linguistic *repertoire*, in relation to norms in social contexts of interaction. Social practices entail human actions produced through daily life interactions, conditioned by the social spaces of interaction. Positions can be conceptualized as individual and collective acts that

adhere to dominant models or contest them. Labrie et al. (2000) argue that through positions concerning linguistic communities, social practices and language practices will allow better understanding of the power relations that underlie the discourses produced within these communities. These notions are of interest for my study. They enable me to analyze the positioning of different social actors and social groups when it comes to the distribution of resources within Francophone communities and to illustrate the way different groups of Black Francophones take positions vis-à-vis State and Francophone institutions.

Discourse (situated talk, text and social practices) occurs in the macro—as well as the micro—contexts of society that correspond to individual and social kinds of discourse. Individual discourse is the informal type that is produced in daily conversations and interpersonal communication. Social discourse is like public discourse, for instance in politics, the media, education, organization and State institutions (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). I emphasize that individual and social dimensions of discourse are interconnected. In addition to grammer and sentence structure, CDA considers the larger discourse context or the meaning that lies beyond the sentence structure. This implies consideration of the historical, political and the social economic context of language usage and production. Therefore, CDA enables us to link micro- and macro-theoretical perspectives that take into account the subjects as well as the socio-historical and political context in which discursive practices are performed.

Using the example of the Black Francophone community, my choice of employing CDA also connects with the importance I apply to *Prise de parole comme prise d'action*/speaking-out as an action. This notion relates to the idea of language practice as social practice, but it emphasizes that speaking-out is also a form of resistance. Notably, Black Francophones represent a group that does not always obtain a space to speak-out. They may not have control over, or access to, mainstream media. In this instance, the analysis of their discourse will become a means to make their voices heard and their experiences understood and will hopefully be a way of *giving voice to the marginalized*. Studying social practices through discourse allows me to reveal the different positions taken by Black Francophones in their daily interactions. It also gives me the possibility to examine how subjects interpret their social realities and what categories they establish in their discourse.

The framework also offers me opportunity to identify dominant practices: which discourses are dominant, whose discourse is excluded and whose included. It also enables me to discuss the positioning of resistance.

For example, while analysis of discourse in institutional sites, such as State and Francophone mainstream institutions, is a study of dominant ideologies (Van Dijk, 1992), daily life discourse incorporates subjective views and the experiences of individuals within institutional structures. Therefore, discourse enables an understanding of the way State and Francophone institutions exert and sustain power relations, thus, dominance through discursive practices.

Therefore, this research is based on views and social categories constructed by social actors. I assert that social categories and constructs are based on material and historical facts (Dei, 1996a; Grandy, 1998). This point emphasizes that subjects' discourse on racism and on social categories like race, is not a matter of imagination but rather deeply grounded on specific historical and contemporary facts and on lived experiences. Therefore, my book speaks of racism and resistance from the point of view of social actors. It is based on experiences of subjects who are highly involved in their communities. Their constructed views as well as the challenges faced are addressed by individuals and members of organizations who themselves are part of the experiences described.

More particularly, for the purpose of this study, I intend to use CDA to analyze discourse in a way that can capture the interrelationship between macro structures of social institutions, broad societal levels of discourses, and microstructures of conversation as they relate to the distribution of power and mechanisms of resistance. My framework also identifies linguistic elements (vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and text structure). It examines the discursive strategies in different forms of talk and texts—documents—produced at various levels: institutions, community organizations and everyday conversations. It incorporates historical and political factors that shape discourse and situate it within societal institutions as well. I intend to apply this to Francophone communities in Ontario, bringing together social, economic, political and institutional forces that affect communication, incorporate historical dimensions and to translate subjects' views and experiences. To do so, I have chosen an interdisciplinary framework that combines CDA with Antiracism and Black Feminism. As I have explained, the theoretical and political foundations of these approaches deal with the reproduction of power relations through language, race and gender. Those approaches also recognize the need to incorporate historical factors in our analysis of power relations. Using CDA in this way emphasizes the inter-relatedness between discourse and social change. It also contributes to the understanding of State and Francophone inequities and helps reinforce social justice within Francophone communities.

Description of the Data

I have conducted interviews with 29 subjects, fifteen women and fourteen men, in Toronto and Ottawa. That number included representatives of a total of 19 organizations and 6 individuals. The organizations consisted of community associations, women and youth organizations, regional and provincial umbrella organizations, coalitions and groups of arts and theatre. They work in fields of health, research, advocacy, economic development, integration and sports. Some centers exclusively offer a variety of services to visible minority newcomers such as job search, help with immigration procedures, accommodation, counseling and services for refugees. Others implement numerous projects assigned to specific groups.

I conducted individual and focus group interviews with leaders and members of these organizations. I also interviewed members of Boards of Directors and some of the staff and administrators. In addition, I carried out participant observations during various events that they have organized. Interviews with the organizations focussed on the history, goals, mandate, functioning of the organization, access to public funding and other resources, sources of funding, contacts with other Francophone and Anglophone associations and institutions, major barriers encountered and the role they play in the community. The interviews also explored how and why Black women establish their own associations, how they organize, how and why they position themselves vis-à-vis various groups within Francophone communities. In addition, I asked about their experiences of and views on institutional racism and the different ways they use to strengthen their communities.

At the individual level, I conducted interviews with 6 Black Francophones in the two cities. The groups chosen included students and others who occupy positions in various State, Francophone and bilingual mainstream institutions. Some migrated recently while others were born or grew up in Canada. Some of them send their children to Francophone schools as part of their identification with *la Francophonie*, while others deliberately send their children to English schools to resist Francophone racism. During the interviews, I asked individuals to talk about their education and employment, their involvement in the Francophone and Anglophone communities as well as their views on and experiences with Francophone institutions and associations. I also posed questions about their experiences as members of a racial and linguistic minority and their perceptions of and experiences with institutions and their daily life in Canada. I overtly asked questions about racism and race relations between Black and white Francophones. In that context, the data revealed individuals' daily life

experiences, their encounters with different Francophone, Anglophone or bilingual institutions and associations as well as the multiple positions they take vis-à-vis institutions.

The gathered data were exhaustive as they covered most existing groups. They offered insights into the evolution of the Black Francophone community and historical and present background to major issues that concern Black Francophones. It allowed me to study groups that belong to different waves of migration between the periods of the 1960s to 2000s. They also permitted me to identify differences and similarities in terms of education, class, age and gender ratios. For example, experiences of racism according to participants' age allowed me to see what has changed in terms of racism. Such data enabled me to obtain various narratives in different contexts. The collected material also explained why some social actors are not engaged in existing associations. The gathered data helped me to analyze relations of race, gender, language and history. They also enabled me to understand issues of funding, internal functioning and contacts between Haitian, African and other Francophone centers. They also offered an insight into the significance of the community organizations when it comes to their access to funding and the encounters with mainstream institutions and the State. Therefore, the data allowed me to respond to the major questions of my research in relation to the situation of Black Francophones in the distribution of resources allocated to Francophones, the share of power within Francophone communities, racism and the strategies of resistance developed by Black Francophones. More particularly, the gathered data provided the particular case studies that I have chosen to analyze to adequately illustrate the dynamics of power and resistance within Francophone communities.

CONCLUSION

A combination of the theories of Antiracism and Black Feminism offers complementary perspectives that enable us to continue examining the functioning of systemic and institutional racism within our societal institutions. They also help us to understand that contemporary racism is informed by historical and socio-political factors. Analytical tools such as race, gender and language are crucial both to recognizing the multiple layers of oppression and the interplay between the various forms of dominance. The methodological principles of critical ethnography remind us that we cannot afford detachment and objectivity both when we analyze social and discursive practices relevant to racism and as we struggle against the various forms of oppression. To do otherwise, is to deny our responsibilities both in the process of dominance and in resistance to social inequities.

As I have emphasized, my research had political purposes and I conducted it hoping to contribute to social justice. This has meant that, spending years of my life to produce a study on Antiracism and *la Francophonie*, from within a Francophone mainstream educational institution that is situated in the Canadian academy, made me more conscious of the racist practices—institutional and otherwise—that prevail in both Francophone institutions and the broader Canadian society. Listening to the experiences of my research subjects was a painful process. What they face is unjust and dehumanizing. And, this is taking place in a democratic society at the beginning of the twenty-first century! With the rise of global migration, Canadian society, as well as other Western countries that continue to receive significant proportions of immigrants, still have a lot to do in order to meet their goals of respect for human rights and social justice. The Canadian State needs to rethink its national project that is still based on the myth of the "two founding peoples." Francophone institutions, which continue to prioritize white Francophone interests and ideologies, need to seriously challenge their practices and revisit their mandate. For me, this work was a journey accompanied with many challenges and difficulties and with possibilities. It was also for me the time to rethink my own politics and my ethics: how to situate myself and to take action. The social agency of my research subjects led me to confidently assume my responsibilities in social change and transformation. Identifying solutions to help eradicate racism, sexism and language discrimination that Black Francophones face will be possible if we thoroughly understand the process of State and Francophone racism.

Chapter Four

Black Francophones in Ontario Facing State Racism

> [The *Francophonie* means:] 1. The body of States, countries and the regions that employ French as a national language, official language, language of internal communication or, simply, as a work language.
>
> 2. The coalition of persons that employ French in other different functions.
>
> 3. The spirit community that results from these different functions[1]
>
> L. S. Senghor (as cited in Traoré, 1989, p. 19).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how Black Francophones face systemic racism coming from the Canadian State. Significant research has been conducted on systemic racism in Canada in the case of Aboriginal Peoples, racial minorities and immigrants in Canada. I emphasize that while some forms of racism experienced by Black Francophones are similar to those faced by their Anglophone counterparts, racism is also experienced in ways different and specific to Black Francophones. In addition to the fact that the experiences of Black Anglophones face have been exhaustively studied (Brathwaite & James, 1996; Dei, 1996a; Henry, 1992; Henry & Tator; Waldron, 2002), some forms of racism specifically relate to Black Francophones as a racial minority situated within an official linguistic minority. However, the similarity in the experiences of racism of the two groups of Blacks is itself significant, because it reveals how far the Canadian State has improved the situation of its racial minorities and where the antiracist struggle should head. In this chapter, I will focus on specific forms of State racism that relate to Black Francophones.

This chapter is divided in two sections. The first section discusses the institutional definition of the category "Francophones." This section is

divided in four parts. The first part highlights Statistic Canada's definition of who is/is not Francophone and shows the impacts of this definition on Black Francophones. The second part identifies the situation of Black Francophones in the distribution of the main financial resources assigned by the State to Francophones as an official language community in a minority situation. It also examines the limited access of Black Francophones to these resources and explains how the funding agencies' criteria contribute to limiting access of Black Francophone organizations to material resources. The third part deals with the impact of under-funding on the community development of Black Francophones. The impact is demonstrated by lack of continuity that leads to the collapse of organizations, reinforcing the poverty of the community. The fourth part suggests that State racism is a factor that contributes to the under-funding of Black Francophone organizations.

As the issues examined in these parts of the book relate to State policies, the second section of this chapter focuses on the debate around *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement; a major source of governmental funding that generates a process of social dynamics between the State and its Francophone communities and within these communities. The discussion of l'Entente will be based on discursive production—interviews and texts—produced by the State and by Black Francophones. This section is divided in four parts. The first one identifies *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement. The second part focuses on a series of consultations that was held by Francophone racial and ethnic minorities with respect to l'Entente. It outlines the main barriers faced by this population and its community development needs. The third part reveals an opposing social positioning to l'Entente coming from a group of Black Francophones. It highlights the elements of disagreement with l'Entente and the major claim/s made by these social actors with respect to the place of racial minorities in l'Entente. The fourth part offers a comparative perspective on the positions taken by the State and by Black Francophones vis-à-vis l'Entente. This discussion will reveal how l'Entente relates to the discussion on State racism.

SECTION 1: INSTITUTIONAL DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY "FRANCOPHONES" AND ITS IMPACT

Part 1: Statistics Canada's definition of who is/is not Francophone

Identifying the demographic presence of a given group is crucial because of its impact on how the State deals with its communities. As we will see, the number of Black Francophones identified by Statistics Canada signifi-

cantly impacts on their access to funding and on the development of their community. The issue of statistics and their impact is of great significance in relation to the systemic racism that is embedded in the processes of State policies.

The exact number of Black Francophones is not adequately identified. This observation relates to how the census questions are posed and how the data are interpreted. The census definition of Francophones in Canada includes four criteria: mother tongue, the use of French at work, the use of French at home and knowledge of an official language, referring to the capacity to maintain a conversation in English or French (Statistics Canada, 2001). However, the one that is adopted by Statistics Canada and used by governmental institutions to attribute community funding is the mother tongue criteria which is identified as the first language learned at home and still understood. This criterion does not adequately reflect the number of Black Francophones. French is usually not their mother tongue as they first acquire various languages such as Arabic or other African languages. French is, however, the official language of their countries, their medium of education and they often use it at work and in public life. In Ontario, Black Francophones continue to employ French within various settings in every day communication and within institutions where they use French services and when they send their children to French-language schools. French is therefore not a mother tongue for this population but is more than a second language. This definition raises many contradictions in terms of who is included in this category and who is excluded. It also generates controversial debates and various approaches in regards to social positions from Black Francophones. Joanne Cyr is a Haitian who migrated to Quebec twenty-five years ago to join her family. Throughout the years, she has always used French within Francophone communities. In the following sentences, Joanne raises the contradiction that arises from this definition in the sense that the definition excludes many who should be considered Francophones.

> Joanne: I always worked to the maximum with and in the Francophone community . . . the definition of Francophones in this constitution [these statistics] considers us immigrants from elsewhere, because my mother tongue doesn't have is not French, I am from Haiti, the distinction is especially the definition of the terms. To be considered Francophone, French has to be the mother tongue, one ought to be raised, educated in a French environment . . . I wasn't raised in a French environment, I was raised in a Creole environment, Creole, that is my mother tongue[2].

In this quotation, the use of the terms "always" and "to the maximum" indicates that this social actor continues to employ French in all social contexts. She has been actively involved in these communities for more than two decades, a fact referred to by the segment "with and within the Francophone community." In this context, Joanne denounces the institutional definition of Francophone that is based on mother tongue. She states that to be considered Francophone, one has to be born, to grow up and be educated in a Francophone environment. She constructs two opposing categories: "Francophone" and "immigrants." This illustrates the important distinction between someone who is considered "Francophone" and someone who is excluded from this category and thereby perceived of as "immigrant." It places in one category those who came recently to Canada and those who arrived earlier. By using "us" in this example, Joanne associates herself with Blacks who are still considered immigrants, not as Francophone. In this instance, we can observe that Joanne was not born in Canada and French is not her mother tongue, it is rather Haitian. Nevertheless, she has lived in Canada for more than two decades during which time she has been working in French and contributing to *la Francophonie*. In addition, she grew up in Haiti. This implies that she spoke and used French prior to her migration to Canada. However, she does not fit into the category of Francophone and is therefore considered an immigrant.

Taking into account the context of immigration to Canada, we can realize that the definition excludes many like Joanne who are assigned to this category, who have Haitian and African languages as their mother tongue. Moreover, this definition excludes other categories of Francophone. For example, a person like Joanne who immigrates to Canada, obtains Canadian citizenship and uses French in her daily life is not considered Francophone. This also relates to the discussion on citizenship as it connects to race. It connects to what it means for Black Francophone to be Canadian citizens and how their rights as citizens are respected. Therefore, the definition of "Francophone" is not only contradictory but is also explicitly identified by the subjects as exclusionary and discriminatory.

We should also note that Joanne is from an officially French-speaking country. This draws our attention to the status of French in other countries. Moreover, we can notice that the definition does not include other categories such as those who come from countries like Guinea-Bissau where French does not have an official but a special status. These States participate in the Francophone activities and use French as a medium of communication with other countries. In addition, countries like Eritrea and Sudan integrate teaching French as a second language in their educational systems and build close connections with African Francophone countries (Madibbo,

2003a). For historical and socio-political factors, these States are interested in *la Francophonie* and are presently involved in it. With the rising number of immigrants from these States to Canada, there will be more of them who employ this language for work and communication purposes and use French services.

This discussion raises the question of where second-language users are located. It is important to emphasize that the census questionnaires consist of two forms. The long form's language section contains questions about the use of French at work, language use at home, knowledge of official language and mother tongue. The short form's language question refers to mother tongue only. For example, in the 2001 census short form, I stated that my mother tongue is neither one of the official languages. There was no space to provide details on my use of the French language. For example, to indicate that at least I understand and speak French. These observations show us that French is employed in various social contexts such as the household, work and institutions and is employed as a medium of communication. It is worth noting that the International *Francophonie* includes many categories in defining who is considered Francophone. It is open as it includes countries where French is official or co-official, States which have affinities with *la Francophonie*, as well as individuals who use French for various purposes. This resembles the definition of the category "Francophone" provided by Senghor (Traoré 1989) which applies to specific geopolitical entities as well as individuals. Senghor's definition indicates that French is neither the language of one country nor of one racial group, it is the language of *la Francophonie*. Therefore, the definition adopted in Canada reveals that this country has two definitions of "Francophone," one of which imply exclusion. Canada accepts a certain definition in the international arena but not at the national level. It means that a person like Joanne is officially recognized as Francophone outside of Canada but not as such within the country.

If the criteria exclude many that are born out of Canada, they do not automatically include those who are born and/or grow up in the country, notably children who grow up in Canada. These youth speak French and another language at home and use French in public life. If these young persons do not identify French as their mother tongue, they will not be recognized as Francophones but as Allophones notwithstanding their use of the French language in daily life. In addition, the definition does not include children resulting from racially and linguistically—French and English—mixed marriages (Knight, 2001). They may speak both French and English. They will probably be identified as Anglophones. Even though they may speak English more at home, just like their white counterparts, they employ

French in various contexts. The category of those who are born in Canada brings to the Francophone identity the issue of mixed race and adds another distinct linguistic category, that is, the one of co-mother tongues.

In addition, the census short form does not include a question about racial background. In this case, when a person mentions that s/he is French-speaking, that person is not usually asked whether s/he is a member of a racial minority. This process particularly underestimates the overall number of racial minorities who are Francophones. This does not allow connecting between the language spoken and the racial background. This issue of separation and connection between the two markers of their identity—race and language—raises the focal question of what category Black Francophones belong to. Both race and language are their identity markers. The issue is that, as it has always been the case in Canada, communities are divided as linguistic and racial minorities.

Consequently, for Black Francophones race and language are not connected but deliberately fragmented. They are a racial minority on one hand and a linguistic minority on the other. However, in reality race and language are complementary, not two separate categories. Therefore, the official recognition of this population should link its linguistic and racial identity. It is important to recognize that population as Black and Francophone in order to acknowledge its specificity as a double—racial and linguistic—minority. Such recognition admits that race is an integral part of its identity, leads to considering services and specific needs for immigrants and can reveal the racism that is inherent in the process of integrating Francophone immigrants. The issue of how to deal with Black Francophone racial and linguistic identities is a major element of this book and will be analyzed as we continue the discussion.

These observations inform us that the Francophone population is diverse. Additional categories of Francophones emerge as part of the dynamics of change in society. Black Francophone linguistic and racial identities intersect. French is included in their bilingualism and multilingualism. On the other hand, the criterion of mother tongue is limited and does not capture the heterogeneity of the community. It excludes many that should be considered Francophones and classifies them instead as Anglophones or Allophones (Commission on Human Rights, 2004). The Canadian definition applies neither to the international definition of *la Francophonie* nor to the changing social reality of Canada which, as a result of immigration is becoming more multilingual, multiracial and multicultural. The precise question to be asked is to whom does the mother tongue criteria apply? In this context, we can say that the definition mostly applies to white French Canadians or those of European descent. With the rising percentage of

assimilation and linguistic mixed marriage between white Anglophones and Francophones, white Francophones do not necessarily speak French at home or at work. They may not use French services or attend Francophone educational institutions. However, they may still identify French as their mother tongue and will therefore be officially recognized as Francophones. The definition of "Francophone" based on mother tongue is both discriminatory and racialized.

The elements outlined in this discussion allow us to conclude that the actual number of Black Francophones could be greater than the one provided by Statistics Canada which is based on mother tongue criteria. Statistics Canada's definition of "Francophone" generates ongoing debates. Many of my research subjects argue that the definition has negative impacts on Black Francophones as it undermines the demographic importance of this population. Social actors like Armond Andrew, a Haitian who migrated to Canada over twenty years ago, present this view. Armond has been involved in the Francophone community across the province for over twenty years. He presently occupies a legal position. He is also a cofounder of an organization that offers services to newcomers and advocates on behalf of Black Francophones. He is one of the representatives of the Black Francophone community on a provincial committee that discuses funding issues with the government. In his discussion about the Statistics Canada definition, Armond states: "It's Statistics Canada that gives the number of thirty, thirty thousand, and that gives a wrong idea about uh the number towards which we have a lot of reservations. It's a figure that I protest enormously because I myself am wondering whether we are not already more than thirty-three thousand in Ottawa. We are hundred thousand individuals if we uh count all the uh Francophones ethno-cultural and racial minorities."[3] In these words, Armond's use of the term "one" refers to him and to other community leaders who publicly question the fundamental criteria used to generate the statistics concerning Blacks. The terms "to contest" and "a lot of reservations" indicate that community members reject the number of Black Francophones given by Statistics Canada (33 thousand).

It should be emphasized that Armond is referring to the 1996 Census. In that Census the number of Francophones in Ontario by mother tongue was 479,285. The number 33,000 provided by Armond in this quotation is that of the Francophone visible minority. Statistics Canada (2001) defines visible minorities as persons, other than Aboriginal Peoples, who are neither of Caucasian race nor of white colour. This means that Black Francophone Africans and Haitians, as well as other groups such as Indians, Chinese and Africans from Mauritius, are included in the statistics of visible minority.

In this context, Armond estimates the number of racial and ethno-cultural Francophone minorities in Ontario to be 100,000. It is also to be noted that some Black Francophone organizations suggest the number of 200,000 or 300,000 (Conseil pour l'intégration, 1997). We, however, should to take into account that the concept "racial and ethno-cultural minorities" is used differently. Research subjects employ it to identify Black Francophones or all Francophone visible minorities. Leaders like Armond apply their own methodology to the count. They base their estimation on their experiences with and knowledge of the Francophone community. When these social actors estimate the numbers, they take into account factors such as the participation of Black Francophones in educational institutions such as schools and colleges, the high birth rate in the community and the use of French services. Some community leaders consider the official status of French in countries of origin, parents' language and second language usage. The methodology employed therefore includes categories of those who are excluded by the official government statistics.

Based on this discussion, we can observe that the number estimated by Black Francophones is significantly higher than that of Statistics Canada. We should also note that there is uncertainty when it comes to identifying the accurate number of this population. This also shows that there are opposing views between the State and Black Francophones. These Blacks portray themselves as Francophones while the institutional definition does not consider them as such (Commission on Human Rights, 2004). Consequently, Blacks contest the number identified according to Statistics Canada's definition. As we will see, the debate over statistics significantly impacts on the dynamics between the State and Black Francophones who are part of its official linguistic communities. It is therefore important to discuss the definition of Statistics Canada thoroughly because it reveals how the State deals with its minorities. Identifying the number is itself significant as it determines crucial issues such as community development and attribution of material resources assigned by the State to its official linguistic communities. In a country like Canada, number has a significant impact. The question is how that affects Black Francophones. Continuing his discussion on statistics, Armond Andrew illustrates this point: "Here in Canada, everything is a question of numbers, it's always in the measure where a number justifies."[4] Armond's view indicates that, in Canada, statistics relate to various factors. Armond's use of the term "all" refers to issues such as the distribution of funding, services and policies, which are assigned to a given population according to its demographic importance. This is related to the fact that the number provided by Statistics Canada is used by different levels of governments to make policies and implement programs.

The main idea I suggest with this respect is that Black Francophones should be considered both a linguistic and a racial minority. The two minorities are respectively placed under the protection of the Official Languages Act (OLA) and the Multiculturalism Policy. The OLA includes constitutional rights that ensure the development of the official linguistic communities in a minority situation, namely, the Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of Canada. Articles 41 and 42 of the Official Languages Act outline the responsibility of the Federal Government to participate in the development and help to build flourishing official language communities: "The Government of Canada comitted itself to the terms of the Official Languages Act, to enhance the positive growth of Francophone and Anglophone minorities of Canada and to enhance their development (Entente Canada-communauté-Ontario, 2000, p. 1).[5]

Therefore, the Official Languages Act (OLA) guarantees to Francophones constitutional protection that can generate to them significant funding, institutions and services. The Multiculturalism Policy deals with racial minorities. Unlike the OLA, Multiculturalism Policy does not offer to racial minorities the same constitutional rights or significant material resources that the OLA guarantees to the two official linguistic minorities. This indicates that Francophones as a linguistic minority are granted more rights and material resources than racial minorities. The question then arises as to what extent multiculturalism covers racial minorities who are Francophones, since more direct protection and resources are allocated to Francophones based on mother tongue criteria. Answering that question has considerable implications for Blacks, as many are not included in this category and consequently, funding policies do not properly meet the needs of this population in terms of its development.

Community members therefore continue to point out that numbers affect Blacks as they directly relate to funding. Katherine Raymond was born in Quebec to Haitian parents. She speaks French, English and Haitian. She grew up in a predominantly white city. She moved to Ontario to pursue her post-secondary education. After she occupied a number of short-term positions at governmental agencies and a mainstream Francophone organization that offers services to women, she joined a young Black women-led organization named the Youth Collective. During a focus group interview, Katherine discussed funding issues: "We are not counted in the in the statistics of Franco-Ontarians. It is, therefore, obvious that the money that is the material or financial resources that are injected do not illustrate the reality of the *Francophonie*."[6] In this segment of her discourse, Katherine first pinpoints the marginalization of Blacks as a result of the definition used to gather statistics. She employs the terms "money" and "material

resources" to refer to funding. Her use of "obviously" indicates the close link between statistics and funding. Katherine constructs the two categories "Franco-Ontariens" and "*la Francophonie*." The former refers to white Francophones while the latter includes the various groups that constitute Francophone populations. She speaks of material resources but does not mention the agencies that offer them. However, the interview context makes us realize that she speaks of government funding providers. Katherine's discourse outlines the major impact of numbers on Blacks. She indicates that Blacks who are not recognized as Francophones will not be included in the attribution of funding coming from the State.

This issue relates to the above-mentioned discussion on the difference in the number provided by statistics and the population estimations of Black Francophones. The greater the proportion of persons, the greater the sums that should be allocated. The relevant question to be asked is: whose interests will it serve if the number of Blacks is under-estimated? The answer to this question, if the number is appropriate, then Blacks will receive more support and funding. This therefore will be beneficial for Blacks. Katherine's positioning draws to our attention that youth that grew up in or out of Canada are also concerned with the impact of statistics. In this respect, it is also worth noting that the three social actors—Joanne, Andrew and Katherine—whose views have been respectively quoted remind us that, in spite of their active participation in *la Francophonie*, the three of them may not necessarily fit into the institutional definition of "Francophone" and will therefore not be officially recognized as such.

This section has shown that the Statistics Canada definition of Francophones excludes many categories of Blacks. It has also revealed that Black Francophones reject this definition as it leads to the under-estimation of their number and directly limits their access to financial resources. During the fieldwork, I have noticed that funding was pre-eminent in the discourse of research subjects. This can be explained by the fact that financial resources relate to crucial issues such as the functioning of organizations and the socio-economic status of community members. In addition, funding determines economic power that also intersects with political power. As we can observe, all these factors are directly linked to the settlement and development of the Black Francophone community. The significance of the discussion on material resources is not about specific numbers per se. It rather reveals how the State, which distributes these resources, deals with Black Francophones and the impact of these resources on the long-term socio-economic integration of this community. Thus, there are many factors that surround discussion on funding. The major elements that are of concern to my research are the limited access of Black Francophones to material resources

assigned by the State to Francophones as an official linguistic community in a minority situation and the criteria of funding agencies.

Part 2: The Situation of Black Francophones in the Distribution of Funding Assigned to Francophones as an Official Linguistic Community in a Minority Situation

Public funding for Francophones comes from governmental and non-governmental sources. The governmental funding stems from the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government. Based on the Official Languages Act, the Federal Government should contribute to support the development of the official linguistic communities. Federal departments such as Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Status of Women have specific programs that assign specific budgets to supporting Francophone communities and organizations. One of the Federal Government programs of funding is *l'Entente Canada-Communauté*/ Canada-Community Agreement, which is managed by Canadian Heritage. This department plays a crucial role in the development of Francophone communities. Canadian Heritage also makes the interconnection between the government and community organizations. The provincial Office of Francophone Affairs, which plays a major role in all issues related to Francophones in Ontario, manages the funding that provincial ministries give to Francophones. In addition, there are funding programs organized between federal and provincial ministries. The municipal government funding is regulated by City Halls. The non-governmental funding comes from charitable organizations like United Way, Trillium Foundation and the Foundation of Race Relations.

Notwithstanding the fact that the sources of funding are diverse, the Federal Government assigns the most substantial amounts of funding. The major sources of funding for Black Francophone organizations come from this level of governmental assistance. In addition, my research subjects spoke primarily of this type of funding during the fieldwork. As we will see, the programs of the Federal Government funding will reveal the systemic dynamics between the State and its communities and provides examples of how other levels of government deal with policies that relate to Black Francophones. Let us now examine how the access of Black Francophones to the main sources of funding is pursued and perceived by community leaders and members.

In earlier discussion it has been noted that Blacks are not adequately recognized as Francophones. Some social actors demonstrate that even those who are officially recognized as such do not receive appropriate funding that corresponds to their demographic weight. The main argument is

that the community is under-funded. This argument is constructed in the discourse of social actors like Armond Andrew who was identified earlier. Armond points out:

> [The Ministry of Canadian] Heritage gives the figure that we are thirty-three thousand . . . [out of] five-hundred-thousand. From the five million [dollars] that would have been granted to the Franco-Ontarian community . . . I don't have the lists of the distribution of the Programming Funding and Project Funding with me [now] but I think I understand that there were about three organizations . . . or four that have [received] the Programming Funding.
>
> Amal: Yes
>
> Armond: uh which [the amount] hardly represents a hunded thousand dollars of the Programming Funding.
>
> Amal: Yes
>
> Armond: and from [the] Project [Funding] I don't I never have the Project Funding list [with me] but generally speaking the Projet Funding, the Project [funding] is laways far inferior to the Programming Funding . . . so this means that we are I mean that I would be very surprised that the [ethno-racial] community [funding] reaches two hundred thousand [dollars] this is . . . therefore unfair, even if we adopt Statistics Canada's figure, the amount that was returned to us . . . is not proportional to our demographic weight in Ontario Francophonie.[7]

I only replied by using "Yes" as a discursive strategy to mean that I was attentively following what this specific social actor mentions and to encourage him to continue giving his views. In this segment of discourse, Armond explains that, from one year's (1999) governmental funding, only a few organizations belonging to the racial and ethnic minorities have received a total of about two hundred thousand dollars out of five million dollars that were attributed to Francophones in the province. Andrew identifies the two levels in which the funding is divided: "Programming Funding" and "Project Funding." The first form of funding is a yearly amount that covers basic needs such as rent and office equipment while the second one is allocated to specific projects executed during a specific period of time. In most cases these are short-term projects but can also be long-term projects. The Programming funding is usually more substantial than the sums assigned for project funding. In this context, Armond refers to the funding that comes from *l'Entente Canada-communaut*/Canada-Community

Agreement. Armond makes the connection between Canadian Heritage and the statistics. His position stresses the link between the statistics and the government as it shows that a department like Canadian Heritage uses the number provided by the statistics to determine the funding assigned to Black Francophones.

Community members frequently mention Canadian Heritage because there is constant communication between this department and the community. Depending on positions, referring to this department implies agreement or sometimes indicates contesting its practices. Armond argues that Blacks should obtain more than the amount received. His view is based on the number of Black Francophones in relation to the entire number of the Francophone population. Research subjects frequently contested this amount during the fieldwork. In this instance, Armond employs the terms "injustice" to demonstrate that only a few Black Francophones organizations have gained funding. We can realize that the lack of justice implies State institutions, namely, Statistics Canada and the Federal Government. The argument is that Blacks are under-funded taking into account their number and subjects contest the number provided by Statistics Canada as well as the overall amount of funding attributed to all Francophones (Commissariat aux langues officielles 2000; Conseil pour l'intégration, 2001). Therefore, the issue is not only the official recognition of the exact number but also guaranteeing an equitable distribution of funding.

This discussion revealed that the financial support Blacks received is minimal compared to their demographic presence, a view conveyed by social actors like Ben-Ngari who is a Congolese in his late twenties. After he left Congo, he spent some years in France before he arrived in Toronto at the beginning of the 1990s. Ben-Ngari started his university studies in Congo but his studies were not accredited in Canada. He was then required to resume his studies at the high school level. He then obtained two university degrees in two different provinces in Canada. Since his arrival in the country, he has only obtained short term and blue-collar employment. He presently lives in the Ottawa region where he is looking for employment that will be commensurate with his qualifications. He is a member of two Black organizations that respectively offer services to Black youth and to all Francophone racial minorities. Ben-Ngari draws our attention to a key factor which is that despite the ongoing efforts Blacks deploy, the amount of funding Black Francophones gain neither corresponds to their efforts nor with the need of community development.

> Ben-Ngari: Yes, we receive subsidiaries but there again at what expense? We don't receive subsidiaries like other Franco-Ontarian organizations

> . . . we receive small amounts of subsidiaries like who ever . . . we don't have the resources that are really assigned to real communities, because there are . . . small projects of uh uh cultural evenings, there are major projects like the popular cash registers, of entrepreneurs, assigned to real communities.[8]

In these sentences, Ben-Ngari makes an obvious distinction between a "real community" and "who ever." The former category includes those who are treated as a community and the latter one refers to groups that are not granted constitutional rights. He also places "small" in contrast to "major projects." The first type of projects refers to short-term funded activities that usually take a short period of time while the second one indicates major projects such as co-operatives that generate significant socio-economic resources and enhance community development. Ben-Ngari's view connects "real community" to "major projects" and "who ever" to "small projects." In this context, the parallel he constructs is that Franco-Ontarians are treated as a "real community" as they receive resources that allow them to implement major projects while Blacks only get funded for minor activities. This social actor's use of "at what expense" is significant as it reveals that the fight over funding in which Blacks are involved is, after all, for minimal amounts that usually fund small projects. If we relate this view to the broader issue of the allocations of resources to official language communities, we realize that Ben-Ngari's view reveals the connections between the degree of recognition of a community and the kind of support the State offers to it. Both Black and white Francophones are placed under the category of an official language community to which the State assigns resources to enhance its development. In reality, the "major projects" are the ones that exist within the Francophone mainstream community but are mostly controlled by white Francophones. Until the present time, the Black community has not benefited from such projects.

While Armond speaks of one program of government funding, Ben-Ngari does not specify funding sources. We can understand that Ben-Ngari alludes to federal funding but he also means to say that the funding Blacks receive from all sources—federal, provincial and municipal levels is minimal. The perceptions that have been outlined by these two social actors indicate not only that the funding Black Francophones gain does not correspond to the officially recognized number of individuals concerned but the funding received is far from sufficient for the development of the Black Francophone community.

We notice that the main sources of funding included in the discussion come from the Federal Government. It is worth observing that some subjects

indicate that few—if any—Black organization projects were funded by this level of government. The point is that neither the federal nor the provincial governments provide adequate funding to Black organizations. As we have mentioned earlier, provincial governments should support the development of Francophone communities by providing certain percentages of funding. In this respect, we note that most of the provincial funding goes to Franco-Ontarian organizations. However, in this instance, the issue is that the under-funding of Black Francophones is not limited to Ontario but also extends to other provinces. The social actors illustrate the point that the distribution of resources is racialized; the funding granted in various provinces differs significantly, not in accordance with number, but with race. Their analysis shows that what the Francophone racial minority obtains is far less than what white Francophones receive. The difference referred to amounts to millions of dollars.

These examples are of significance as they reveal that the State does not deal with the groups, namely Black and white Francophones, in an equitable way. If we consider these amounts, we realize that the majority of Francophones who obtain the funding are white. They receive a significant amount especially when we compare the grants they received to what Black Francophones obtained. The question to be posed is why the government takes into account the needs of whites that are officially recognized as Francophones but not the needs of Blacks. This allows us to conclude that it is as if whites are officially recognized but Blacks, in all cases, are not. This is an issue of race and these examples reveal State racism. Thus, we contend that the Federal Government, which has a constitutional obligation to financially support the official linguistic communities in a minority context, attributes minimal amounts of funding to the racial minority, which is part of the official linguistic minority (Conseil pour l'intégration, 2001).

The Federal Government funding spoken of in this part of the analysis largely relates to one program assigned to official linguistic communities (*l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement). The question arises: How about other funding programs? The one that is included in this discussion (l'Entente) is an example of the Federal Government funding but, as pointed out by my research subjects, other governmental sources offer small amounts to Blacks. Conversely, all levels of the State under-fund Black Francophones. The various levels of governments are inter-connected. All decisions taken by the Federal Government, including those that relate to funding will have an impact on all other levels of government including the provincial and municipal ones.

This discussion has shown us that Statistics Canada's definition of Francophones has a major impact on Black Francophones as this definition

is used by State institutions to regulate or determine the access to financial resources and also to make their policies. The issue that arises is that as long as the number of Black Francophones is not precisely identified, the various policies will not accurately accommodate the development needs of the Black community. However, as we can see, the official recognition of Francophones does not necessarily guarantee protection for Blacks. This is based on the view that funding assigned to this community is minimal compared to its demographic weight and its needs for community development. This discussion allows us to conclude that the Black Francophone community is under-funded. As this community is part of an official language minority whose development should be supported by the State, it becomes crucial to identify the factors that lead to the under-funding of this community as a racial and linguistic minority. This process is in itself significant, as it will reveal to what extent the State's policies take the situation of this community into account. Indeed, research subjects stress the point that the fundamental factor that leads to the under-funding of Black Francophones is the way the funding criteria are established. Let us now see how this view manifests itself in relation to Black Francophones' access to resources.

The Criteria of Funding Agencies and their Impact on Black Francophone Organizations

Funding agencies identify criteria that a given organization should possess to be eligible for funding. Blacks contest the way the criteria are established. Some argue that the criteria for funding are so severe that it is difficult for Black organizations to comply. This view is constructed in the discourse of social actors like Katherine, the co-ordinator of the Youth Collective who stated that the funding criteria are not fair. Katherine attributes Black Francophones' access to scarce resources as being directly connected to the funding criteria that she evaluates as unfair to these Blacks. The criteria Katherine refers to require that, in order for a specific organization to receive funding, it has to be well established. For example, the given organization is to be incorporated and should have a strong structure; the organization should hold general meetings and have implemented projects. This creates a dilemma for minority organizations and their leaders. It engenders what research subjects referred to during the fieldwork as "vicious circle." In the context of funding, this expression is used to indicate that Black Francophone organizations cannot access funding as long as they are not well-established, but they cannot be well-established as long as they do not receive funding. The issue here is that most of the Black community organizations cannot comply with these criteria. Armond[9] explains "Because uh it is [they are] considered emerging

organizations, the word emerging [means] to me that these organizations are in the process of growing." The terms "are in the process of growing" and "are emerging" speak to the present situation of the majority of Black Francophone organizations, which are identified as newly emerging. This indicates that the organizations have not existed for a long time, they do not possess strong organizational skills and face diverse challenges (Programme d'appui aux langues officielles, 2000).

Referring to these organizations as newly emerging should not make us understand that there have been no well-established groups. In the past, many community organizations existed for a period of several years, developed expertise and accomplished their goals but then collapsed. In this regard, it is more appropriate to mention that these organizations are newly emerging because community organizations tend not to continue over a long period of time. Thus, the point that deserves to be addressed is why most Black community organizations have collapsed. This point will be analyzed in a later discussion but should be viewed in the context of funding. To comply with funding criteria, an organization must have staff to effect administrative tasks, identify funding agencies, initiate projects and should also have a space from which to accomplish its work. Those criteria require financial and human resources. Newly emerging organizations do not have such resources. In addition, specific difficulties concerning the application of criteria include the fact that the language used in application forms is technical and difficult for some to understand. There is also the additional point that these organizations do not possess adequate evaluation measures. For example, some of the organizations that apply for funding do not explicitly identify their mandate and goal. When it comes to elaborating projects, groups may not be capable of articulating their needs. If these organizations are required to explicitly identify their needs, then they need the resources that allow them to enhance their organizational capacities.

With respect to the connection between the funding agencies and community organizations, as most of the organizations do not have a strong structure, the majority of Black organizations do not qualify for funding. The contradiction is that an organization that has emerged recently will not possess financial resources that allow it to build its structure and will therefore not comply with the funding criteria. Therefore, these organizations need financial resources to strengthen their structure. The criteria for eligibility limit access to funding as the majority of Black organizations are newly emerging. The expression "a vicious circle" indicates that organizations need funding to reach this stage. The issue here is that the criteria do not take into account the status of the organizations. It is understandable

that there will be criteria and an institutionalized process of evaluation. However, the question is how the latter takes into account the needs of these groups, the stage of development of the community, organizational development and how the criteria for funding impact on Black Francophone organizations. The argument is that existing organizations need support in order to build their structure, improve their organizational skills to comply with criteria that allow access to funding. In this instance, funding is to be assigned according to a group's needs such as capacity building. Government policies and criteria should be elaborated according to the needs of the community.

During the interview Armond declares: "The circle must be broken."[10] This suggestion also relates to official recognition that would initiate measures and policies that take the stage of integration and settlement of Blacks into consideration. The argument is that Blacks should receive a specific quota of funding that would enable them to implement projects that will ensure the development of their community. The research subjects indicate that there have to be measures and criteria that guarantee access of Black Francophones to appropriate funding and consideration of their specific needs. To that end the existing funding criteria need to be reviewed so that they take the socio-economic status of the community into account.

Where does this leave us and where does it lead us? Drawing on this discussion, we can conclude that funding criteria are severe. The way criteria are established favors strong organizational capacities that are difficult for Black community organizations to attain. These criteria mostly apply to well-established groups that have existed for over a decade. Studying the reality of Francophone organizations, one can note that in most cases only mainstream organizations can comply with such criteria. This point leads us to make comparisons between Black and white organizations. As these criteria stem from the system, it is important to discuss this issue because it shows how the system deals with Blacks but also how it deals with the two major components of Francophone communities. The point is that the same criteria apply to organizations of both Black and white Francophones, a practice perceived by many as discriminatory. It raises two major issues explained in the following words from the interviews of two social actors.

> Lilianne Tombu: There are systemic barriers here since it is clear that the communities of French-Canadian origins have money [are wealthy] . . . and that the [racial] mino minority communities don't have don't have money [are poor] and they don't give us the same opportunities either.

> Armond: We cannot compare them [Blacks] to a community [Franco-Ontarians] that structures itself for more than a century, and one [the Government] applies the same requirements [to both mainstream and Black Francophone organizations.][11]

Lilianne Tombu, a young woman from central Africa, is the director of the above-mentioned Youth Collective and also an activist. She publicly stresses issues of inequities and the obstacles Blacks face. In these sentences, Lilianne constructs two social categories: "The communities of French-Canadian origin" and "The communities of minorities—referring to racial minorities." She thereby divides the Francophone community into these two categories: white and Black Francophones. It is worthwhile to stress that most of the interviewees throughout the fieldwork make this distinction. Many of my research subjects speak of "our community" in contrast to "white Francophones" and of "our organizations" versus "the Franco-Ontarian institutions." It is interesting that they relate to mainstream institutions as specific to white Francophones even though the latter are created to serve all Francophones. This social position can be explained by the fact that mainstream organizations are usually directed by white Francophones. This categorization also indicates that subjects separate the Francophone community in two sections and do not see it as a unified whole. In this respect, social actors adopt a certain methodology: they compare between the two communities and organizations to express views and single out racism. In so doing, they outline inequities noting that Blacks do not obtain the same privileges as whites.

Lilianne pinpoints the drastic socio-economic disparities between the two collectivities, demonstrated by the fact that the majority of whites have a high socio-economic level while the Black community is extremely poor. As it will be explained in a following section, the theme of "poverty" in connection to Black Francophones, came up more than any other during my fieldwork in terms of the un-and-underemployed. This population is excluded from employment from within both Anglophone and Francophone institutions, and the socio-economic disparities between the two groups of Francophones results from the fact that white Francophones are offered more "opportunities." Lilianne uses this term to refer to resources such as the funding each community receives and the general access to employment. While Lilianne speaks of the socio-economic status of the two groups of Francophones, Armond adds to this comparison the level of structure of organizations within the two communities. His discourse reveals that the two communities are not at the same stage of development. They do not possess similar organizational skills. The point is that

mainstream organizations are far better established than those of Blacks. Armond's use of "and one has the same requirements" indicates that the criteria apply to all organizations and reveals some contradictions. Notwithstanding the disparities between the two components of the Francophone communities he and Lilianne construct, the same criteria are applied to both communities. In terms of funding, Lilianne identifies this process as a systemic barrier. Let us see how this practice relates to the system.

Armond's view demonstrates that it is unfair to apply the same criteria to all Francophone groups. The issue here is not to verify whether Blacks and whites are evaluated based on the same criteria but to note that these two groups within the Francophone communities are not similarly organized. Armond also draws our attention to the fact that it is important to examine why mainstream organizations are better established than those of Blacks. His view informs us that Franco-Ontarians have been building their groups for over a century and have had time and support to strengthen the structure of their organizations. When it comes to Black organizations, on the other hand, many Blacks have recently arrived in Canada and face many challenges. The situation indicates that mainstream organizations had the State's support to reach this stage. That support is explained in Lilianne's discourse by the use of the term "opportunities" while she indicates that Blacks are not offered the same resources, calling the practice a systemic barrier. The State does not treat Black and white Francophones equitably and the system of funding favors white organizations at the expense of Blacks.

In interviews social actors like Lilianne employ this method to reveal systemic discrimination. A comparison at the level of socio-economic disparities between Black and white Francophones indicates systemic racism and reinforces notions of a link between funding and the strength of organizations. It also shows that a community that has well-established organizations is usually at a high socio-economic level. The link is demonstrated in this context by the parallel: white Francophones have well-established organizations and the community's socio-economic status is high. Conversely, the majority of Black Francophone organizations do not have a strong structure and the socio-economic status of the community is low. Meanwhile, unlike Blacks, whites receive substantial funding.

We contend that—intentionally or otherwise—the impact of applying the same criteria for white and Black organizations makes access of mainstream organizations to funding easier than it is for Blacks. For example, in case where two—Black and white—organizations initiate similar proposals —assigned to the same clients, the mainstream group's chances of receiving funding are much higher than those of the Black organization. One should,

however, recall that Black Francophones are the largest number of clients of the mainstream organizations. The latter organizations obtain the funding that allows them to cover their expenses. In addition, these organizations then manage to continue functioning for many years and to gain credibility because they have appropriate resources and have the support to comply with the necessary criteria. On the contrary, some Black groups collapse due to lack of continued funding.

We should also realize that the criteria disadvantage Black organizations at another level and that is in the context of the definition of "Francophone." The amount of funding allocated is also based on the number of clients who use the services. Mainstream institutions can reach large numbers as they offer services to all community members. Black organizations mainly have racial minority clients. We can observe that while funding is based on number of clients, being a client is not attached to any specific criteria. The usage of services is not based on whether the language is mother tongue or otherwise. If we relate this point to the above-mentioned issue of the impact of official statistics, we understand that those whose mother tongue is French receive the funding to offer services. Those who are placed under the non mother-tongue criteria mostly use the services. The majority of clients of mainstream institutions are Blacks. While the latter are not properly recognized as Francophones, they usually count as Francophone clients. If the official definition of Francophones includes use of services, the result will be completely different for both Black and white Francophones.

There is an obvious link between my earlier conclusions that the institutional definition of "Francophone" applies to white Francophones and the criteria of funding applies to mainstream institutions. All these practices relate to the State in the sense that criteria of funding as well as the criteria of the definition of "Francophones" are established and implemented by institutions that are part of the same State. This makes us realize that these criteria were established even before the arrival of immigrants. They were elaborated according to the needs of the white majority—and by it. In this context, they do not properly accommodate the present social reality of the Canadian society which is multicultural and multiracial. They become systemic barriers to those who arrived recently.

The discussion on funding has shown that Black Francophone organizations are under-funded in comparison to their needs for community development and in comparison to Francophone mainstream institutions. In the next section, we will examine the impact of under-funding on the Black Francophone community and its organizations. It is important to identify the range of this impact because it relates to the economic development of

the Black Francophone community and shows how the system deals with the development of this community.

Part 3: Impact of Under-funding on Black Francophone Communities and Organizations

Under-funding impacts on Black organizations in the sense that it disrupts the functioning of these organizations, results in their collapse and reinforces poverty within the Black community. After organizations submit proposals to funding agencies, as part of funding procedures, they have to wait for a specific period of time, which differs according to the funding agencies' criteria. In some cases it takes several months but it could mean a wait of up to two years and even then there is the possibility that funding may not be approved. While waiting, organizations have to find resources that allow them to continue functioning. Established organizations can survive but the majority does not have many options and thereby faces major challenges. Let us explore how this situation is demonstrated through the experience of a specific organization.

"Refuge" is a newly emerging regional women's organization, which offers services to immigrant women. The organization seeks to enhance these women's professional skills and to reinforce their socio-economic integration. The organization was incorporated in the middle of 2000, a year before I conducted interviews with its director and other members. It has a Board of Directors that consists of a group of African and Haitian women. The organization had submitted project proposals to federal ministries six months before the interviews were carried out and was awaiting final decisions to be made. Since that time, the organization has acquired office space and staff and has already organized some activities. Yliade Kerrigan, a Congolese who arrived in Canada in the middle of the 1980s, is the director of the organization. In the following quotations, she identifies the challenges that face the organization while waiting for funding approval.

> YIliade: I submitted projects to ministries . . . I haven't even received any [funding] yet.
>
> Amal: Since [the organization was established]?
>
> Yliade: (silence) since we established the organization
>
> Amal: How do you pay the rent?
>
> Yliade: from uh my own income (silence) and when I am stuck then the Board of Directors tries to to give me a hand [help me] . . . I await (silence) . . . I am presently unemployed it is therefore hard . . . the

> [Black] community is poor . . . we don't have sufficient money that we can put in our organizations.[12]

This segment of her discourse indicates that Yliade has submitted proposals to some ministries and that she has not received funding since the group was established. While waiting for funding, she and the Board of Directors covered expenses, such as rent and office equipment from their own resources. Yliade confirms that were it not for them, she would have had to close down the organization. She re-iterates that due to the poverty, the community members are unable to financially support the organization. In this context, we can observe that Yliade's short reply took a while as it was accompanied by repetitive long moments of silence. In that context, silence may explain that Yliade found it difficult to speak of the severe conditions of Black Francophone organizations and the poverty of community members. It may also indicate that it is a painful process to speak of these issues because she herself goes through this experience and the future of her organization was uncertain. As we will see, this organization illustrates the state of a significant proportion of community organizations in the sense that it is newly emerging and it functions without funding. The experience of this organization also tells us that while waiting for funding approval, Yliade comes to the office daily and that the organization still continues its activities. It is not only that she is not paid for the work she accomplishes, she covers the expenses from her own limited resources.

The question that arises is: How are the organizations able to function while awaiting funding? In most cases, most of the work is conducted on a voluntary basis. Participants denounce the dependency of organizations on volunteering. The issue at stake here is that those like Yliade who do all this volunteer work already have a low economic status. In addition, Board members of organizations frequently cover expenses from their own resources to ensure continued functioning of organizations. The majority of them fight for their own survival. It is worth noting that many organizations function through the services of volunteers for years or entirely depend on volunteers. There are examples of organizations that have been working and providing services to the community in that way for years. A relevant example is that of community radio stations that are entirely staffed by volunteers. This indicates that Blacks constantly pay from personal resources to support government and civil society such as the needs of settlement and integration that face the community. We can contend that the requisite resources should be provided by the existing system to enable individuals and organizations to respond to these needs. This situation also reminds us that the development of communities is the responsibility of the

State that receives immigrants. The discussion on volunteering leads us to note that the equivalent of the work Blacks conduct by volunteering is usually paid for in mainstream institutions. It is therefore pertinent to ask the question: Why do Black organizations often function on a voluntary basis while the mainstream organizations are publicly funded?

In such situations, an organization like Refuge looks for other sources of funding. Other financial resources can come from members' contributions, co-operative projects and fund-raising activities. In the specific case of Black Francophones this is not realistic, as the community is economically poor and its members are not able to provide significant contributions. Fund-raising activities usually generate small amounts of money that will not allow these organizations to function. That is why Yliade's organization does not depend on community members' contributions but pay from its own resources. While waiting for funding, following-up on activities and communication between members becomes a burdensome endeavor. It is evident that the long process of funding delays the planning and functioning of organizations.

Another impact of under-funding on Blacks relates to the funding of short-term projects. As it was explained earlier, funding is divided into Programming Funding which guarantees operating costs and Project Funding which funds projects that are determined for a specific period of time. Most of the financial resources of Black organizations are based on project funding. This fact indicates that Black organization requests for funding have to be constantly renewed. When a project comes to an end, organizations are often not able to continue functioning. Some organizations, like Refuge, receive funding for specific projects but do not manage to have their grants extended for the next stage of the project or for a new one. Once the specific projects are completed, the organization might have to wait for months to have funding renewed. There is therefore a lack of continuity in funding. Such situations create many difficulties. For example, there will be no follow-up on projects and it becomes difficult to make future plans. This shows us that non-renewal of funding generates lack of continuity in the functioning of organizations. Constant dependence on short-term projects can be disruptive. The significance of long-term projects is that they allow for enhancing the development of the community and its organizations. A community cannot achieve long-term development by depending on short-term projects as development necessitates continuity. Development of expertise is a process, and it necessitates time and resources.

It becomes increasingly difficult to ensure survival of these organizations for the long-term. In this regard, Yliade mentioned during the interview "I can confirm [that] if my Board [of Directors] . . . had not assisted

me, I would have had to shut down my organization."[13] In this context, Yliade raises the point that, if her organization does not receive funding soon, the organization will be closed. As a consequence of these factors some organizations simply disappear. When Black organizations collapse, eventually another group starts all over again. It is understood that when there is no more funding, these groups will not continue. In this instance, it is also appropriate to ask how many, if any, mainstream organizations have collapsed for similar reasons. Therefore, we can contend that the way the funding is distributed results in the continual dismantling of the Black community organizations.

If Black organizations do not receive significant funding, the community will continue to be poor. In this regard, the discussion on funding brought up a focal point that is frequently referred to: the severe poverty level of the Black Francophone community (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2001; Madibbo, 2005). Yliade pointed to this factor during the interview by saying "So, the rate of poverty still exists."[14] This raises many issues. Poverty and funding impact each other. Previously mentioned aspects of the impact of under-funding indicate that members are poor and cannot financially support their organizations. Those who have limited income pay from their own resources and organizations collapse. That shows that an organization's members cannot make plans that depend entirely on funding. Yet, they must depend heavily on governmental funding and charitable groups because they do not have alternatives. Members of organizations agree that the community has to take part in supporting its organizations. However, this is not possible due to the poverty and the lack of established financial networks. Therefore, under-funding—directly or otherwise—increases the level of poverty in the Black Francophone community and does not allow for long-term planning for community development.

This discussion has shed light on the status of the community organizations and also revealed the status of the Black Francophone community. In this section on funding, I showed examples of organizations that have difficulties stemming from under-funding. This situation applies to the majority of Black Francophone organizations. A later section will reveal examples of a few well-established organizations that receive funding that allows them to function and accomplish their goals but they also face the challenges of an uncertain future. The organizations cited seek to elevate the socio-economic status of community members insofar as they provide services, create jobs and advocate for the rights of Blacks. They also play major roles in the integration of the community into the society at large. However, such organizations themselves suffer from under-funding that limits their ability to make institutional and societal change and to fight poverty.

Given the connection between the community and its organizations, under-funding also negatively impacts on the development of the community. The Black Francophone community is growing and its needs continue to emerge, organizations are established to reply to these various needs. Their mandate can range from immigration services and employment search to theatre. The Black Francophone community needs to be more established, to focus on organizational and economic development. In the experience of integration and settlement there are priorities and steps. As it establishes itself, the community's priorities and energies address basic needs such as accommodation, employment and education. At the present stage, community members have started thinking of other issues like advocacy, racism and commerce as well. The community as a whole needs settlement, economic development and integration. As the community settles in the province, it must plan and strategize in order for it to reach an appropriate level of socio-economic integration, and therefore needs more resources. In spite of such needs, however, the views of the social actors cited reveal that funding for Black organizations is decreasing.

The impact of under-funding on Black Francophone organizations reveals to us the severe conditions that face Blacks who are part of the official linguistic minority. This situation mostly manifests itself by the under-funding and poverty as they impact on each other. Many research subjects situate the community's under-funding in the context of State racism. We will examine what data they provide to illustrate these statements in the following section.

Part 4: Under-funding and Racism

For social actors like Lillianne Tombu, the director of the Youth Collective, the inequitable distribution of funding is a matter of racism.

> Lillianne Tombu: The problem of access [to resources] . . . is a systemic problem . . . it's when one talks about injustice, when one talks about racism, it's it's indeed that [injustice and racism] because . . . in a community where people [Blacks] are the most disadvantaged the organizations that are created within those communities don't have financial resources.[15]

Lilianne employs the terms "problem" and "indeed" to confirm that the under-funding of Black Francophones organizations is an issue of racism. As it can be observed, Lilianne explicitly employs the term "racism." Her position shows that a community that has a high poverty rate, urgent and

emerging needs, should receive more support from the system so that it can at least move from the stage of survival to that of a living standard. In addition, Lilianne re-iterates the poverty of the Black Francophone community. This shows that the under-funding results in poverty. She links poverty and under-funding to racism in the sense that the Black community does not obtain appropriate funding, or that the socio-economic status of the community stems from factors, such as under-funding and under-employment that relate to systemic racism. We can argue that a community that is newly emerging, immigrant and a racial minority should receive more and not less resources. The connection between poverty and racism is that the former is in itself a manifestation of the latter (Galabuzi, 2001). It is also worth emphasizing that the World Conference against Racism has indicated that poverty is closely associated with racism and racial discrimination (World Conference against Racism, 2001a).

Therefore, in Lilianne's discourse, racism, injustice, systemic barriers and funding are interrelated. These practices are systemic barriers because, notwithstanding the low socio-economic status of their community, Blacks do not obtain appropriate funding. She relates under-funding directly to State racism. Her view here is that the under-funding of Blacks is a political issue and a systemic barrier from the government, which plays a major role in the distribution of funding. In this context, the government does not prohibit funding directly but indirectly by providing limited funding, setting restricted criteria and engineering the non-continuity of funding. Under-funding also connects to State racism as these entire processes stem from the State. In this context, it is worth observing that some social actors take the issue of under-funding of Blacks and State racism further by situating it as a consequence of the lack of official recognition to Blacks as Francophones. This point is constructed by social actors like Mtoru Hassan who contends:

> That's discrimination [and] racism, even in terms of [resources] sharing we don't have them [the resources], when the government offers funding it doesn't fund us, it funds people [those] whose mother tongue is French . . . this is discrimination [discriminatory], it's the fact that the Federal Government (silence) does not recognize that we are an official language community in a minority situation, it's the Franco-Ontarians that are [considered] official language communities in a minority situation, however, this recognition induces a funding program that is the obligation of the Federal Government, budgets are put aside to be able to do it, as we ourselves are not [recognized as a community], we don't have any budget [specifically assigned to us].[16]

Mtoru is from central Africa. He spent some years in France where he was a university professor in the social sciences before he migrated to Canada in the middle of the 1980s. He has been highly involved in the Francophone community. He founded some organizations including a center of advocacy on the legal and political rights of Black Francophones. In this quotation, Mtoru raises the point that funding goes to those whose mother tongue is French (white Francophones). He argues that the under-funding of Black organizations is a matter of racist practice since only whites gain constitutional protection as Francophones. In this instance, he adds the category of race in evaluating State practices. A lack of recognition engenders underfunding that Blacks face and the lack of policies that serve Black interests. He identifies the source of discrimination and racism as coming from the government. Like others, Mtoru speaks of funding in the terms of underfunding and says that those factors point to barriers that are generated by the Federal Government. This social actor directly links the status of funding to discrimination coming from the Federal Government and stresses the obligations of the State in community development. He also pinpoints the Federal Government because it is the highest level of the State and decides official recognition and statistics. In addition, considering the connections among all levels of the State, the discrimination coming from the federal level of government has repercussions on all structures of power, including the provincial and municipal governments and therefore relates directly to and impacts on funding.

The discussion of statistics and their impact on community development is related to State racism. It also generates controversial debates that are all based on legitimate arguments: funding is a constitutional right, not a favor or charity. Subjects placed funding within the discourse of rights according to which the State has an obligation to ensure the development of its official linguistic communities. State racism is notably connected to the lack of the recognition of the Black Francophone population as a racial minority and an official language community in a minority situation. It therefore refers to the lack of recognition by the Federal Government, its institutions and by Statistics Canada. This criticism is directed to the connection between the definition provided by Statistics Canada and how the Federal Government uses it. The issue here is that as long as Black Francophones are not officially recognized as a racial and linguistic minority, they will continue receiving small amounts of funding. A large part of the debate about under-funding concerns the lack of official recognition. The argument is that the consequences of lack of recognition relate to the lack of concrete policies in relation to the development of the Black Francophone community. This practice can be identified as discriminatory in its impact.

The government does not implement policies to allow Black Francophones access to funding programs. The planning of programs does not take into account their specific needs. This indicates that State programs and policies are not modified in favor of Blacks.

As Black Francophones are not officially recognized, there is not a specific budget assigned for their organizations. This also reveals systemic racism. If Black Francophones are not recognized officially as a linguistic minority, they are not recognized as a racial minority or a multicultural community. This leads us to a precise question: under which category are Black Francophones located? This question will be replied to in a following section but what we declare at this juncture is that even Blacks who are counted as Francophones are not officially recognized as Black and Francophone—a double minority. This relates to the debate around the connection between race and language. Black Francophone needs are not only linguistic; they also have specific priorities as an immigrant and racial minority. Therefore, the lack of recognition is not limited to questions of funding. It is also about their exclusion from institutions and access to employment and community development. In this context, official recognition is about fundamental rights and services and equitable access to resources. Blacks claim legal and political recognition as Francophones and Blacks.

This analysis has shown that statistics, funding and unemployment are directly related to the lack of recognition that engenders legal and political protection. This is the impact of racism exerted by the State. It has implications on all levels of power and societal structures. What we take from the discussion on State racism is that these are facts: the community is poor, under-funded and underemployed and its organizations collapse. These are the major issues and we should focus on rectifying the situation. All of these factors relate to funding in relation to both federal and provincial government resources. In addition, further inquiry reveals that the under-funding contravenes article 41 of the Official Languages Act that affirms the obligation of the Federal Government to ensure the development of official linguistic communities in a minority situation. The focal point that is addressed in this context and which will be thoroughly analyzed in forthcoming sections is that this article is not implemented with respect to Black Francophones. This discourse also opens up a discussion about systemic discrimination.

The discussion in this chapter focussed on governmental funding and mostly implicates the Federal Government. As we have seen, research subjects explicitly maintain that both federal and provincial governments fail to support them and this should be seen as the institutionalizing of racism. There is a clear relation between funding and racism. All these practices

are linked to government policies and to the intersection between recognition, statistics and funding. In this context, Mtoru's discourse leads us to a specific case that illustrates these issues, that is *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement (hereafter l'Entente). As I have mentioned in previous sections, l'Entente is a governmental program of funding attributed to Francophones as an official linguistic community in a minority situation. As we will see, this funding program illustrates the dynamics of power Francophones and is situated in the discourse of State racism faced by Black Francophones.

SECTION 2: *L'ENTENTE CANADA-COMMUNAUTÉ*/ CANADA-COMMUNITY AGREEMENT

Introduction

It is worth mentioning that l'Entente is not the only source of funding but is a major one provided in this study as an example of a funding program that relates to the relations between the State and its minorities—in this instance Black Francophones, to power relations among Black and white Francophones as well as to Black Francophone community development, the dynamics between the State and its official linguistic communities and the power relations within these communities. It is thus connected to community development. L'Entente was mentioned frequently during the fieldwork where it generated heated debates. I focus on specific elements that connect to State racism and the Black Francophone community's development. The discussion on l'Entente will be based on discursive production—interviews and texts—produced by the State and by Black Francophones. This section is divided in four parts. The first one describes l'Entente. The second part underlies a series of consultations that was held by Francophone racial and ethnic minorities with respect to l'Entente to identify the main barriers faced by this population and its community development needs. The third part examines an opposing social stance to l'Entente taken by a group of Black Francophones. It highlights the elements of disagreement with l'Entente and the main claim/s made by these social actors with respect to the place of racial minorities in l'Entente. The fourth part compares the positions of the State and Black Francophones vis-à-vis l'Entente. To situate the issues in the discussion of State racism, let us first describe l'Entente.

Part 1: What is l'Entente?

L'Entente is a development funding program based on the Official Languages Act that affirms the obligation of the Government of Canada to

participate in the development of the official language communities in a minority situation, that is, Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of the provinces. It is therefore the channel through which the Federal Government distributes funding to support the organizations of these communities. L'Entente is an agreement signed between the government of Canada and the official language minorities in each of the provinces. In the case of Ontario, l'Entente involves the Federal Government and the Francophone communities who are respectively represented by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage and the Committee (Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000; Renouvellement de l'Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000). The latter consists of representatives of the numerous sectors of Francophone communities. These communities were divided in about fifteen sectors including, among others, French-Canadian associations, women, health, racial and ethnic minorities, the economy, education and justice (Entente Canada-communauté-Ontario, manuel d'animation, 2001). Each sector assigns a representative from a provincial organization to sit on l'Entente Committee. The breakdown of the present Entente (2000–04)'s sections can be graphically illustrated as follow:

The first Entente of Ontario lasted from 1996–99 totalling a sum of over 12 million dollars. At the time, a series of consultations were held across the province to evaluate that Entente and decide on the organization of the following Entente. That process generated long debates and different positions of confrontations and dis/agreements. It was difficult to find consensus among the various groups that constitute Francophone communities as there were major reservations concerning the place of racial minorities and women in l'Entente (Labrie et al., 2003). Negotiations finally led to an agreement to renew l'Entente. Consequently, the present Entente was signed in 2000 and extends until 2004. It consists of allocation of over 137 million dollars for all of Canada. Francophones in Ontario receive the largest amount, that is, over 22 million dollars over four years (see appendix A). The annual budget is divided as follows: a maximum of about 3 and one half million dollars for Programming Funding, 450 thousand dollars for Project Funding and the rest of the budget is reserved for l'Entente's administrative tasks.

The breakdown of these numbers shows us that the largest budget is attributed to Programming Funding which guarantees the organizations' operating costs. As I have earlier mentioned, Black organizations do not often receive program funding but mostly project funding. This indicates that Blacks are excluded from a significant portion of funding.

The text of the present Entente which is produced by the Canadian State, is a legal document which highlights the main goals of l'Entente

as well as the roles and responsibilities of both the Government and the community (Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000). During the months following the signature of l'Entente, each sector of Francophone communities, including the racial minorities,' should use this text to elaborate its "plans du développement global/strategic plan" during series of consultations. The text of l'Entente identifies the main goals of l'Entente as follows:

> The new Entente has for goal to establish a collaboration framework between the Government of Canada . . . and the Ontario Francophone Community in order to enhance the positive growth of the [Francophone] community and to identify the financial commitment of the Government of Canada to this end [and] to encourage the community to take charge of its development (Renouvellement de l'Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000, p. 1).[17]

Thus, the text indicates that the main objectives of l'Entente include the promotion of the development of Francophone communities and affirm the commitment of the Government of Canada to Canadian laws by financially contributing to enhancing the development of these communities. The text also indicates that l'Entente seeks to build partnership between the government and the communities whereby each party assumes responsibilities and obligations. It also stresses the participation of the community in playing pivotal roles in its development.

In the context of l'Entente, development refers to enhancing human resources and community infrastructure in the various fields such as the arts, economy, education and judicial services. Thus, development will be achieved by establishing and maintaining organizations and structures. This reveals that the government recognizes the significant role community organizations play in the development process. As we can observe, the text highlights participation of community members in l'Entente's process. This indicates that it offers social agency to the community as these communities themselves identify their needs, initiate their development plans and take part in the development process. The text brings to our attention the fact that development in the case of l'Entente will be accomplished in partnership between the State and its community, revealing that it is the State that stresses community participation.

The text speaks of the government's respect for autonomy, diversity and participation of the community in a perspective of equity. Let us see what the text explicitly states about equity: "The organizations of the [Francophone] community and the Ministry of Canadian Heritage recognize the

importance of equity with regard to the participation and the representation of women and men" (Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000, p. 2).[18]. In this quotation, equity is highlighted in relation to gender representation at the levels of l'Entente's committees. The question that arises is what the text mentions about racial equity. The issue of racial equity in relation to development will be spoken of in the ensuing discussion because, as we will see, it occupies a focal space in positions of Blacks with respect to l'Entente. This discussion shows that l'Entente affirms the commitment of the Canadian Government to enhancing development of Francophone communities and that community development will be accomplished in partnership between the government and its official linguistic community. Therefore, l'Entente is important because it reveals how the State understands community development and how these communities position themselves with respect to the State's discourse on their development. This factor is itself significant as it reveals the impact of the various positions taken by the State and the community vis-à-vis community development. These issues emerged during a series of consultations that were held across the province in preparation for l'Entente, within all sectors of Francophone communities to identify these communities' development needs. Each sector has produced a final report that was sent to participants and to l'Entente committees. To examine the social dynamics that arose during the process of l'Entente, the following section focuses on the Black Francophone sector's consultations.

Part 2: Black Francophone Consultations

I took part in one of the Black Francophone consultations. At the time my ethical review had not been approved as yet. However, I started collecting my data shortly afterwards. I interviewed participants who have different positions with respect to l'Entente. I will base my analysis on public documents such as the racial minority reports of consultations as well as on the interviews. The Black Francophone sector held its consultations in Ontario's major cities with its sub-sectors that include, among others, community organizations, education, justice and communication. A provincial coalition of organizations, including women's groups, represented the sector of racial and ethnic communities. The women's organization Refuge—mentioned earlier as one of the newly emerging groups—organized all the racial minorities' sector meetings in Toronto. The final report of consultations identifies the main barriers Black Francophones face and the needs of their community development. Therefore, the report offers an overview of the strategic plan of the Black Francophone community. I will briefly examine the barriers and development needs identified in order to investigate what

these factors reveal about community development. The main barriers pointed out by Black Francophones address questions related to systemic barriers that the community and its organizations experience. The report of Black consultations stresses:

> We are more numerous than what the Statistics show . . . systemic refusal from funding providers to support the projects of the of racial and ethno-cultural minorities organizations (p. 2) . . . lack of equity and justice with regard to the allocation of funding to our [Black] community organizations . . . we receive small [amounts of funding] compared with our contribution to tax . . . systemic racism [demonstrated] in several forms . . . it [racism] also exists in the hiring for regulated professions; in the recognition of credentials and at the level of integration in traditional Franco-Ontarian organizations (pp. 4–5) . . . lack of opportunities to find ourselves employment in our field of specializations . . . this is caused by the racism that pertains our society (p. 5).[19]

These statements reveal that the barriers Blacks face are due to systemic racism manifested by the institutional definition of Francophones and lack of equity at levels of funding and representation in Francophone mainstream institutions and the non-recognition of credentials. As we observe, these remarks include the explicit term of systemic racism and reveal that the identified barriers come from the State but also include Francophone institutions. The repetition of the notion "systemic" in the two expressions "systemic refusal" and "systemic racism" indicates that all the practices that have been identified as forms of racism stem from the system which is regulated by both the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. This concept may also mean that the practices of racism are done according to a fixed plan, affecting all Black Francophone organizations.

Let us now examine the position of Blacks on each of the identified barriers. When it comes to statistics, as we observe, the report re-iterates that the number of Blacks is higher than the one offered by Statistics Canada. It is worth noting that the discourse on barriers in the context of l'Entente evokes the issue of Statistics Canada's definition of Francophones. This point reminds us that how Blacks are officially defined impacts on how the State deals with their development needs. It also underlines the connection between statistics, under-funding and the lack of consideration for the specific developmental needs of Black organizations in government funding programs. Therefore, this position stresses that l'Entente is a program of funding that reveals the negative impact of statistics on Blacks. When it

comes to funding, the report stresses the "systemic refusal" of Black organizations' requests of funding. In this context, the term "systemic" may either indicate that funding is automatically rejected, or that the system in place frequently turns down their requests. In either case it means the refusal is organized and continuous.

In addition, lack of equity is identified as a major barrier. We can observe that the terms systemic racism, lack of equity and justice are used in the same context. This reveals the connection between the three concepts in the sense that the lack of equity is a manifestation of racism. Accordingly, reinforcing equity is a commitment to the principles of social justice. Equity is employed many times in the report, for example, in relation to under-funding of Blacks within l'Entente. The interesting point outlined is that the funding Blacks receive does not correspond to the contribution they make as taxpayers. This view shows us that Blacks perceive funding as a re-distribution of what is already paid by citizens. The view is that Blacks contribute to taxes by paying income taxes and by consuming products. Their economic participation generates taxes and ads to the creation of wealth. They consider that they have the right to benefit in return. Taking into account the small amounts of funding Blacks receive, their claim in this context is that they contribute as tax payers but do not benefit.

This view implies many issues. It brings to our attention the participation of immigrants in boosting the economy of the State. This stance is a counter discourse to the largely dominant racialized stereotypes that perceive of immigrants as ones who do not pay taxes but take advantage of them. In this instance, the Black Francophone position reveals that, considering that these Blacks are highly under-employed, they pay taxes the hard way, but they do not gain advantages as they should. This discourse therefore places funding within the discourse of rights. The notion of rights implies the responsibility of the State as it is the body that redistributes resources. In this context, the lack of equity is connected to the State's under-funding of Blacks. The concept of equity is also related to the under-representation of Blacks within Francophone mainstream institutions. This point reveals that the systemic barriers Blacks face implicate both State and Francophone institutions.

A major barrier identified by Blacks is the non-recognition of foreign credentials. The report points out that many professionals encounter difficulties in access to employment in their fields, regulated professions and others (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2001). The non-recognition of credentials is a major obstacle that faces large proportions of visible minorities in Canada. It also impacts on Black Francophones who are largely under-employed. The non-recognition of credentials is an issue of

racism because it is not limited to credentials obtained from other countries but also affects racial and visible minorities who are educated in Canada. It also unmasks contradictions within Canada's policies as a country of immigration exposing the fact that a significant proportion of visible minorities—immigrants and otherwise—are under-employed (Galabuzi, 2001; Ministry of Canadian Heritage, 2002). It is evident that the non-recognition of credentials has a severe impact on the socio-economic integration of these minorities. The non-recognition of credentials deserves to be analyzed as a very specific subject.

However, even though it is not irrelevant, it goes beyond the scope of this research. What we can mention in this study is that, as the discussed quotation reveals, the non-recognition of credentials in the case of Black Francophones manifests itself by exclusion practiced by both State and Francophone mainstream organizations. It is therefore directly associated with racism exerted within societal institutions. This topic also brings to our attention that, even though this chapter focuses on State racism, many of the systemic barriers Blacks face simultaneously connect to State and Francophone mainstream institutions. This point reminds us of the double minority status of Black Francophones as a racial minority situated within official linguistic minorities. It also reveals similarities at the level of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. This issue will be discussed in greater details in a later chapter.

The discussion has shown that the main barriers identified by Black Francophones are factors of systemic racism that mainly manifest themselves in the lack of equity in funding; under-representation of Blacks in Francophone institutions and the non-recognition of credentials. This discussion also reminds us that racism is frequently referred to in the discourse of Black Francophones and that it is of utmost significance in their experiences. It also reveals that these are major barriers, which, most importantly, have a severe impact on the Black Francophone community. In this context, the discussion offers an overview of the status of community development. It reminds us of the lack of infrastructure in the Black Francophone community and the poverty that members of this community encounter. If we link this point to the previous discussion on the socio-economic status of this community, we can conclude that these barriers contribute to reinforcing the severe conditions of the community that, as we have described, are demonstrated by poverty, unemployment and the lack of financial resources and necessary infrastructure.

We should keep in mind that while Black Francophones report identify various forms of institutional racism that Blacks face, the text of l'Entente does not single out racism as one of the axes of development that

should be taken into account when speaking of development. This observation shows us that there are conflicting views between the State and Blacks who are part of its official linguistic community. As it has been mentioned, the State seeks, through l'Entente, to enhance community development in partnership with the community and each party—the State and the community—has responsibilities to assume. In this context, the question arises: What will be the following stages of the community identifying these barriers both for the State and the community? Black Francophones participated actively in the consultation process for l'Entente. Based on the outlined obstacles, the social actors cited have tried to pinpoint their development needs and therefore it is necessary to identify the role of the State. Let us now briefly study the development needs of Black Francophones.

As the Black consultation report emphasizes, development priorities basically include the presence of strong community infrastructure, establishment of centres of services and economic development institutes, equitable access to funding, education and employment as well as the recognition of credentials. The report also stresses the necessity to re-implementing Antiracism Education. In this regard, we observe that these priorities are crucial for development. We also note that many of these concerns correspond to the main fields of development identified in the text of l'Entente. The precise question to be asked is what is specific to Black Francophones in these needs. In this instance, it is important to mention that the Black Francophone sector stresses issues of Antiracism and equity at various levels. Let us see how these two factors are outlined in the following examples:

> Equitable access to funding (p. 12) . . . to the very continual Programming Funding . . . rigorous application of the employment equity policy directed to the Francophone organizations and institutions that receive the Federal funding (p. 7) . . . [we request] a study on the impact of the elimination of the Ontario's employment equity policy on Francophone racial minorities (p. 8) . . . [we request] a global equity policy in the distribution of financial resources, services and employment (p. 10).[20]

These statements inform us that Blacks claim support for a global policy of equity to be applied at various levels including access to resources, funding, employment, services and representation in government and Francophone mainstream institutions. The use of the term "rigorous" in relation to equity affirms that equity policies should be implemented at all these levels. It is important to note that Blacks signal the lack of equity as one of the major barriers that they face. They stress the necessity to reinforce equity

policies in the process of development. In addition, the recommendation to incorporate equity policies is coupled with the claims for re-implementing Antiracism Education. It is interesting that these social actors stress the need to study the impact of the removal of former equity policies at the level of the provincial government on the Francophone racial minority.

As we recall, Black Francophones were included in that policy as both racial and Francophone minorities. Both equity policies and Antiracism Education were implemented during the mandate of the former New Democratic Party government (1992–1996) and were eliminated after the Conservatives took power in 1996. In that case, white Francophones lost linguistic equity rights at the provincial level but still have the State's constitutional protection as an official linguistic minority. Unlike whites, Black Francophones lost the rights they had gained as a linguistic and a racial minority and Antiracism Education at the provincial level. We may suggest that Blacks still have constitutional protection as a linguistic minority. However, many Blacks are not convinced that the Federal Government properly protects them as part of its official linguistic minorities. This point draws our attention to the fact that issues that pertain to the official linguistic minorities are protected by Canadian laws while policies that concern racial minorities—in this case racial equity policies and Antiracism Education—are not constitutional laws but are implemented by the provincial government. It is therefore up to provincial governments to adopt such policies.

The equity policies Blacks recommend in the context of l'Entente are similar to the earlier provisions. The fact that Blacks advocate re-implementing these policies reveals the significance of the policies to these social actors. This can be explained by the fact that the former equity policies dealt with Black Francophones as both a racial and a linguistic minority. Accordingly, Blacks gained rights and resources that took into account their belonging to the two minorities. This leads us to conclude that the position taken by Blacks to reinforce equity and Antiracism in the context of l'Entente, indicates that these social actors are keen to be officially dealt with as a racial and linguistic minority. If we relate this discussion to the main theme of l'Entente—development, we notice that perspectives of Blacks stress the saliency of racial equity and Antiracism for the success of the long-term development of racial minorities.

It is important to examine what the text of l'Entente mentions with respect to equity in relation to Francophone racial minorities. We have earlier stated that l'Entente speaks of equity in terms of the representation of women and men on the committees of l'Entente. The following sentences state what the text of l'Entente says about equity in relation to racial

minorities: "The Steering Committee must represent the different sectors of the Francophonie of the province [Ontario] taking into account factors such as demography, geography, gender, [and] the racial and ethno-cultural minorities (Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario, 2000, p. 5).[21] This statement shows that l'Entente's notion of equity as it relates to racial minorities is linked to the representation of the sector of racial and ethnic minorities on one of l'Entente's committees. The text does not speak of racial equity in terms of distribution of funding nor of access to employment. As we have seen, Blacks speak of Antiracism Education and of a global policy of racial equity that should apply to all levels of l'Entente and Francophone mainstream institutions. In addition, the text of l'Entente does not refer to racism, and while Blacks stress racial equity, the text of l'Entente does not explicitly speak of this concept. This point informs us that there are disagreements between the State and Blacks views on issues such as racism and racial equity that are stressed by Blacks as major elements for the development of the Black Francophone community.

As has been stated, l'Entente links funding to development. Blacks connect funding and development to racial equity. What do these social actors mean when they call for equitable funding? This question is replied to in the following statement of the report submitted by Blacks: "[We claim a] distinct and autonomous (p. 7) [and] . . . equitable (P. 9) budget." [22] In this context, the social actors concerned stress that the government should assign autonomous and distinct funding to Blacks. This brings up the issue of the "distinct funding," which involves a long process that connects to funding. For years, Blacks have been claiming that a specific amount of funding needs to be allocated to racial and ethnic minorities. The entire discussion of a distinct envelope, which also came during l'Entente consultations, signifies that instead of assigning one budget for all Francophones, there would be two separate budgets, one for white Francophones and the other specifically for racial and ethnic minorities. This request is based on the concept that Blacks would be better off to have distinct funding that would consider their specific needs. The purpose of having a separate budget is that, as funding is presently distributed to all Francophones as one group, Blacks are not guaranteed equitable funding that properly applies to their needs for community development.

Therefore, the argument is that, as long as funding is attributed to all Francophones, most of it goes to and is controlled by, whites. The request for separate funding is considered by Black Francophones as the best strategy to ensure their organizational functioning and to reinforce their community's long-term development. As we observe, Blacks claim a distinct budget but do not specify a given amount of funding. This may reveal

that Blacks presently focus on the principle of gaining a distinct budget rather than on quantifying it. However, based on above discussions, we conclude that Blacks advocate funding identified within the perspective of equity and based on adequate statistics as well as the consideration of their specific development needs. The fact that Black Francophones consistently make this request tells us that the social actors I consulted have come to realize that the present model of funding distributed by the State does not guarantee them equitable access to the financial resources assigned to Francophones. We therefore maintain that the struggle for distinct funding is undertaken to contest practices of the State, namely the under-funding of Blacks, that distributes the resources to Francophones and also to diminish the effects of intervention by Francophone mainstream institutions.

It is important to mention that the issue of distinct funding generates heated debates and tensions between the State and Black Francophones and between Black and white Francophones. Blacks refer to it as a "struggle." This view might be the result of the fact that this debate is highly politicized. In addition, these social actors link their stance on the distinct funding to relations of power at various levels. Blacks who are involved in the process of claiming distinct funding believe that this model of funding would bring them economic power and autonomy. This view is also connected to power in the sense that it is based on beliefs that Blacks do not have proper access to resources because white Francophones are not willing to share these resources. It is worth mentioning that the perceptions of the Blacks are triggered by the fact that white Francophones play major roles in decisions over distribution of funding because they are the majority on l'Entente committees. This is one of the factors that lead Blacks to maintain that white Francophones exercise a monopoly over financial resources. What leads Blacks to perceive attainment of distinct funding as a struggle is the fact that their claims have been repeatedly made but constantly rejected.

The question then arises concerning who contests the request of a distinct envelope and why. The discourse of the Black Francophones reveals that both white Francophones and the State reject their request. The argument is that Franco-Ontarians resist this initiative because it will reduce their power in the form of control over funding allocated to the entire Francophone community. If Blacks' perception is that Franco-Ontarians are against this request, let us see if the State is receptive to this request. As stated, the text of l'Entente does not divide funding to specific groups of Francophones but rather to programs and projects of all the sectors of the Francophone community such as education, economy and health. This observation indicates that the State's model by no means corresponds to

Black Francophone request of distinct funding. This discussion also allows us to maintain that neither the State nor white Francophones support the request made by Black Francophones. If distinct funding means equitable access to power, resources and sustainable development for Blacks, what does it signify to the State and white Francophones? Is funding distributed according to Black Francophones identifying their own needs [which is finally the goal of holding consultations in preparation for l'Entente]? And, after all, who really decides over major issues that concern Black Francophones? Answers to these questions extend beyond this research. They reveal, however, that the issues that concern the funding of Black organizations in the context of l'Entente are complex.

In this section I have examined the major barriers and the development needs that Black Francophones have identified during their sector consultations in preparation for l'Entente. We have seen that the barriers they encounter are significant as they relate to systemic racism mainly coming from State institutions but also including Francophone mainstream institutions. This factor stresses the inter-connectedness between the two systems: the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. This discussion is also a reminder to the State and all concerned that the Black Francophone community faces major obstacles. As we note, the development needs addressed by Blacks are meant to resolve major barriers. Blacks seek long-term development for the Black Francophone community.

The discussion by Blacks of l'Entente highlights the axes of community development while it re-iterates the need for resources and a government strategic plan based on principles of equity. However, as we observe, the debate on l'Entente (which is initially a policy of funding that seeks to support the development of Francophones) is highly politicized. It includes political interests and power relations exercised by the State towards Blacks who are part of its official linguistic communities as well as relations between white and Black Francophones. In addition, there are conflicting positions between the State and Blacks concerning major issues, notably the policies of racial equity and distinct funding. More than that, the State is accused of systemic racism by social actors to whom it distributes resources. To what extent will the conflicts and these dynamics impact on community development, which is supposed to be accomplished in partnership between the State and its communities? Now that the barriers have been identified, the focal issue becomes the time it will take to rectify them and the solutions that will be put in place to fight poverty and racism.

This discussion about l'Entente is based on the texts that were produced by the State and the Francophone racial minority respectively. When it comes to the position of Blacks, the issues that have been stressed are

based on the position of members of racial minorities who took part in these consultations. Even though they have an obvious disagreement with l'Entente, they have participated in the process and have voiced their concerns through their participation. Nevertheless, not all Blacks agreed with how the process of l'Entente went. Some social actors have fundamental disagreements with respect to the principles of l'Entente, which have finally led them to withdraw from l'Entente negotiations. Such positions deserve to be analyzed because they reveal the multiplicity of social positions within the Black community. They also tell us that State racism leads these social actors to take various positions to resist State racism. These issues also impact on the Black community's development.

Part 3: An Opposing Social Position to l'Entente

A group of Black Francophones holds a position based on disagreement with specific issues that pertain to how Black Francophones are situated in the former and present Ententes. The social actors who take this position have been actively involved in the Francophone community for years and play important roles in advocating for the rights of Black Francophones. It is also worth noting that some of the main figures of this group were part of the former Entente committees and were thereby accepted by the State and Franco-Ontarians to represent Black Francophones. These social actors have raised their concerns during the series of negotiations that started at the end of the 1990s to evaluate the first Entente which covered a period of five years (1995–99) and decide the structure of the present Entente. They finally withdrew from l'Entente process and have organized a series of meetings with community members with respect to l'Entente. Many of their views on l'Entente are similar to those pointed out in the consultations of Black Francophones cited above and concern under-funding and under-representation of Blacks. I will discuss what differs in their position from those consultations. This position is based on the argument that during the first Entente the goals that relate to the participation of the government in the development of racial minorities were not put into practice. We can understand that this issue applies mainly to under-funding and lack of significant socio-economic integration of Black Francophones on different committees and their access to decision-making processes.

These claims are striking because they reveal that the overall status of Blacks' development has not improved. They also indicate that the government has not assumed its responsibility during the first Entente in enhancing the development of Blacks as part of the official linguistic community in a minority context. These social actors attribute this situation to two major factors that interconnect. The first factor is that Black

Francophones are considered within l'Entente as one of the numerous sectors of the Francophone community. This shortcoming leads to the second factor, which is that the government does not recognize Blacks as a full community that has its own sectors. These two factors are significant as they reveal how social actors connect l'Entente to State racism. The views also highlight fundamental contradictions with respect to racial minorities' constitutional rights.

Let us now briefly examine how the discourse that contests placing Blacks within l'Entente as one of the sectors, is constructed. Mtoru Hassan asserts: "In l'Entente we are an element among thousands, we are considered sectors."[23] In this example, Mtoru Hassan, who is one of the main figures taking the opposing view to l'Entente, reveals that the group contests placing Blacks as one of the numerous sectors of l'Entente. As it was explained, l'Entente's committee consisted of fifteen sectors that included education, women, health and racial and ethnic minorities. As there is no sector of Franco-Ontarians but rather of justice, health and other categories including Blacks, this gives Blacks the idea that they are actually considered a sector of Franco-Ontarians as opposed to being a sector of *la Francophonie* and are therefore treated as equal to categories of health or communication.

The argument raised is that treating Blacks as a sector places them in an inequitable power position vis-à-vis white Francophones. This opinion is also related to the question of the number of Blacks represented in l'Entente committees. As mentioned, each of the sectors has one representative in l'Entente's committee. This is a reflection of the fact that, in the case of the former Entente, for 2 committees consisting of over 10 participants the majority were Franco-Ontarians with merely 1, or 2 Blacks represented. Social actors who contest this issue reveal that the under-representation of Blacks in l'Entente committees limited the participation of Blacks in decision-making processes and subsequently led to their under-funding. Let us examine how the sector issue relates to inequitable power relations among Francophones and how it leads to the under-funding of Blacks. This question is elucidated in the following statement that appears in one of the documents entitled Process that were produced in 2001 by the group that holds the opposing view discussed in this context: "Well, obviously, the majority always gained and the minority was never able to modify the decisions or to approve some [decisions] that seemed to it essential for the protection of its rights, there was therefore an unequal vote [imbalance in power] towards racial minorities" (p. 21).[24] These words refer to the techniques of voting during meetings of l'Entente's committees. The quotation reveals that, when representatives of the Black community voted on issues of concern to their

community, the majority turned down their vote. This statement points out some important issues.

We should note that l'Entente committees are crucial as they make all major decisions that concern Francophones. It is also worth noting that, in this context, participants refer to the former Entente. However, we should keep in mind that the breakdown of sectors has not been modified in the present Entente. Hence the relevance of this social position to the present Entente. The argument underlies the imbalance of power relations as Franco-Ontarians control over l'Entente notably appeared in the voting process. As Franco-Ontarians were the majority on these committees, the decisions they supported were adopted. This situation implied that when representatives of racial minorities made suggestions on issues that concern their communities, the final decision depended on positions held by whites.

The view of these social actors reveals that this process has impacted on the funding of Blacks in the sense that needs of racial minorities were not considered priorities. We observe that Black Francophone issues are marginalized by the principle of "one person one vote" which is based on liberal democracy. With a liberal democratic structure Blacks are unable to equitably protect the interests of their community. In addition, this discussion reveals that decision-making is a function of inequitable relations of power. It impacts on Blacks in the sense that they do not participate effectively in taking decisions on issues pertaining to their communities or on matters that relate to *la Francophonie* at large. This also indicates that white and Black priorities are not common. But even if priorities do not need to be common what counts is that all priorities should be respected. This becomes an issue of power in the context of l'Entente as, when Blacks vote on matters that concern them, whites have the privilege of deciding how the specific concerns will be dealt with. Why, in most cases, does it have to be a Black person that brings forward the racial minority agenda? Does this mean that if there are no Blacks represented, their needs will not be taken into account? Why do not institutions protect the interests of Blacks? Considering that l'Entente's committees include representatives of the government and Franco-Ontarians, the question to be asked is to what extent do the State, which is regulated by Canadian laws, and Franco-Ontarians take into account priorities of Black Francophones?

Community members argue that the presence of Blacks at these levels is crucial to ensure that their interests are protected. However, as the debate around l'Entente sectors reveals, the presence of two or three Blacks does not resolve the problems, as it will still be the majority that takes the decisions. The issue raised in this debate is the imbalance of representation and its impact on voting. Under-representation of Blacks continues in

the present Entente. As a result, in the two Ententes there have been few Blacks on committees because Blacks represent only racial minorities. The question that arises is why Blacks represent only their community? Why are other sectors of l'Entente in majority represented by whites? Representation can be contested in the sense that whites represent all, while Blacks are limited to their community. It is also the norm that Blacks are expected to focus only on Black issues while whites decide on all matters. Whiteness is considered the norm.

This discussion also relates to principles of democracy and protection of minorities. The concepts that emerge in the discourse of these social actors on "majority" vote versus "minority" vote are relevant to questions about the democratic processes and their theoretical foundation, that is, the liberal democracy which governs the State and the text of l'Entente. According to liberal democratic practice when it comes to decision-making, the "majority" vote is adopted and the "minority" vote is respected (Weale, 1978). While, in the context of l'Entente meetings, the concepts of "majority" and "minority' relate to the number of those who vote, these notions apply respectively to white and Black Francophones who are actually a racial "majority" and a racial "minority" among whom there are inequitable power relations. In this context, the "majority" vote is taken by the racial majority. Accordingly, the "minority" vote comes from the racial minority.

We should note that the decisions taken either concern the racial minority or express these minorities' views on global issues. What happens in this context is that the "majority" vote will be adopted. What is not obvious is how the vote of Black Francophones will be respected. This makes us wonder to what extent this model guarantees the effective participation of Blacks in decision-making and, therefore, what measures should be put in place to ensure that decision-making is neither a matter of power nor of political interests. These questions remain open to debate. However, we can take from this discussion that the position of contesting the negative outcome of assigning the status of a sector to Blacks leads to rethinking the space that fundamental democratic principles assign to the full participation of Black Francophones and other racialized groups in decision-making processes and other levels of the structures of power.

As the social actors involved in this process indicate the negative impact of the status of a sector on their community, Blacks make claims to official recognition by the Canadian State as Black Francophones within a full community. Let us examine this claim: "[We claim that] the Canadian Government recognizes the existence of the Francophne racial minorities in Ontario as a full community, and not as a sector or segment of the Franco-

Ontarian community . . . and this, because we possess the constituent elements of a community in fact and in right" (p. 13).[25] This quotation which is taken from one of the documents that were produced in 2001 by the group that is taking the position being analyzed, stresses that Blacks claim to be recognized as a full community. The notion "full community" means that Blacks represent a community that has its own sectors but is not one of the sectors that constitute the various fields of l'Entente. As the above statements indicate, these social actors claim that Blacks should be considered a community because they possess the elements that constitute a community. This argument is based on perceptions that Blacks have various categories of women, youth, elders and numbers that are sufficiently high to establish a community. There is also the existence of some organizations within the Black Francophone community. They also have issues of specific concern to them such as education, health and economy.

Our attention now turns to the significance of statistics. For example, in this case, the number of community members supports claims for being considered a full community. Opposing the terms "full community" and "sector" indicates the major distinction between the two concepts. We see the link between the refusal of Blacks to be considered one sector of *la Francophonie* and their request to be considered a "full community." The lack of recognition as a full community leads to the lack of policies targeting the funding of development of Black Francophone organizations. Consequently, resources would be assigned to a sector and not to a community. Hence, claiming the status of full community would rectify that situation for Blacks.

If we compare l'Entente and Blacks models of community that have been discussed, we observe that the claims made by Blacks recognize the co-existence of Francophone communities that include their own sub-sectors. While Blacks merit being counted as a community not a sector, the present model of l'Entente indicates that Blacks are considered a sector of the Francophone community. Therefore the two models do not complement each other when it comes to the concept of "community" as it relates to Black Francophones. The point is that a group of Blacks rejects the present model of l'Entente in which there is one community divided into about fifteen sectors. The question of whether Black Francophones do indeed represent a community is therefore on the table. We then have to ask what constitutes a community and what makes white and not Black Francophones a community? Since Blacks demand recognition as a full community, let us identify which kind of community they claim to be by considering the following remarks made by Mtoru Hassan during interviews: "Therefore what is more important for us is that the Federal

Government recognizes us for what we are, we are Black Francophones, Francophone racial minorities."[26] Mtoru explicitly claims that official recognition should be attributed to the racial minority in question as "Black Francophones." In his remarks, Mtoru uses the terms "Black" and "racial minorities" interchangeably. However, he wishes his community to be recognized as Black and Francophone. He is speaking of a Francophone multicultural/racial community.

The position taken by Mtoru refers to what was previously mentioned regarding official recognition of this population as Black Francophones and the connection between their race and language. In this context, the precise question to be posed is whether it would make a difference if this population were to be considered "Francophone" only or if it were recognized as "Black Francophone." To reply to this question, we contend that, when Blacks are considered Francophones, they increase the number of all Francophones and therefore support claims for funding of the entire Francophone community. This probably allows mainstream institutions to gain more benefits. However, when they count as Black Francophones, they bring more benefits to racial minorities. This would permit the protection of the rights of Blacks and lead to consideration of their development needs in terms of experiences of immigration and racism, issues that are specific to Blacks. These experiences are not inherent to the meaning of the officially recognized term "Francophone." Therefore, the most important point for these Blacks is that the government recognizes the Black Francophone community as part of *la Francophonie* in Ontario and as a Francophone racial minority.

Let us now examine how the group that, in its disagreement with l'Entente, demands official recognition for Black Francophones as a full community, perceives this recognition. During an interview that I conducted with the social actors who take this position, Mtoru Hassan explains:

> [To] advance one's community one needs a protection, like all minorities, it is necessary that facing a majority all minorities be protected. The Federal Government does it while protecting the Francophones outside Quebec by assigning to them financial resources. We ask the Federal [Government] to . . . say that we are the minority of a minority and therefore as a minority of a minority we have the protection, one, to guarantee us a specific number of seats, two, to guarantee us a decision autonomy in the matters that concern us . . . [and] that there be therefore a concrete policy specific to our community so that we would have a plan for the development and for the positive growth of our communities.[27]

This discourse reveals that the official recognition sought by Black Francophones entails constitutional protection for their rights. The argument raised by these subjects in this context is that all minorities need protection for their guaranteed constitutional rights. They stress that, as the government offers constitutional protection to Franco-Ontarians as an official linguistic minority, then Blacks deserve this protection, just like their white counterparts. Their position also reveals that Black and white Francophones do not gain this recognition equitably. Black Francophones specify that, as they are a double minority, they need double protection as a racial and linguistic minority. In this instance, recognition for Black Francophones signifies that the Federal Government will be expected to implement policies that ensure resources and long-term development of Blacks. Thus, this discussion demonstrates that recognition as a full community is crucial because it will guarantee rights and protection. Mtoru's discourse links recognition to the rights of racial and linguistic minorities. Therefore, the goal is the recognition that guarantees legal and political rights such as specific policies and a long-term plan of development targeting the Black Francophone community. His view stresses that protection in the case of l'Entente, will be respected by guaranteeing them autonomy in terms of decision-making and specific policies of funding and community development.

In addition, protection for Blacks entails that they will be equal partners to white Francophones, not one of their sub sectors. Mtoru illustrates this view: "That implies that we are also partners in these schools and that our community members should be employed in these schools, if we [Blacks] want to establish a large cultural centre in Toronto . . . there are Jamaican cultural centre, why dont' we obtain such a centre?"[28] In this context, the constitutional protection claimed by Blacks means that Blacks would obtain the rights and resources to establish tools of development as well as infrastructure for their institutions and thus become equitable partners within existing mainstream institutions. This indicates that Black Francophones would gain access to the share of power, for example by occupying different positions in the hierarchy of Francophone mainstream institutions. We can also observe that when Mtoru speaks of the right of Black Francophones to establish their own institutions, he cites the example of the Jamaican community. It is important to outline that during the fieldwork, Black Francophones consistently compared themselves with their Anglophone counterparts with whom they share similar identity markers: history, race, language or culture. In so doing, they bring the social category of Black Anglophones to the discussion.

When Black Francophones refer to Black Anglophones like Jamaicans or Sudanese, Black Francophones speak of their Anglophone counterparts

as "full communities." That is because many Black Anglophone communities have strong structures and tools of promotion. The comparison made in this context refers to an opinion that was repeatedly voiced by my research subjects; that is, Black Anglophone racial minorities are much better economically integrated than their Francophone counterparts. That allows Black Anglophones to better organize themselves. This specific comparison during the debate about l'Entente is significant because social actors stress it to mean that they too should receive support from the State to attain a similar level of socio-economic integration. The issue of comparison made between Anglophone and Francophone Blacks will be spoken of in a later section. However, what should be kept in mind in this context is that, Black Francophones who take this position believe that their Anglophone counterparts are doing better than they are because the State treats them as a full community and not as a sub-category of the Anglophone community. As we will see, the observations Black Francophones make with respect to their Anglophone counterparts have impact on power relations as they lead these social actors to take various positions to resist inequities based on power relations.

This discussion leads us to contend that Black Francophone demands to be recognized as a full community are triggered by various factors including sector status, under-funding and the lack of concrete policies concerning the development of the Black Francophone community. My data show that their claim is also based on the severe socio-economic conditions of Blacks and their organizations as well as on disparities between Black and white Francophones. These differences include experiences of racism and immigration which, unlike Franco-Ontarians, most Blacks face and are added to the distinction made previously by Black Francophones between them and their white counterparts at the level of socio-economic disparities. Therefore, the comparisons Blacks make between them and white Francophones lead them to realize that Franco-Ontarians—and Black Anglophones—are more advanced than they are. As a result, Black Francophones seek to be considered a full community.

We can here make a connection between Blacks' claim to be a full community and the previous request for distinct funding to be allocated to Black Francophones. The two claims are connected in the sense that they both reveal that, under the present system, where Blacks are treated as a sector of the Francophone community and where they do not have specific funding assigned to them they will not progress. This is because most of the resources go to and are monopolized by white Francophones. Blacks who take the positions cited above are convinced that the best way to ensure the long-term development of their community is for them to obtain autonomy and an equitable share of power with white Francophones.

We observe that the group opposing the negotiations leading to the present Entente made these claims to avoid placing Blacks in the same subsector status as they had endured in the previous Entente. However, it is to be noted that the present Entente still treats Blacks as a sector and not a full community. In addition, racial minorities still have one representative in l'Entente. This means that the major requests with respect to the status of Black Francophones, were not taken into consideration in the present Entente. Therefore, we can say that since the first Entente there has been no "Entente/agreement." Those Black Francophones who requested full community recognition have finally boycotted the process of the present Entente. It is worth noting that their actions did not end there. They have submitted suggestions to the Federal Government. The first one is to have a global Entente that will be implemented by three parties: the Federal Government, Franco-Ontarians and Black Francophone communities. This would be part of the mechanism that guarantees the place of racial minorities in l'Entente. In that case, the three would act equitably, as partners together. In case the government does not accept this suggestion, another option provided by this group is to make a separate Entente between the government and the Black Francophone community. If the government does not clarify its stance on the suggestions made by these social actors, the Black Francophones plan to take legal action against the government if necessary. Mtoru Hassan mentions this intention in the following remarks: "If we have to take a legal action, we are going to do that against l'Entente, in order to dismantle [it] . . . indeed, we are going to take legal action [against l'Entente]."[29] As we observe, Mtoru uses strong and explicit language that affirms his resistance to the State. The term "indeed" shows the determination to take the action spoken of.

We notice the emergence of the discourse on legal rights, confrontations with the government and recourse to courts. It indicates that these Blacks are willing to take action as a reaction to State racism. However, we can conclude that considering the government has not accepted requests for the distinct funding made by Blacks who participated in the previous mentioned consultations, it is not likely to approve this one, a request for the establishment of a separate Entente with Black Francophones. It bears mention that months afterwards these social actors have in fact taken legal action against the federal and provincial governments contesting the impact of the lack of official recognition of Blacks as "full Francophones." This position, which is presently underway, is extremely important but goes beyond the limits of this work. It therefore deserves extended study.

In this section of the book, I have dealt with the position taken by some Black Francophones who have major disagreements with l'Entente.

These social actors contest the relegation of Blacks to the status of a sector of the Francophone community. They contest this status because it leads to the lack of specific policies targeting development of the Black Francophone community and, therefore, places them in an inequitable power relationship vis-à-vis white Francophones. Consequently, these social actors request that Black Francophones should be officially recognized as a full community that should have constitutional protection as a double minority, that is, a racial and a linguistic minority. This position is significant because it stresses the opposition of Blacks to the State's major programs of funding, and it also shows that such situations engender serious consequences such as the withdrawal from l'Entente as well as legal action against the State. The discourse of the opposition to l'Entente tells us that while the government theoretically encourages Blacks, as part of its official linguistic community in a minority situation, to participate in identifying their development needs and to take part in the development process, groups of Blacks are asking the State to challenge its own racism and to rethink how it situates them in its constitution. In order to understand how opposition to l'Entente may impact on State-community relations and on the Black Francophone community, let us situate this position in the context of the entire discussion concerning l'Entente emanating from the State and the two Black groups.

Part 4: Comparing the State and Black Francophone Positions

L'Entente is important because when it is discussed provincial groups need to find consensus to negotiate with the government. The example of l'Entente showed that the Federal State organizes distribution of resources to its official linguistic minorities and seeks to respond to their priorities. As we have seen, the Francophone community is not homogeneous. It is multilingual, multicultural and multi-racial. Therefore tensions and struggle over power arise between a diversity of groups. L'Entente generates various discursive practices that reveal how the State perceives Blacks as part of its minorities and how these Blacks position themselves with respect to the State's practices. L'Entente also reveals how communities communicate with the State, for example, through public reports and meetings to contest or agree with its practices.

We notice that debates about l'Entente—like the one on funding—extend to include various issues such as development, curriculum, education and culture. Since l'Entente seeks to enhance the development of communities, the racial minority consultations tell us that this is not the case for Black Francophones. We can recall that goals of Blacks in the consultations included identifying barriers and needs of development. The consultative

processes of l'Entente show that Blacks have participated actively in deciding the direction of development of their community. Their discourse informs us that the Black Francophone community faces numerous challenges. Blacks constitute an economically vulnerable group and their organizations face institutional poverty. These are all manifestations of State racism. The priorities of Blacks that are related to development seek to eradicate these barriers in order to attain equitable rights and to improve their living conditions. The priorities included access to decent employment, elevating the representation of Blacks in decision-making arenas at various levels of government or institutions and the attribution of appropriate funding to Black organizations.

Blacks reacted in various ways to l'Entente consultations. How did opinions intersect and impact power relations among the various groups? In comparing the text of l'Entente and Black Francophones reports, we pinpoint commonalties as well as divergences between the two parties implicated. For example, the State sees Blacks as a sector while the latter want to be recognized as a full community. The text of l'Entente indicates that the State has no intention to allocate distinct funding for Blacks, a request that is stressed by Blacks. While the positions taken by the two groups of Blacks tell us that Blacks speak of themselves as a double minority, the Entente text does not refer to Blacks as an official double minority. We have also noticed that the conflicts between the visions of the State and its minorities led to confrontations and to further processes such as legal action against the State. Therefore, l'Entente reveals how Blacks relate State practices to systemic racism. More than that, it shows that Blacks act and take positions to achieve their rights and to contest State racism.

When it comes to the two major positions taken by Blacks examined in this section, we observe that there are similarities between the opinions expressed by two groups on the fundamental issues such as development of the Black community and the implementation of policies of racial equity. They both tackled the question of State racism. While one group seized the opportunity to participate and negotiate the other boycotted the process. Though the strategies are multiple they are not contradictory but complementary. The two positions are different but are not against each other as they both seek the betterment of the Black community, equitable access to power and autonomy. In terms of community-State dynamics, we learn how Blacks position themselves vis-à-vis the State's discourse and practices. Keeping in mind that there are conflicting positions between the State and Blacks, and then the question to be answered is, what will be the impact of the various positions on inter-community and community-State relations? As it has been stated, the disagreement of Blacks with how their community

is situated in l'Entente led the second group to take legal action to contest the status of the Blacks. The foreseeable future will reveal to us the outcome of this position and other issues concerning l'Entente on the development of the Black Francophone community.

Black Francophones situate issues of funding and official recognition in the context of rights. They demonstrate antiracist perspectives revealing that, notwithstanding the recognition of equality in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms racial inequities still exist at the social, judicial and economic levels of society. The demands of the Black Francophones indicate that State policies have a discriminatory impact on Blacks while it has the responsibility of assuring the development of Black Francophones as part of its official linguistic communities. The discourse of the Black Francophones reminds us that this society has accomplished much in terms of equities and rights but has still a long way to go.

While the text of l'Entente demonstrates liberal perspectives, the views of Blacks are based on Antiracism. The text of l'Entente outlines gender equity but does not pinpoint racial equity in terms of access to funding and employment nor does it mention racism, while Blacks identified various forms of institutional racism. Blacks do not focus on gender equity. None of the texts has identified the intersections of racism and sexism that only Black women face (Mianda, 1998; Table féministe, 1999). The government document does not refer to racism, under-representation of Blacks in the institutional hierarchy or statistical inadequacies—all issues that were raised by Blacks. This makes us wonder to what extent liberal democracy considers the existence of racism. In fact, the persistence of racism in the society, as it is being identified in this and other studies, indicates that Blacks in Western societies still encounter systemic racism. Groups like the Aboriginal Peoples (Waterfall, 2002) and Anglophone racial minorities face State racism (Donkor, 2000).

The issues outlined by Blacks in relation to decision-making and the need for protection for minorities raise many troubling questions. Black Francophones claim protection within a liberal democratic system. But how does liberal democracy protect racial minorities? The challenge that arises is how to fight racism in democratic societies. Democracy is neither static nor immune to criticism. It is to be modified. These issues relate to the liberal discourse which states that citizens should be treated based on principles of equality (Weale, 1978). The challenge that these principles face is how to treat groups equally when they are not equal, that is to say, groups who are not all at the same socio-economic stage of development. Moreover, some groups face racism and discrimination exerted by the Canadian State itself or by other dominant groups in society. The racism that Blacks and other

minorities, notably the First Nations, continue to endure in Canada, tells us that liberal democracy which preaches equality has not so far equitably provided protection for all minorities. In this regard, the discourse of Black Francophones, which is based on Antiracism, challenges liberal democracy that regulates the text of l'Entente as well as the Canadian State that has produced this text based on Canadian laws. Therefore, we conclude that Antiracism brings to liberal democracy the principle of equity. These factors tell us that it is not only institutions that should transform to adapt to demographic change and diversity, but also that theoretical foundations, notably liberal democracy, that regulate the State, need to be rethought and modified accordingly.

Black Francophones demand to be officially recognized as a linguistic and a racial Francophone community that has title to constitutional rights and protection. If Blacks continue to request official recognition, this means that they feel they are not properly recognized by the State. The status of majority-minority changes according to whether one is in Quebec or in Ontario but, what does this difference teach us about State racism and power relations? If we look at Black Anglophones in Quebec, do they have the recognition and protection as the minority community—white Anglophones? When it comes to Ontario, are Black Anglophones in Ontario part of the dominant majority that discriminates against white Francophones? Why do both groups of Blacks have a low socio-economic status in the two provinces? These questions are about the issue of official recognition and who benefits from rights and constitutional protection in Canada. In other terms, even though the notion of "founding nations" is itself contested, it is important to ask whether Blacks are considered Francophones and Anglophones, belonging to each of the two nations that constitute Canada? We assert that, as this work has shown—and will continue to reveal, Black Francophones in Ontario do not gain the same privilege as their white counterparts (see also Ibrahim, 1998). Other studies have demonstrated that Black Anglophones in Quebec live in poverty and still face various forms of racism (Torczyner & Springer, 2001; Waldron, 1996).

In addition, racism is one of the factors that trigger the internal migration of Black Francophones from Quebec to the rest of Canada. These points lead us to conclude that, not only is it true that the Canadian constitution favors Anglophones and Francophones, but also that it is only whites who gain the privileges of the recognition that the Canadian State attributes to the two official bilingual "founding nations." Therefore comparisons between different groups of Blacks in different provinces point to systemic racism. Moreover, Black Francophone requests of official recognition are added to other major requests of recognition as distinct communities made by groups

such as the Aboriginal Peoples. These claims lead us to pose fundamental questions about Canada's constitution and Language Policies. Therefore, these issues need to be analyzed in greater details in future research.

These observations reveal that l'Entente deserves further study. The importance of l'Entente is that, as a consequence of its process, many contentious issues arise. Therefore, future research may follow-up on issues such as Black sub-sector of women. It is worth mentioning that women made a similar request to negotiate a separate Entente between the State and Francophone women. This issue goes beyond the scope of this book but deserves to be analyzed in depth in order to reveal the connections between the two positions taken by Black Francophones and by Francophone women. In addition, the legal action that was taken by the group, which was opposed to l'Entente and therefore against the Government of Canada, deserves extended studies. Moreover, l'Entente stresses harmony between Anglophones and Francophones in Canada but does not refer to harmony between Black Anglophones and Black Francophones, an issue that also needs to be analyzed. The points outlined in the debate about the status of Black Francophones in l'Entente of Ontario, apply to Black Anglophones in Quebec. Therefore, future research may offer insights into the conditions of the two communities and compare the status of the two racial and linguistic minorities in both provinces.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the institutional definition of the category "Francophones" and its impact on the Black Francophone community. It has also explored the situation of Black Francophones in the distribution of the financial resources allocated by the State to Francophones as an official language community in a minority situation. This chapter has investigated how the funding agencies' criteria contribute to limiting the access of Black Francophones to material resources as well as the impact of underfunding on Black Francophone community development. It portrayed State racism as a factor that contributes to the under-funding of Black Francophone organizations. The chapter has also provided, as an example of funding policies that explain these dynamics, the policies of *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement, an institution that generates a process of social dynamics between the State and its Francophone communities and within these communities.

Thus, this chapter has shown the link between State racism and funding. In this instance, the analysis revealed that the relations between Black Francophones and the Canadian State relate also to the connections

between the predominantly white State and the Francophone mainstream institutions. These connections lead us to conclude that the State is not only constituted of Anglophones. It is predominantly white and Anglophone but also includes white Francophones who occupy key positions at the various levels of State institutions. Groups like the Aboriginal Peoples, Black Francophones as well as racial minorities are not, until the present time, equitably represented in major State power positions (Cooper, 2003). We conclude that Black Francophones are situated in a complex position between the State and the Francophone mainstream community.

Chapter Five

Antiracism and *la Francophonie*: Blacks within Francophone Communities and Institutions

> Oppressive language does more than represent violence; it is violence; does more than represent the limits of knowledge; it limits knowledge (Toni Morrison, 1993).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines Black Francophone perceptions and experiences of racism within Francophone communities and mainstream institutions. It is within these communities that Francophones interact and that is where Blacks are situated as a double minority. Similarly, Francophone institutions have become sites where relations of power are exercised and resisted (Berger, 1996; Ibrahim, 1998). The discourse of Blacks illustrates various forms of racism faced within Francophone communities. I, however, will focus on specific practices of racism relating to how Blacks perceive power relations among Francophones; the exclusion of Blacks from key power positions, the dynamics of power among organizations of women and the lack of open discourse about racism from the dominant Francophone population.

To explain these issues, this chapter consists of four parts. The first part discusses the feelings that Blacks have of being betrayed and used by their white counterparts, as well as the institutional practices of racism—lack of equity and representation—which underlie these feelings. The second part focuses on a specific incident which is indicative of institutional practices and concerns a postcard depicting an ape. This postcard was issued by a Francophone college as part of its employment promotional campaign. The discussion of the postcard will identify how this incident is an example of institutional racism and what it informs us about mainstream institutional practices towards Blacks. In order to locate the social category of gender in the dynamics of power between Black and white Francophones, the third

part explores the power relations among organizations of Black and white Francophone women. The fourth part will illustrate that, even though Blacks face and speak of racism within Francophone collectivities, a major challenge for them is the silence of the dominant Francophone discourse over racism. The discussion of this chapter will lead us to draw precise conclusions on race, gender and the social dynamics of language in relation to racism faced by Blacks within Francophone communities.

PART 1: POWER RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE FRANCOPHONES: ELEMENTS OF INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Power relations among Francophones are characterized by the feelings of Blacks that they are being used by white Francophones. The main argument stressed by Blacks is that, notwithstanding their active participation in the Francophone struggle, their contribution to Ontario *Francophonie* is not recognized as they are excluded from sharing power and resources within Francophone communities. The point here is to identify what Blacks think their contribution is and how they are excluded from Francophone mainstream institutions (Case, 1995; Conseil pour l'intégration, 1997). Let us first speak of the contribution of Blacks to Ontario *Francophonie*.

Claude Milon migrated from Haiti to Toronto at the end of the 1970s. He has been involved in numerous mainstream and community organizations in Montreal and Toronto. He co-founded organizations and sat on committees and school boards. After changing positions many times in Francophone institutions, he presently occupies a key bilingual position in an Anglophone mainstream institution. He explains:

> The racial minorities played a crucial role in . . . the advancement of Frenchness in Toronto. Our fights led in 1988 to the adoption of the to the French services legislation . . . we campaigned so that the school counsels offer services in French . . . we were there at the centre of the fight and then, in a certain manner we were betrayed by white Francophones . . . even though we participated in the struggle, we worked with them . . . they used the ethno-cultural communities when they wanted to increase their numbers, but once that they received what they wanted, they all forgot that there were also ethno-cultural communities . . . with them and next to them in the fight.[1]

Claude's discourse identifies two major factors that inter-relate. The first one is that Blacks have played a major role in the struggle for French language rights. The second factor is that Blacks feel betrayed by white

Francophones because after many rights were obtained, whites have not included Blacks in sharing these gains. In Claude's words, the term "ethnocultural communities" identifies racial and ethnic minorities. Claude includes himself in this group by using "we" as he himself was involved in the Francophone struggle. The focal point we observe in this context is that Claude employs the notion "our struggle" to refer to the French services legislation and the creation of the Francophone Boards of Education which are usually presented as resulting from the struggle of white Francophones. In this context, Claude's discourse reveals feelings of deep disappointment often expressed by Blacks concerning relations of power among Francophones to the extent that terms like "betrayal" have become themes that characterize these relations. The betrayal that Claude refers to signifies that, when there is a struggle for French language rights, Black Francophones work hand in glove with white Francophones. When successes are achieved, Blacks do not get their equitable share in the resources as whites have control over the majority of resources.

In this context, Claude pinpoints the contribution of Blacks which is enunciated by the view that racial and ethnic minorities have played a significant role in the Francophone struggle, for example, by actively participating in meetings, demonstrations and mobilizing their community members. Claude's discourse in the rest of the interview informs us that Blacks assumed crucial roles in the fight to obtain colleges, separate Boards of Education and services. These are important rights that Francophones have gained after long struggles of activism, militancy and consistent organizing. Given the historical context, it is safe to say that, in isolation or collectively, Blacks have always been involved in the struggle for services and institutions. They have been particularly active in the fight to achieve those rights obtained from the beginning of the 1980s. The fact that this specific social actor, Claude, highlights this issue is significant, as he has been involved in the community for a long time and has experienced and witnessed these dynamics at work. More particularly, Claude is a Haitian who has strong connections with his community in Quebec, a province where Haitians have contributed significantly to the building of the society. When Claude was living in Toronto during the 1980s the Haitian community was already established in the city and had a strong infrastructure. Claude, like many other Haitians, was highly involved in the Francophone community and was soon joined by Africans.

While Claude speaks of the historical contribution of Blacks, other social actors remind us that this contribution is ongoing. The research subjects outline various dimensions of the Black contribution. For example, Blacks use French services and are political activists within the Francophone

communities. They claim French services in the police and fight English assimilation that has become a threat for the survival of *la Francophonie*. Other examples in specific contexts include those who like Claude work in bilingual institutions and also promote French services in promoting bilingualism. The point we take from this discussion is that Claude's position reminds us that Blacks contribute significantly to enforcing the rights of French language usage. Accordingly, their efforts have led to gaining resources that have become the backbone of the Francophone community and its institutions. Claude's discourse deconstructs public and official beliefs, which perceive of the notion of the "Francophone struggle" as pertaining solely to the efforts of white Francophones.

The contribution of Blacks is coupled with their feelings of being betrayed. In this instance, betrayal means that Blacks are used in different ways. They take part in advocating linguistic rights, services and institutions but do not benefit from the various resources available within Francophone communities. It also implies that institutions are claimed in the name of Francophones, yet, when obtained, a significant proportion of this population—Black Francophones—is excluded from the equitable share of power. Betrayal means that Blacks are used as numbers to support claims for public funding and institutions but are not treated as equals in sharing resources.

Many of my research subjects indicated that the discourse of being excluded within Francophone communities became more marked at the beginning and during the middle of the 1980s. These dynamics are important, as they have laid the ground for present power relations among white and Black Francophones. Blacks have realized that white Francophones constitute just another aspect of mainstream society and that they, Black Francophones, are a racial minority located within that linguistic minority. Those feelings and institutional practices led to the emergence of the distinct categories of "white" and "Black" Francophones. It was also at that time (the middle of the 1980s) that Blacks started establishing their own organizations and associations. In that context, the struggle of Blacks has doubled as their efforts to support language equity were coupled with attempts to create racial equity and promote the diversity and multiculturalism of Francophone communities. For example, Black Francophones have started contesting the under-representation of Blacks in mainstream institutions and celebrating events such as Black History Month which concern them as Blacks. All these issues have impacted on the process and evolution of power relations among Francophones until the present time.

What is important in this context is that the notion of "betrayal" implies that Blacks do not obtain an equitable share of resources within

Francophone institutions. Resources specially refer to the various autonomous institutions like the media and organizations like the ones that offer health and employment services and those of political advocacy, schools and colleges. Blacks expect that, as the resources are attributed to all Francophones, Blacks should have a fair share of the resources and power. However, the discourse on Francophone institutions is preoccupied with the exclusion of Blacks within and by these institutions. This exclusion is explained by various practices that Blacks identify as elements of institutional racism. In this context, I will focus on two major institutional practices that came up in the subjects' discourse—the exclusion of Blacks from key positions within Francophone mainstream institutions and the fact that the majority of clients of these institutions are members of the Black Francophone community. I will also examine how these practices relate to racism within Francophone communities and institutions. In contesting the power inequities that Blacks face in the mainstream institutions, Ben-Ngari, who has already been identified, contends:

> We are the object of racist acts of racist attitudes at the level of uh uh Franco-Ontarian institutions, that is where there is the problem the big problem, here I talk about [institution], [institution] is directed by Franco-Ontarians, I am talking about organizations institutions that really have power at the level of resources . . . you will see these organizations, all the leadership, people that really hold the real power of decision-making, that are placed in key positions, you see that the [racial] minorities are not there.[2]

In these words, Ben-Ngari pinpoints the first element that identifies the exclusion of Blacks within mainstream institutions, that is, their under-representation in major positions of power. His discourse includes the concepts "racist attitudes," "resources" and the notions of "institutions that have . . . power" and "the [racial] minorities are not there [represented]." These terms indicate that exclusion of Blacks from positions of power. These concepts establish a link between exclusion of Blacks from these institutions and racism. In this context, Ben-Ngari refers to prominent mainstream associations. He points out an issue that is frequently outlined by Blacks, that is, most of the key positions are taken by white Francophones while Blacks usually occupy part-time or contract jobs (Labrie et al., 2002). The issue here is not only whether Blacks are hired but also what kind of employment they occupy. This process engenders an institutional hierarchy whereby whites hold key positions while Blacks are usually at the bottom of the scale. As a consequence, Blacks are excluded from decision making processes and

from an equitable share of resources. This view therefore places emphasis on power, connecting the under-representation of Blacks to their exclusion from major positions of power within these institutions.

Under-representation is contested particularly because the majority of clients of the Francophone institutions are Black. This issue was stressed by Claude who, in contesting the inequities Blacks face mentions during the interview states: "The reality is that ninety percent of clients of Franco Service and the Clinique Communautaire are members of our community."[3] Claude provides examples of specific mainstream organizations that offer services such as employment search, health and immigration services. The point highlighted in this context is that most of the service users of these institutions are Black (Ibrahim, 1998; Madibbo, 2005). This process creates a racialized client-service provider dichotomy. The former are in majority Blacks while the latter are mostly whites. Blacks are thus situated in a relation of clients where they are treated as consumers who use products. It places Blacks under the category of "clients" not "Francophones" who should benefit from the right to offer services.

Blacks are the majority of clients because of their high number as immigrants and newcomers and because the Francophone institutions in question offer services to immigrants. If the majority of clients are Black, this means that whites do not often use services offered by these institutions. This point is significant because it reveals that white Francophones fought vigorously to obtain autonomous institutions, however, they do not fully utilize these services and that is because they use English services offered by Anglophone institutions (Labrie et al., 2002). This practice is itself contradictory in the sense that it indicates that while whites claim these institutions, they do not use the services but tend to control them. In this context, Claude and Ben-Ngari's concern with respect to Francophone institutional practices towards Blacks is the exclusion of this population from key positions of power while the majority of service users of these institutions belong to the Black community. There is an undoubted connection between the positions of Claude and Ben-Ngari who respectively belong to two different—older and younger—generations when it comes to the institutional exclusionary practices towards Blacks. This similarity of discourse demonstrates that the power relations among Francophones that lead to exclusion of Blacks from Francophone institutions have not significantly changed. The practices spoken of are linked to inequitable access to resources and are related to systemic barriers and racism.

In the same vein, many social actors speak of institutions that offer various services and also focus on the school system. The specific example of schools is frequently mentioned by community leaders who contest exclusionary

practices affecting Blacks within this system. The point outlined with respect to schools is that it is striking that schools in urban centers re/produce the above-mentioned racialized customer-service providers relationship that applies to other mainstream institutions. The schools therefore serve as a mirror image of relationships in the general *Francophonie* when we consider the racial disparities between student bodies, teachers, and administrators and so on. It has become a social fact that large proportions of the school population are presently members of racial and ethnic minorities. For example, in some schools the proportion of racial minorities reaches 80 percent of the overall student number. In addition, the point reiterated is that while the student numbers are significant, there is only a small number of Black teachers in these schools (Comité, 1998). The issue is that Blacks are mostly hired as substitutes within the school system. On the contrary, there are presently more Black Francophones who obtain permanent positions in the immersion and English-language schools.

The debates of community members and leaders about Francophone institutions has recently extended to institutions of higher education. This can be explained by the fact that there are presently more Black Francophone students in universities and graduates. When it comes to the lack of hiring of Black Francophones the universities are no exception from other Francophone institutions. This is related to the institutional practices of Francophone departments in institutions of higher education. The argument stressed during the fieldwork is that these institutions do not hire Blacks in spite of the fact that significant proportions of their students are Black. This position is taken by research subjects like Maurice Kwasi who contends:

> Look at the university [name] the majority of the students that come every year in the masters and the Ph. D. [programs] is composed of Africans only, as professors, as staff [there isn't] any African professor, there are Africans that studied here in Canada but there are none of them any more. We don't find anyone because everyone already left . . . because this institution claims to be French-speaking, it should also use [employ] French-speakers coming from other places, why should I tell you that the the Francophone institutions that are here offer us services? Look at the number of persons that are employed in [English-speaking] universities, among those persons you will see a lot of the people that speak the English language but that come from Africa.[4]

Maurice Kwasi arrived in Montreal from Central Africa at the end of the 1980s. After he spent 10 years in Quebec, he moved to two other cities

before he came to Toronto. Even though he obtained a university degree in his country, he pursued undergraduate studies in Quebec. When I interviewed him in 2001 he was undertaking graduate studies in an Ontario university. During the interview, Maurice stressed the under-representation of Blacks as professors in Francophone educational institutions. In these sentences, Maurice uses the term "Africans" to refer to Black Francophones. He argues that even though a majority of specific Francophone departments' graduate students are Black, the academic institutions do not hire Black professors. In the meantime, he provides examples of Anglophone departments which hire Black professors. One should keep in mind that Maurice's perspective is based on his observations and his own experiences as he himself had and still has connections with some universities.

Maurice's discourse brings to our attention the fact that a number of Black Francophones have completed graduate studies in Canada. Most of these Blacks do not have equitable access to employment in Francophone institutions and rather leave for other places. Black Francophone university graduates are employed in Anglophone departments. However, a recently observed phenomenon is that they go to the United States of America (USA) where Blacks have more access to employment opportunities guaranteed by policies of Affirmative Action. We can say that some Anglophone departments hire more Blacks because these departments implement employment equity policies. The question that deserves to be posed is what happens to Blacks who graduate and what happen to their white counterparts who complete graduate programs? To state the question clearly, what happens to Blacks and whites who graduate from the same Francophone institutions when they both pursue similar studies? This question is crucial because it shows whether the system treats them all equitably.

The under-representation of Blacks and other racialized groups in higher education institutions can be perceived of as a loss of human and intellectual Francophone resources but also as racism. It indicates that Blacks can invest years undertaking these programs but derive no benefit from their efforts. It also signifies that, with the growing number of Black students in universities, this practice will simply continue to create the racialized dichotomy that exists at the level of other institutions like schools. The professors and principal researchers will be white, while students researched and research assistants will be the Blacks. It is also striking that Francophone institutions of higher education do not equitably represent the diversity of the Francophone community. These observations are indicative of contradictions in institutional practices in the sense that though these institutions promote services and education, they do not integrate Blacks within the various levels of institutional hierarchy.

The analysis of the racist practices of Francophone institutions of higher education warrants future research. It is an important and delicate issue because I am producing this study from within the Canadian academy. This takes me back to what I have specified in the section on methodology: that conducting this research as a Black person within the Canadian academy, which includes a Francophone institution of higher learning, poses questions of epistemology. It is evident that in such a context "racial politics" might come up in one way or another, and my status as a student pursuing research might implicate me in a power relationship that involves my race and my politics on the one hand and Franco-Ontarian racial ideologies and institutional practices on the other. I am not concerned with "racial politics," but rather to specify that I find it a matter of necessity to speak out about Francophone practices in higher educational institutions. In this context, I emphasize that the under-representation of Blacks and other racialized groups in the Canadian academy is not limited to Francophone institutions. While many studies reveal the under-representation of Blacks in Anglophone higher educational institutions (Donkor, 2000), the practices of Francophone institutions towards Blacks have not been examined. I therefore stress that these practices need to be studied in depth in future research.

The under-representation of Blacks in various Francophone mainstream institutions is related to the non-recognition and non-accreditation of foreign academic and professional qualifications (Ministry of Canadian Heritage, 2002) a factor which was also outlined during l'Entente consultations. The non-recognition of foreign credentials is a question of under-representation of Blacks within both State and Francophone mainstream institutions. The point that needs to be emphasized is that, Black Francophones who migrate to Canada, have foreign credentials which are not properly accredited and therefore they are excluded from employment that corresponds to their qualifications (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2001). However, in the sense that members of racialized groups who acquire education and training in Canadian institutions are excluded from the workforce (Galabuzi, 2001), we conclude that non-recognition is not limited to foreign credentials. This common experience of immigrants forces us to re-think the ideologies and politics that guide these institutions and question the mandate of these notable educational institutions in forming citizens and respecting democracy.

During the consultations of l'Entente, Blacks linked the non-recognition of credentials to systemic racism. My analysis tells us that the non-recognition of credentials is a form of systemic racism that impacts on Blacks in many ways (Waldron, 2002). It should be analyzed in depth in order

to reveal the discriminatory ideologies that guide Canada's integration and settlement policies as well as institutional practices. The studies should, however, lead to identifying concrete solutions to promote the recognition of credentials obtained in and outside of Canada. We should also stress that practices like the non-recognition of credentials involve both Canadian and Francophone mainstream institutions, hence the relevance of this discussion to the racism practiced within Francophone institutions.

It is sufficient to state that Blacks feel betrayed because they are used as clients of institutions and at the same time they are excluded from occupying major positions, and it is important to examine why this state of affairs is an example of institutional racism. The essential factor is that these institutions were fought for and created in the name of all Francophones and Blacks expect to benefit from the resources along with white Francophones. This means that they should be properly acknowledged through access to an equitable share of power, access to employment and representation. However, as has been stressed, Black Francophone community members are largely under-employed despite their high level of education and drastic socio-economic disparities exist between whites and Blacks. These outcomes are directly related to racism because Blacks are used merely to boost the overall number of Francophones and this number is of primary importance in the determination of funding allocated for institutions. The practices of mainstream institutions are racist because although many institutions have gained from Black numbers the under-representation of Blacks in the Francophone institutional hierarchy persists.

The views of Blacks on institutional racism also relate to concepts of representation and equity. These concepts are pivotal to the discussion of power relations among Francophones. I have observed that, in the subjects' discourse, representation means sharing power within the community. Black Francophones argue that the wider Francophone community is presently diverse and institutions should adapt to change and reflect the image of the community they serve. Appropriate changes should be made at all levels of institutional hierarchies. Representation is also associated with equity since it ensures power on decision-making that controls equitable access to resources. The point is above all that the social reality has changed and the population is now diversified and institutions should be transformed and adapted to the demographic change. It is necessary to implement equity policies or the under-representation of Blacks and other racialized groups in key positions of power will continue to prevail. The issue of equity and representation stressed in this context with respect to Francophone institutions reminds us of the recommendations made by Blacks during the consultations of l'Entente. In that case, Blacks stressed the need for equity within

Francophone mainstream institutions. Their recommendations were driven by institutional practices such as those highlighted in this discussion. The discussion of representation within Francophone institutions is also part of debates which reveal that Canadian institutions do not equitably reflect the multicultural and multiracial fabric of Canadian society (Cooper, 2003).

The discussion of power relations among Francophones has revealed conflicts among Francophones. It has indicated that Blacks have feelings of betrayal based on specific institutional practices of racism such as the lack of equity and the under-representation of Blacks in the institutional hierarchy. Such practices create feelings of marginalization that convince Black Francophones that they are not considered an integral part of *la Francophonie*. After all, the institutional practices outlined in this part of the book indicate that Black Francophones do not have the same privileges as whites but are rather a minority within a minority. The discussion on Francophone racism focused on various practices that result in the exclusion of Blacks within mainstream institutions. I will now provide a specific case study that will illustrate the bias of institutional practices towards Blacks.

PART 2: THE COLLEGE AND *LA CARTE DU SINGE*/ THE APE POSTCARD

A Francophone College issued a postcard to be distributed to companies, as part of its employment outreach campaign (see Appendix B). The card, which became public in the middle of the year 2001, consists of a full color picture of an ape stretching its paws over a wall bubbling a bilingual speech: "J'ai besoin d'aide! Where's help when you need it." The postcard is postage-paid. The reverse side of the card states that the College can help employers find candidates and shows the official acronym and the contact information of the College.

It is important to place this incident in a socio-historic context. The College itself was created at the beginning of the 1990s. Francophones were involved in a long struggle to obtain it as part of the attempt to establish autonomous institutions. As stressed by research subjects, Black Francophones have actively participated in that struggle. It is interesting to note that the College emerged at the time when equity policies and Antiracism Education were actively in place. This means that those policies supported Francophone demands to set up the College. In addition this College recruited students who came from schools where they had been exposed to Antiracism Education programs. Naturally, legally and ethically the College was expected to represent Francophone diversity and to take into account antiracism policies on hiring and programs. However, years later, the discourse of

Blacks about the College corresponds to their views with respect to other Francophone mainstream institutions. The College's practices generated feelings of betrayal. The view is that Blacks fought for the College but did not obtain an equitable share of power. The largest single group of the College's students were members of visible minorities. However, most of the College's key administrative and academic positions were occupied by white Francophones. This means that, in the middle of the 1990s, the College reproduced the racial disparities that prevail in other mainstream institutions. This experience demonstrated to Blacks that the exclusion within mainstream institutions is continuous in time and in space. While the under-representation of Blacks is striking, the fact that the college has produced this postcard deserves particular attention.

The issuing of the ape postcard became the source of a controversial debate and was identified by Blacks as a major case of racism. As we observe, the link of the image to racism may not need analysis because the image speaks for itself. In addition, various factors explain why this specific incident relates to racism. However, in the context of this book, let us examine how the Black Francophone discourse links this event to institutional racism perpetrated by a Francophone mainstream educational institution. The various factors which reveal racism are captured in the following sentences which came up in a press release entitled "[The] College's use of racism imagery deeply troubling," which was issued by a Black Francophone umbrella organization named Solidarity in contesting the issuing of the ape imagery, some days after the postcard became public.

> [T]o millions of African people in North America and around the world, this image evokes one of the most insulting of racist stereotypes about Black people. In Africa, the colonialists justified their . . . genocide campaigns against African people by stating that Africans were sub-human, very much lower in the social Darwinist scale of evolution. In the United States, Canada, the Caribbean and the rest of the African Diaspora, slavery, racism and discrimination were justified on the same ground as black people were called 'niggers' 'black monkeys' and other hate filled terms . . . Unfortunately these racist views are still alive and well in Canada. Right wing militia groups . . . and white supremacist hoodlums still propagate these obnoxious views . . . a sampling of the contemporary racist images available even as we speak, just visit any of the . . . KKK affiliated websites . . . We have noticed that the VERY SAME PHOTOGRAPH . . . that is employed in the College's publicity material is the VERY SAME graphic that is part of [the website] http://www.whitesonly.net/statistics.htm . . . it should be pointed out

> that as much as 80% of the clientele [of the College] . . . are themselves Africans or people of African descent.

These statements contain several factors which explain why and how the incident is interpreted as racist. These factors include the fact that the image is connected to racist ideologies, such as Social Darwinism, which were used to justify slavery and colonialism. Those racist assumptions are based on prominent biological and social theories that draw upon concepts of natural selection, superiority of races and white supremacy (Banton, 1977; Goldberg, 1993). These ideologies have engendered and justified slavery and colonization and have eventually led to various forms of racism. In this context, the discourse of Black Francophones also underlines the theoretical and applied foundations of scientific racism. In that context, race became a social construct in order to justify difference and therefore lay the ground for relations of domination and exploitation. Colonialists have often equated Blacks and people of African descent with monkeys, gorillas, chimpanzees and other apes, to dehumanize Africans and slaves.

The image of the ape evokes painful memories for Blacks. It reminds them of somber moments of their history. It perpetuates one of the most unacceptable racist slurs directed to peoples of African descent. The point to be stressed is that the image of the ape was and is used by white supremacists to degrade Africans, immigrants, Blacks in the Diaspora, in Africa, in Canada and in the United States of America and all people of African descent. However, we should keep in mind that, even though racist ideologies have emerged a long time ago, they laid the ground for contemporary racism. These ideologies help to maintain racism and inequitable relations among groups in society.

The press release provided examples of web sites that include graphics of gorillas accompanied by racist slurs. This reveals that white supremacist groups which overtly advocate racism and exclusion of Blacks still use animal images to dehumanize Blacks. This type of illustration reveals explicit racist codes embedded in both the College's publicity material and white supremacist web site. We clearly see the similarity in the practice of the educational institution and the white supremacist groups. It is shocking that a well-known publicly funded Francophone educational institution, which is supposed to diffuse knowledge and principles of equity and democracy, uses a strategy employed by racist groups. The question that arises is what ideology guides an institution, which had been only recently established to choose an image which is used by racist groups? In the sense that the postcard is designed by professionals, we expect that the College took the photo from these or similar sites. We should also ask ourselves what

message does this image send to employers and what is the link between an ape and those in the College who are looking for employment? The press release affirms that the majority of the College's students (80%) are Africans or people of African descent. This point also informs us that a significant proportion of the students belong to immigrant populations. This is also one of the factors that make this incident so insane, deeply racist and offensive. The inevitable conclusion that comes to mind is that the College links the students to apes.

This disturbing image reinforces racist ideas and demonstrates the lack of respect for difference of race and culture. The incident is also racist because the image and its context create a discourse related to racist ideologies. Yet it has been used in Canada by a Francophone educational institution that was publicly funded and designed to serve all Francophone peoples. The incident therefore had a considerable racist impact since it consciously or unconsciously inflicted deep damage on those who feel directly violated as well as all those who believe in equity and respect for diversity.

What does the issuing of the ape postcard tell us? It reveals an important and hidden aspect of Francophone institutional practices. It shows that these institutions reproduce racist practices, in this context, targeting Black Francophones. The example of the ape postcard is crucial because it reveals what happens after Francophone institutions are established in the name of rights and equity. It also demonstrates the impact of the under-representation of Blacks within mainstream institutions. The College's practice evokes Black feelings of betrayal in the sense that they took part in advocating for the creation of the College but were eventually under-represented in its hierarchy. More specifically it indicates that Blacks, as students, are used as pawns within these institutions.

While the issuing of the ape postcard may sound like fiction, it actually did occur. It informs us that the notions of "Francophone struggle" for justice and the "rights" of linguistic and racial minorities still include such negative experiences. As I will show in a following chapter, this incident engendered deep and widespread feelings of discomfort and disgust within Black Francophone community organizations that led these groups to take a leading role in strongly contesting the incident.

In the discussion on Francophone racism, we have so far spoken of power relations among Francophones. The analysis has pinpointed feelings of betrayal Blacks have with respect to their exploitation, marginalization and victimization by white Francophones. It has also explained that these feelings are triggered by institutional elements of racism exerted within mainstream institutions. Based on this discussion, we conclude that institutions and organizations have become sites where relations of power—

domination and resistance—are exercised. White Francophones sought to establish their autonomous institutions to resist the exclusion they experience within Anglophone institutions. Blacks experience racism within these Francophone institutions. This reveals that what white Francophones are doing to Blacks is in many ways similar to what they have experienced at the hands of the Anglophone majority. This then is about reproduction of dominance and the pain of a minority situated within a minority. Blacks have therefore created their own institutions to resist Francophone mainstream dominance. These relations make us rethink the process of struggle over and for power. Why does a group that fights injustice reproduce inequities? Keeping in mind that Blacks do not have the same power whites hold in this predominantly white society the question will be: to what extent can Blacks avoid reproducing dominance or will they learn from their experiences and opt for equity?

The power relations and racism that have been explored so far in this work are linked to institutional and systemic racism. These relations were mainly examined through analyses of questions of race and language, based on the discourse of Black women and men. However, in discussing issues of power relations within a given community, it is also important to consider gender. An exploration of power relations between Black and white women, produces a coherent and relevant analysis of how gender is situated in various dynamics of power and racism within the Francophone communities.

PART 3: WOMEN AND POWER RELATIONS

During my fieldwork, gender relations appeared as an important issue in the entire Francophone community, within both the white and Black communities as well as among groups of white and Black women. For example, during l'Entente consultations, the women's sector pointed out existing gender inequities within the Francophone mainstream community. The women's sector also stressed that gender inequities still exist at the social, judicial and economic levels of Canadian society. In addition, the sector report outlines barriers women face such as under-representation in positions of power. The issue that needs to be emphasized is that the emergence of the Francophone mainstream feminist movement, guided by a liberal feminist agenda, reveals that women are placed as a minority within the linguistic minority. This status is parallel to Blacks citing the existing systemic racism they face. Black Francophones and white Francophone women are both dominated minorities within Francophone communities. However, Black Francophone women's positions, which came up during the fieldwork, demonstrate the existence of inequitable power relations directed by white women towards

their Black counterparts. The situation of Black Francophone women sheds light on how gender is experienced in the context of power relations but notably reveals the complexity of the intermingling of race, language and gender. The experiences of Black women are the location of the intersections of multiple social relations.

I emphasize that gender does not pertain only to women issues in the same way that race is not an identity marker concerning Blacks alone. The point is that issues surrounding gender, in general, are numerous. Similarly, factors that relate to Black women in particular are also multiple as these women deal with the State, the entire Black community, with community and mainstream—including women's—organizations and Black Anglophone women's organizations. It is worth noting that there are a number of regional and provincial Black Francophone women's organizations, which offer services and target issues such as elevating the socio-economic status of Black women, integration and economic development.

Women's organizations are more recent in their formation than most of the other Black community organizations and face barriers such as institutional poverty. I will focus on power relations between Black and white women based on positions taken by two umbrella organizations of women. I will highlight the power relations that arose between the two organizations and how Black women's positions are situated in the discussion of racism within Francophone communities. The discussion on power relations concerns two provincial organizations: Women Provincial and Ontario Solidarity. The former is a mainstream feminist organization that advocates the rights of all Francophone women and was created at the beginning of the 1990s to resist marginalization of language and gender. It was established as part of Francophone women's struggle to defend linguistic and Francophone women's rights. It is also an umbrella organization that brings together most organizations of women—including those of Black women in the province. The latter, which was established at the beginning of 2001, is an umbrella group which brings together most Black women's organizations in Ontario. It seeks to create a platform for Black women's organizations and to advocate on behalf of the rights of Black Francophone women. Black women who have founded this organization were initially members of Women Provincial and of other mainstream women's organizations for many years. Existing Black women's organizations are presently part of both umbrella organizations. This background allows us to understand the positions taken by Black women that will be examined in this discussion.

The issue here is that Black women who were part of the mainstream organization—Women Provincial—have decided to become an independent provincial umbrella organization. This means that their organization will

be parallel to the mainstream organization. The question that arises with respect to power relations between Black and white Francophone women, after Black women have decided to establish their own organization is: what will happen when race becomes a contentious issue? In other words, will the mainstream organization reproduce the same inequity exerted by other mainstream institutions or will it defend its feminist principles and treat Black women as equals? As we will see, these factors generated a process of power struggle between the two organizations. These tensions are revealed in the discourse of Françoise Patrick who is a co-founder of the Black women's organization. It is worth noting that Françoise has been working within Women Provincial and other mainstream women's organizations for about 5 years. She is presently a counselor in a shelter that offers services to women victims of domestic violence. The experiences of Françoise tell us that she has developed expertise in women's issues and that she is aware of the dynamics of social relations within women's organizations. Françoise explains:

> Following the creation [of Ontario Solidarity], we said to [Women Provincial] that we would like a little to be an autonomous organization, we are a member of [Women Provincial] but uh one is a full member, we would want that all the files of the immigrant women return to us . . ."are you sure that you are capable, do you, do you feel ready? Because in that case we would not want to be, you know uh that you yourself come to ask us how to prepare funding proposals, we don't really have the time for that" . . . it's as if they didn't want that we proclaim ourselves autonomous to take take credit for what we accomplish I think it's like . . . a form of maternalism towards immigrant women, they don't trust our capacities, it's like that, they are not sure that immigrant women are capable to take care of themselves.[5]

In this context, Françoise's remarks include "you" used versus "we" The terms are respectively employed to refer to Black women "Ontario Solidarity" and to their white counterparts who are members of the mainstream organization. This discursive strategy reveals distance as it constructs two distinct categories of women. The term "full member" refers to a relationship based on equity. It means that Black women will be autonomous, not part of the mainstream organization. This concept is similar to the one used by Blacks during l'Entente debate when they requested to be recognized as a "full community." These two positions reveal that Blacks seek autonomy. The segment "are you ready/sure?" may indicate white women's hesitation or their lack of confidence in Black women.

Françoise's discourse reveals that the organization guided by immigrant women would be completely autonomous. This concept signifies that Ontario Solidarity would be the official voice of Black women. It also reveals that the organization would be in charge of all issues concerning Black women and, in particular, issues that used to be under the responsibility of the mainstream organization. In this context, Françoise explains how white women have reacted when representatives of Ontario Solidarity informed them that Black women intended to establish an autonomous organization. As the discourse of Françoise reveals, at that stage, power relations came into play. This is indicated in Françoise's discourse when she says that members of Women Provincial questioned the ability of Black women to function independently. Françoise's position makes us understand that white women did not support the idea of the creation of a Black women's autonomous organization. Françoise interprets the reaction of white women as a form of inequity in power relations. This can be observed in Françoise's qualifying white women's reaction as a form of "maternalism" which signifies a tendency of white women to place Black women in a secondary and subordinate position. It indicates that for Black women to succeed, they are to be "protected" by white women. It reveals stereotypes that underline the notion that Blacks cannot accomplish or even conduct administrative tasks on their own.

To situate this discussion in the context of this book, let us examine why the positions between Black and white women are about power relations? To reply to this question, we should keep in mind that both organizations are in a way similar in the sense that they are both umbrella groups that advocate on behalf of women's rights. The distinction between the two organizations is that one—Women Provincial—defends the rights of all Francophone women while the other—Ontario Solidarity—focuses on Black Francophone women. The point here is that Ontario Solidarity brings together Black women's organizations and is autonomous. It is not part of Women Provincial but is rather parallel to it. Thus, this situation is about the co-existence of two women's organizations that have similar goals. Women Provincial is controlled by white women who are its main decision-makers. Black women feel dominated within this organization and reject this attitude. It is interesting to note that an organization that advocates on behalf of women's rights is perceived of by a group of women as non-inclusive. The conflict over power between the two organizations is demonstrated by the Black women's request to assume responsibility for issues that concern Black women. This position indicates that it will not be the task of the mainstream organizations to be responsible for matters that concern Black women, as was formerly the case. The position taken

by Ontario Solidarity also informs us that Black women will receive the recognition for work accomplished with respect to immigrant women. It is important to mention that the tensions between the two organizations reached their peak when, during l'Entente consultations, Ontario Solidarity, claimed that Black women should be consulted separately from white women. We should also note that Women Provincial represented the women's sector in the process of negotiating l'Entente. Therefore, the positions taken by Ontario Solidarity inform us that Black women affirm the legitimacy of taking in hand matters that concern Black women.

We also observe that Black women, like Françoise, who create these organizations, are part of women's mainstream institutions which display all the applications of power inequities characteristic of all institutions. However, one should stress that immigrant women are the largest group of clients of the mainstream organizations. However, unlike Black women's organizations, mainstream women's organizations have the funding that allows them to cover expenses while Black women often work on a voluntary basis. The question of funding is particularly important because when mainstream women's organizations conduct projects on Black women, these organizations' chances of receiving funding are greater than the Black women's. Based on this discussion, we conclude that Black women's discourse on mainstream organizations is similar to that of Black Francophone community organizations with respect to Francophone mainstream organizations. Similarly, part of the Black women's struggle is also about inequitable power relations in terms of reproduction of domination within Francophone women's organizations. These power dynamics reveal tensions and conflicts between groups of Black and white women within the Francophone community.

In addition to tensions between Black and white women's organizations, Black women address existing power inequities within mainstream women's organizations. For example some of the women I interviewed argue that mainstream women's organizations do not accommodate approaches and perspectives that pertain to, or have been developed by Black women. We should also note that the women's sector of l'Entente which was represented by a mainstream women's organization, did not highlight the racism that Black women face. We should also keep in mind that mainstream women's organizations are regulated by a liberal feminist agenda. Therefore, the critique that I would direct to the mainstream women's organizations is that they defend the linguistic rights within the movement but do not focus on the intersection of sexism and racism that applies to Black women. This tendency to be exclusive is to be found in criticism directed to other mainstream women's organizations in the broader society in the

sense that the liberal feminist movement is largely based on the concerns of white, middle-class women. The shortcomings of this movement are recognized in its failure to challenge the intersection of racism and sexism faced by Black women, First Nations and other racialized groups (Collins, 1990; hooks, 1991). However, what is specific in the case of Francophone women is that white women are already a linguistic minority and Black women are a double minority—a racial and a linguistic minority. Unlike their white Francophone and Black Anglophone counterparts Black Francophone women emerge as the social category that is faced with relations of race, gender and language. Black women's positions on racism and sexism lead us to re-think the liberal feminist agenda in the same way that other positions taken on racism by Blacks during the debates around l'Entente led us to pinpoint issues challenging liberalism and how it relates to racial minorities and the fight against racism.

We have so far spoken of relations among Black and white Francophone women and have seen that tensions arose between their organizations. However, we should not forget that Black Francophone women are situated as a social category between the Black Francophone community and white Francophone women. While Black women share commonalties with both groups, they have concerns that are specific to them. The category "Black Francophone women" is constructed in the same logic of the category "Black Francophones." In the same way that Black Francophones have issues such as racism that concern them only—issues that do not relate to white Francophones—Black Francophone women have concerns specific to them only—factors that do not relate to white women and Black Francophones in general. The specificity of these experiences emerges from the intersection of relations of racism, sexism and language discrimination (Berger, 1996). The factors specific to women include for example the negative socio-economic impact of the sponsorship policy on Black women (Mianda, 1998). Therefore, the question that deserves to be asked is how gender dynamics are produced within the Black Francophone community and to what extent gender relations within this community are power relations. This point is important and deserves to be studied in depth but goes beyond the limits of this book. We, however, can say that in the same way that liberal feminists do not speak of racism that Black women face, the discourse of Black Francophones in my study does not outline elements of sexism that Black women experience. In this sense, the intersection of racism and sexism that applies to Black women is absent from both discourses.

Most of the Black women who participated in my study did not speak of gender oppression separately, but linked this form of discrimination to

racism coming from the State and the Francophone mainstream—including women's—organizations. This observation may indicate that, as social categories intersect, the fight against sexism is embedded in the fight against racism. This point also emphasizes the ubiquitous nature of racism in a predominantly white society since it means that the Black struggle against language discrimination and sexism is also about eradicating racism. The fact that women connect sexism to racism does not signify that their gender identities are any less important but shows that Black women have multiple issues and are simultaneously confronted with multiple struggles against racism, sexism and language discrimination. It also means that the racism that prevails in Canadian society, coupled with white privilege, is predominant to the extent that it occupies a central space in fighting all forms of injustices. That is why Black women within the feminist movement are also faced with the issue of race and racism. In the meantime, Black Francophone women's positions are a reminder to those pursuing the antiracism agenda not to leave the gender issue behind (Brand, 1991).

This discussion has shown that gender is an important factor in the dynamics of power relations within the Francophone community. More importantly, this study of gender relations tells us that the experiences of Black Francophone women are about the intersection of race, language and gender as important identity markers that have implications on relations among and between societal groups. This discussion has also revealed that Black women face multiple levels of minoritization. It unveils inequitable power relations among women's groups and attempts by white women to dominate their Black counterparts. This analysis therefore brings to light the reproduction of dominance by women and feminist organizations. I have earlier mentioned that the fact that Francophone mainstream society reproduces the dominance it experiences as a minority within the Anglophone majority. Francophone mainstream women's organizations impose similar exclusionary practices on Black women as those faced by Black Francophone community organizations in their relations with mainstream Franco-Ontarian organizations.

In this chapter, racism within Francophone communities brought to the fore institutional practices such as the lack of equity, and under-representation as well as specific incident, that of the ape postcard produced by a Francophone college. The question of how racism manifests itself in the case of Black Francophones seems parallel to the question why racism is rarely spoken about within the Francophone community. This question takes place in the context of the silence about racism that prevails in Ontario Francophone communities.

PART 4: THE WHITE FRANCOPHONE SOCIAL AGENDA AND RACISM

Throughout my fieldwork, research subjects constantly spoke of language discrimination coupled with racial marginalization. Placing emphasis on racism may be related to the fact that the latter manifests itself in multiple forms and comes from both the State and Francophone communities. Or it could be compensation for the fact that unlike the questions of race and racism, the linguistic element has been publicly, officially and constitutionally recognized. This does not mean that Blacks do not face linguistic barriers but rather indicates that their experiences as a linguistic minority are also determined by both State and Francophone institutional racism. As we have already seen, Blacks are unable to attain their rights as a linguistic minority because they are a racial minority that experiences racism. This part of this chapter sheds light on the connections between language, race and power relations among Francophones and shows how these relations connect to the white Francophone social agenda. I term it as such because the Francophone mainstream dominant discourse still focuses on French language rights without including racism and it is controlled by and prioritizes white Francophones. I will explore some specific points on how language relates to the experiences of Black Francophones. I will provide the views of Black Francophones on language barriers and how language relates to issues of race, gender and power.

Language impacts on Black Francophones in a variety of ways. Canada is internationally promoted as a bilingual State that has English and French as its official languages. As a result, Blacks who immigrate to this country mostly have pre-established views that life functions in both French and English. This perception changes later when they realize the distinction between the image portrayed to the outside world and the internal reality lived by all Francophones. Blacks then discover that French is a dominated language. In predominantly Anglophone cities, Francophone communities are invisible. Blacks also become aware that the limited orientation to English proficiency restricts their access to education and employment. They also face the inadequacy of French services. At least during the first years of settlement, Black Francophones rely heavily on these services. In many ways, language determines the experiences of Black Francophones. But is language the only problematic factor? Since they all speak French, where does the problem stem from? How do Blacks who choose to identify as Francophones speak of the institutional racism they face? Why do Black women pinpoint inequitable power relations that stem from mainstream women's organizations? Why do youth born in Canada face racism and

fight it? Based on the points examined in this study, we can reply to these questions by saying that these situations are related to the fact that the State-community and community-community practices spoken of in this work are highly racialized.

Language does not function separately as a discrete social phenomenon but is embedded in complex relations with race, gender, immigration and power. Language is the socio-political mobilizer that brings all Francophones together. Race—and class—creates distinctions within the linguistic minority. Blacks, who migrate to Quebec because it is a French-speaking province, leave it for socio-economic factors and because they face institutional racism there. As language unites, it also divides. It creates divisions among Blacks since it is also a barrier that prevents Blacks—Anglophones and Francophones—from connecting. The point in this context is not to doubt the relevance of language discrimination but rather to affirm that while Black Francophones are faced with the additive experience of racial discrimination in addition to linguistic barriers, the white Francophone agenda still focuses solely on linguistic discrimination. Let us see how social actors speak of this challenge.

Nildashingo, who is in her mid-twenties, was born in Montreal to Haitian parents. She moved with her family first to Ottawa and then to Toronto at the beginning of the 1990s. She speaks French, Haitian and English. She has always attended French-language schools but undertook her college studies in an Anglophone institution. Nildashingo presently works in a bilingual center that focuses on popular education and Antiracism. She is involved in antiracist activities in both the Francophone and the Black Anglophone communities. Her discourse links racism to power. She speaks of different existing forms of systemic racism. She also refers to racism that she herself encountered in various settings in school and in the workplace. Nildashingo recalls experiences she encountered in her primary school where remarks were directed to her from students and teachers. Her teacher in a French-language primary school once told her "Young nigger women do not dance ballet."[6] In addition to the above-mentioned forms of racism, youth like Nildashingo also encounter racism in everyday life. This is explained by situations she faced that show that both race and language shape the experiences of Black Francophones. She was once harassed on the street because she spoke in French and was told she should go back to Africa. Such incidents are simultaneously about the hatred directed at the French language and racist assumptions directed at racialized groups.

These incidents are related to the fact that Nildashingo is Black and therefore she has to be from elsewhere. The specific assumed place for all Blacks is Africa, so she has to go back there. Taking into account

that Nildashingo is born in Canada, this incident draws our attention to stereotypes and racialization of citizenship. Blacks are not "Canadians" but "immigrants." The incident reveals that a Black person can be subjected to both racial and linguistic harassment. The social position of Nildashingo reveals that, not only she faces racism but she is also outspoken against racism. She pinpoints challenges that she faces. She outlines difficulties in dealing with racism within the Canadian context at large and also within Francophone communities. She mentions that racism in Canada is subtle; implicit. That is, racism is usually hidden. Nildashingo asserts: "In Canada, racism is a lot more of a subtle one than elsewhere, on the other hand there are always small moments where this is really evident, it is [racism] something that everyone tries to avoid especially in the Franophone community."[7]

The works mentioned by Nildashingo remind us of a crucial factor; that is, in Canada racism is more "subtle" than in some other countries. She is obviously referring to predominantly white societies. As Nildashingo speaks of racism in the Canadian context, she also points out that the official discourse of the Franco-Ontarians is not open to the discussion about racism. In this context, Nildashingo's discourse reveals that racism in Canada is not usually discussed openly, but rather in an implicit way. Her discourse on racism reminds me of Bourdieu's notion of "subtle" power (1991), a concept that describes that racism is not exerted directly but rather in a hidden way. Actions or body language can express racism, and so racism can be practiced within institutions and in everyday life. At the same time these views exist beside public beliefs which underlie assumptions that racism does not exist in Canada. We can therefore say that racism in Canada is "hidden" in the sense that it is disguised by multiculturalism policies and the image presented to the world of a country that respects human rights. However, the fact that Nildashingo speaks of racism as it affects minorities and as she personally faces it, reveals that the positive image about Canada contradicts reality since racism has historically existed here (Case, 2002) and is still alive and well in this country (Commission on Human Rights, 2004). That racism is perpetuated and perpetrated within institutions and in everyday life. It is therefore difficult for youth like Nildashingo to believe that racism does not exist in Canada.

In addition, Nildashingo's position indicates that racism is rarely spoken of within Francophone communities. In making a link between Canadian and Francophone attitudes on racism, she refers to the silence about racism that is specific to Francophone communities. To situate this discussion in the broader social context, we should mention that this silence is manifested in many ways. It may take the form of a lack of open debate

on racism within the mainstream Francophone discourse and the absence of issues that concern race and racism from curriculum and publications. It may also be related to the fact that Francophone mainstream political advocacy and claims are still largely about linguistic rights. It may also take the form of neglect of racial equity policies at the level of Francophone mainstream institutions. The issue is that the fight against racism and the needs of Blacks as a racial minority are not yet included in the Francophone agenda. This agenda is largely based on language discrimination. In this regard, Waldron (1996) speaks of the focus of Quebecois mainstream dominant discourse on language. How does race threaten the French language agenda? We can say that introducing issues of race and racism to the dominant Francophone discourse may take the focus away from language rights. White Franco-Ontarians—who perceive of themselves as victims of the Anglophone majority—do exert racism through their abuse of power and consequently should no longer be portrayed only as a minority, as has historically been the case, but rather as a majority that reproduces domination over Blacks (Ibrahim, 1998).

The silence about racism, in the Francophone context, can be situated in the context of discursive strategy. Discourse is what is said but also what is not mentioned (Gal, 1989). Therefore, silence can be a strong discourse of denial. The denial is linked to not speaking of racism in spite of its existence. Not speaking of racism does not indicate that it does not prevail in society as the reality speaks for itself even when one is not willing to tackle it. We also contend that dealing with racism as a taboo goes against freedom of expression and is thereby against principles of social justice. Therefore, the silence about racism is in itself a manifestation of racism. This silence impacts on Blacks in many ways. Youth like Nildashingo that are involved in antiracist activities indicate that they encounter resistance in talking about racism within Francophone communities. Silence about racism creates a dilemma for youth who themselves experience racism, directly or through their community trajectories, yet cannot speak of it openly. Within the Francophone community those who wish to tackle racism will not find an appropriate space to do so nor a path towards its eradication.

Our discussion leads us to conclude that there are different positions and priorities within Francophone communities. While whites lead a struggle that is based mainly on language rights, Blacks are implicated in a double fight for language and race equity. Blacks are committed to the French linguistic agenda while the Francophone mainstream's discourse does not support the antiracism agenda in spite of the fact that racism relates to social dynamics within the Francophone community. Francophone Blacks are part of the official linguistic minority and the dynamics of

racism also exert influence within the linguistic minority. Therefore, racism is also a Francophone issue. As a result of immigration and other factors, the fabric and demography of Ontario society has changed. Francophone communities presently include racial minorities whose lives are not only regulated by language but also, as we have seen in this work, by race and racism. Therefore, language is not the only factor that concerns *la Francophonie*. Language discrimination is tied to race and gender oppression. A study of Black Francophone experiences based on the analysis of language will mainly reflect the language discrimination they face. Examining Black Francophone linguistic experiences together with race offers a more inclusive insight to the social dynamics produced within the Francophone communities. Similarly, one cannot thoroughly address issues of immigration and integration within Francophone communities without dealing with race. This is a reflection of the impact of immigration on society and its structures. Societies change, ideologies and practices should be modified accordingly! For the white Francophone agenda to be more equitable, it has to include race and other social categories that social actors bring to the table.

When youth like Nildashingo—and other members of the Black Francophone community—stress the silence over racism, their goal of talking about racism is to identify its dimensions in order to find solutions and fight it. They wish to initiate a racial dialogue. In a later section we will see that, through their organizations and groups, youth initiate antiracist activities through forums, discussion groups, in meetings or via the Internet. That data inform us that the discussion about racism is not vanishing, but is actually being articulated more frequently by youth or other members of the Black Francophone community.

The discussion about racism within Francophone communities has demonstrated that while Black Francophones face various forms of racism, the dominant white Francophone social agenda still focuses on linguistic rights. The point that needs to be examined is how racism that Blacks face should be fought. To reply to this question we can say that issues of linguistic rights and racial equity are closely tied to the debate about statistics and requests that Blacks have made during negotiations of l'Entente. These points are related to the official recognition of Blacks as a linguistic and racial minority by the Canadian State. We can also make a link to how Black Francophone experiences of race are affected by both State and Francophone institutions. The lack of official recognition by the State that Black Francophones constitute a racial minority within the linguistic minority as well as the silence about racism within Francophone communities result in a situation in which the racism that this group faces is neither being

addressed nor properly rectified. We contend that the official recognition of Blacks as a racial and linguistic minority can lead to the implementation of policies that consider the racism they are subject to and that allow for the creation of a space within Francophone communities to tackle racism.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: BLACK FRANCOPHONES CAUGHT BETWEEN THE STATE AND FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITIES

The two previous chapters have identified the various forms of racism Black Francophones experience from the State and within Francophone communities. The first chapter has explained that State racism is mainly exerted by the lack of official recognition of Black Francophones as a discrete group, the under-estimation of the number of Blacks by Statistics Canada, the under-funding of Black organizations and its impact on the community, the lack of equity and racial policies and the lack of policies that guarantee the development of the Black community and its organizations. The second chapter has explained how Black Francophones face racism within Francophone communities. Racism is related to inequitable power relations among Francophones, to institutional practices such as under-representation and to the silence over racism.

Based on the analyses made in these two chapters, we identify the situation of Black Francophones as follows: Black Francophones choose to live within Francophone communities which constitute an official linguistic minority. As a result of many factors including the marginalization they face within these communities, Blacks establish separate organizations and associations. Blacks also face various forms of State racism. While this population is situated as a racial minority within the linguistic minority, the mainstream component of the linguistic minority excludes it and the State does not treat white and Black Francophones equitably. These observations bring to our attention that when Blacks are part of a linguistic minority, which includes whites, the privilege attached to whiteness often places Blacks in a secondary position to whites. They will not be properly recognized as equitable to whites.

There are similarities between State racism and the racism of Franco-Ontarian organizations in terms of under-representation and the under-employment of Black Francophones. In addition, some specific forms of institutional racism, such as the non-recognition of credentials that has not been exhaustively analyzed in this book, are directly connected to both levels of the State and Francophone community organizations. Similarly, issues such as the under-representation of Black Francophones in positions of power are situated in ongoing debates on the shortcomings

of multiculturalism in adequately reflecting the multi-racial and multi-ethnic fabric of the broader Canadian society (Cooper, 2003). This critique also pinpoints the predominance of Euro-centric knowledge within the official and public acknowledgement of the historical and contemporary contribution of immigrants to building Canadian society and the under-representation of Aboriginal Peoples, racial minorities and women at the highest levels of power such as the Senate, the parliament and other State agencies. Therefore, the similarities between the practices of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions reveal connections between these two levels of social and political action. These connections allow us to contend that white Francophones do not exert a "new" form of racism but rather reproduce the discrimination that has always been practiced by the State. In the examples given, white Francophones have become just another white majority and a mainstream society having its mainstream institutions. In its reproduction of inequitable power relations, a minority becomes a dominant majority, and so my research concerns the same ideologies that have always targeted racial groups. What does the State do, however, about racism that Black Francophones face, and what measures does the State require of white Francophones in respecting policies of equity vis-à-vis Black Francophones? From the evidence presented, the two white majorities—Anglophone and Francophone—seem to be powerful dominant allies in the State.

This work also draws our attention to a focal point. Some forms of racism that Black Francophones presently face were experienced by their Anglophone counterparts years ago. For example, the under-representation of Blacks in positions of power in State and other mainstream institutions (Council of Ministers of Education, 1997; The Nation Council of Barbadian Associations, 1991). The fact that Black Francophones are facing systemic barriers that other racialized groups experienced in the past reveals that racism is not only ongoing; it is also being re-produced. Unfortunately, the patterns of racism faced by Black Francophones are not being appropriately documented. We also have to acknowledge that the condition of Black Francophones is not addressed in the antiracism discourse. The double minority situation that Black Francophones face is of such a nature that the racism they face is also invisible to their Anglophone counterparts. The main argument I set out with this respect is that, if it took Black Anglophones long years of struggle to overcome some of these systemic barriers, it should not take their Francophone counterparts the same period of time of engagement in the same struggle. This will be the challenge for the State through its policies, for the Antiracism struggle and for Black Francophones themselves—indeed, for all of us who are fighting for social justice.

However, by no means do these barriers indicate that the members of this community are helpless, perpetual victims. As we will see, Black Francophones develop numerous strategies of resistance to enter power structures within both State and Francophone mainstream institutions.

Chapter Six

Strategies of Resistance: Towards Building Stronger Black Francophone Communities

> Noting with grave concern that . . . countless human beings continue to the present day to be victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance . . . We acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies . . . in the history of humanity . . . We acknowledge the suffering caused by colonialism . . . We emphasize that poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, and economic disparities are closely associated with racism . . . While globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared . . . [the Conference] presents a unique opportunity to consider the invaluable contributions of indigenous peoples . . . Recognizing that national and international actions are required to combat racism . . . Reaffirming that States have the duty to protect and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms . . . and that they should apply a gender perspective (Declaration of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (2001a).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will highlight specific strategies Black Francophones develop to fight racism and therefore build stronger Black Francophone communities. I emphasize that I find it pertinent to speak of resistance because this approach reveals that social actors are not passive victims but are socially and politically aware (Elabor-Idemudia, 2000). These social actors do not exist to confront groups but rather to deploy efforts to develop their communities and to reinforce principles of social justice. In addition, by exploring resistance strategies this research goes beyond addressing discrimination to suggest how to eradicate racism and to make and implement policies that would enhance the future of Black Francophones as well as other racialized

groups. In the context of this book, identifying the tools of resistance will complement ongoing efforts that aim at shedding light on strategies that contribute to improving the socio-economic and political status of Black peoples in the Diaspora (Walcott, 1995).

The numerous strategies of resistance used by Black Francophones come from individuals and collectivities. These strategies extend out of a strong feeling of injustice to concrete actions such as organizing and sending one's children to English-language schools; these actions then move Black Francophones toward being integrated with Black Anglophones in one community and developing affiliations with various groups. The strategies also include taking legal action against Francophone mainstream institutions and/or the State. In addition, concrete actions are accomplished by some organizations to eliminate specific barriers that impact on the Black Francophone community. These actions relate to specific programs implemented to bring about institutional change, to enhance community economic development and to dismantle barriers that stem from the non-recognition of credentials. From the various strategies of resistance that have emerged during my fieldwork, I will examine in this chapter three social positions that relate to specific actions or strategies taken by collectivities to achieve precise goals.

These actions include the Antiracist Forum that was held in the middle of 2001 by a Youth organization in preparation for the World Conference Against Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Intolerance, which took place in South Africa at the end of 2001; the creation of an umbrella organization named Solidarity, created in 2000 bringing together fifteen organizations; and various social and political ties developed within the Black community between Black Francophones and their Anglophone counterparts. As we will find out, each of the three social positions is situated in the discourse of resistance and has specific significance for the development of the Black Francophone community.

This chapter is divided in three parts. In the first part, I analyze the Antiracism Forum. I identify the organization that organized this event, highlight the major elements of racism outlined as well as the recommendations provided during the consultation. I also examine how the event relates to Black Francophones as well as to the local and global struggle against racism. The second part focuses on the umbrella organization Solidarity. I explain how the organization came about, its mandate, as well as its significance for Black Francophone community building and development. The third part sheds light on the various links Black Francophones established with their Anglophone counterparts. I outline how these affiliations are situated in the discourse of Black/African Unity, how they relate to

race and language relations and their possible impact on the future of Black Francophones in Ontario. The three social positions analyzed will enable us to understand that Black Francophones are involved in a vigorous struggle to strengthen their community and to counter the inequities they face coming from Francophones and the State. The strategies developed by Black Francophones will significantly impact on the Francophone community in general and on Black Francophones in particular as well as on the community-State connections. These were all direct or indirect preoccupations of the Antiracism Forum.

PART 1: THE ANTIRACISM FORUM

Introduction

To examine how the Antiracism Forum is situated in the social dynamics of racial and linguistic minorities as a strategy of resistance, I will now give a brief overview of the Youth Collective—the group that organized the event. This is a well-structured and dynamic organization that was established at the beginning of the 1990s. It is one of the few organizations of Black Francophones that has continued functioning for years. It is led by a group of young Black women whose strong views on institutional racism faced by Black Francophones were included in previous sections. The organization's leaders have stressed the systemic barriers such as under-funding and poverty of the Black Francophone community. During a focus group interview conducted with the leaders of the Collective, they pointed out that the idea of establishing the organization came as a result of observing various obstacles that youth encounter. These obstacles include racism, being disoriented in a predominantly white Anglophone environment, the lack of appropriate services in French and violence (Ibrahim, 1998). The organization's goal is to offer to youth tools to reinforce their socio-economic integration and to facilitate access to various resources such as education, employment and funding. It also offers various services to youth that, in the majority, belong to visible and ethno-cultural minorities.

It is significant that the Youth Collective has a strong structure and diversifies its sources of funding that include self-generated resources. The organization's success is demonstrated by its ability to implement both short and long-term projects such as organizing forums and training programs, creation of CD-ROMs and initiating international projects. In addition, the organization works in partnership with schools and both Francophone and Anglophone mainstream and community organizations. The Youth Collective plays a vital role in defending the interests of the Black Francophone

community and has a vision to contribute to the development of this community. The organization has developed expertise that enables it to accomplish significant social and political goals and to play a crucial role within the Black Francophone community in particular and in Ontario *Francophonie* in general. The organization's achievements enable us to identify the link between its members' discourse on the necessity of rectifying power inequities that Black Francophones face and how they translate these views into practice. The Collective seeks to initiate concrete actions that would lead to rectifying the various systemic barriers that Blacks encounter. Its goals can be observed in the kind of projects and activities it implements such as discussions and workshops on antiracism. As part of this agenda, the Youth Collective organized a major event, the Antiracist Forum that constitutes the focus of this part of this book.

The Antiracism Forum was a provincial event organized by the Youth Collective in the middle of 2001 as part of Canada's preparations for the World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia and Intolerance (World Conference against Racism, 2001a, 2001b). As indicated in the Forum's final report, the purpose of the consultation was to identify and analyze the causes of racism and racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance and to offer solutions to help fight racism. The recommendations and suggestions made during the Forum would be presented to the World Conference along with the results of several other Canadian consultations. Over two hundred youth from various schools in the province, in addition to members and leaders of the Black Francophone community, politicians and representatives of the government participated in the event. The participants also made a mural and expressed themselves through entertainment such as poetry and music. The forum consisted of discussions, workshops and speeches by politicians and youth representatives who spoke of their experiences with and views on racism.

Major Elements of Racism

The Antiracism Forum identified major barriers of racism encountered. It outlined youth concerns about the various forms of racism and intolerance that exist in society at various levels including the fields of education, the economy and immigration. The audience also stressed the lack of open social debate in Canada on the impact of racism. Participants went on to mention that, as a consequence, racism has become increasingly subtle. The Forum maintained that campaigns of struggle against racism are usually sporadic and that these campaigns do not have a concrete impact on youth in the sense that the racism they are subject to is neither fought nor spoken about. Their criticism refers to the fact that although campaigns exist

they are usually not well connected. This crucial point is linked to what was previously outlined with respect to the lack of open debate about racism within both Francophone and Canadian contexts. By reiterating these issues during the Forum, the youth indicated that these are barriers they continue to face.

In addition, participants pinpointed biased laws and practices that contribute to enhancing systemic discrimination. Within the orbit of such practices, the youth highlighted various forms of institutional racism such as police arrests of Black youth based on racial profiling. The consultation also referred to the commercial material that was recently produced by a community college picturing an ape looking for employment. The Forum qualified the incident as a racist act directed against Black Francophones by a Francophone educational institution. The Forum also addressed the underfunding of youth organizations and the under-representation of youth in major athletic and other events. Youth identified other practices such as the under-representation of material pertaining to Black history and culture in the school curriculum. In addition, the consultation pointed out that some immigration laws have a negative impact on youth and their families as the specific laws limit students' chances of access to education or their family's access to employment. The youth also singled out the economic activities of Canadian multinationals that exploit resources in developing countries as among the other major forms of racism identified during the Forum. Let us now examine the relevance of these factors to the themes of the Forum and how they fit the antiracism agenda of Black organizations.

The forms of racism identified would seem to indicate that the Forum encapsulated the major forms of racism produced within Ontario *Francophonie* in particular and the broader Canadian society in general. This is demonstrated by the various topics tackled such as the exclusion of youth from major Francophone events, police violence towards Black youth as well as the State's policies through the practices of multinational companies in developing countries. Their practices implicate both State and Francophone institutions. Furthermore, the choice of the themes of education, economy and immigration is strategic because these themes are vital to the debate about racism since they directly relate to Black youth's experiences and are all linked to processes of integration of racial minorities or access to resources. The Forum highlighted two concrete incidents that generated controversy in cities where the incidents occurred and in other parts of the province. The first incident concerns the publication of the ape postcard that occurred shortly before the Forum took place. The fact that the postcard case was denounced during the Antiracism Forum shows that the incident had a severe impact on youth and that it elicited a strong response. As Black youth

constituted a significant proportion of the College's students, addressing the incident during the Antiracism Forum also reveals that the youth were prepared to personally take up the challenge and oppose what had occurred.

The second concrete incident referred to during the forum was police arrests of Black youth based on racial profiling, a topic that has been a frequent subject of discussion in Ontario and other provinces by way of demonstrating institutional racism that targeted Black communities (see Blatchford, 2002; The Uhuru Collective, 2003). Since allegations of racial profiling concern all Blacks, the mention of the police during the forum attests to the fact that Black Francophone youth face police violence also, just like other racial minorities in Canada. Because this action affirms that police and College practices have their sources in institutional racism, bringing the two incidents to the debate during the Forum was a concrete strategy of resistance. The Black Francophone youth's position on fighting racial profiling formed a part of their efforts undertaken in collaboration with other Blacks to combat and resist these practices. It was also strategically sound to oppose racial profiling during the Forum because that made the practices a public issue debated during an international event.

It is interesting that, as part of the major elements of racism identified, the youth referred to the issue of Canadian multinational corporations that exploit developing countries in many ways. Multinational corporations serve to destroy local economies while supporting the interests of giant corporations (The Group for Research and Initiative for the Liberation of Africa, 2002) and, in addition, sometimes support State policies at the expense of civilian rights. A pertinent example of such multinational practices is the Canadian Company Talisman Energies which, for about 5 years, supported war in Sudan and bolstered the State against civilians (KAIROS, 2004). Such practices are indicative of human rights abuse. It is one of the negative results of globalization and reveals how Western States in the North destroy developing countries in the South. The impact of these corporations is related to global racism and international development, and the practices of multinationals are therefore closely associated with State racism directed against developing countries (Reeves, 2001). The corporations are regulated by Canadian foreign policies and relate to Canada's international development agenda (CBC & 3W Productions Inc., 2004), and therefore reveal how racism is exerted on a national and international scale by official Canadian institutions.

Silence also prevails over Canadian multinational practices and their negative impact on developing countries so that they are neither spoken of publicly nor denounced from an ethical standpoint. Many of the youth who spoke out at the Forum or their families have lived in countries affected.

Therefore, we can conclude that Black youth, their families and their countries face the severe consequences of racist practices and negative impact of multinational companies. This by no means indicates that these practices should be opposed only by Blacks, but rather reveals that these youth have a transnational experience and outlook that make them aware of the danger of these practices. It is obvious that the youth are particularly concerned with this issue because it involves Canada and has an impact on their respective countries of origin. For them, it is both a national and international issue. These young Black Francophones therefore question those harmful practices, which are legitimized by Canada and in so doing, bring them to the attention of the world.

The forms of racism pointed out during the Forum permit us to observe that, if these practices are performed by Francophone and other Canadian institutions, those who suffer the ramifications of these practices are Blacks who are either located in Canada and/or in their respective countries. In this example, the groups are Francophone racial minorities living in Canada and the countries are developing States to which these Francophones belong. We cannot help but conclude that the multinational practices can best be understood in the global context of colonialism and imperialism. All the forms of racism discussed reveal that racism is well organized and targets the same groups whether they are in or out of Canada.

Major Recommendations made to help eradicate Racism

The Forum's main recommendations included, among other issues, a call directed to the Canadian government to provide more funding to youth groups to allow them to organize antiracist activities in schools and within communities. The youth also stressed the need to create caucuses at the regional and pan-Canadian levels, to initiate the means of struggle against racism. The consultation also recommended the implementation of roundtables, annual forums and electronic group discussions on racism between youth groups. In addition, youth suggested involving schools and communities in reinforcing issues of diversity and integration. The participants also outlined the need for creating committees in the schools and the community to educate society on issues of racism and to initiate a dialogue between social groups. Accordingly, the Forum emphasized the urgency of raising the awareness of the police to racism associated with disproportionate arrests of Black youth. The youth also stressed Canada's responsibility in monitoring the interventions of multinational companies in developing countries, indicating that the Canadian government has a moral obligation to support developing countries so they could emerge from the economic grip of Canadian multinationals and their natural resources be put to the

services of their population. Let us now examine what these recommendations tell us about the Youth Collective's commitment to fighting racism and how they fit into the antiracism struggle.

The Forum's recommendations include proposals for concrete actions such as requests for funding as well as establishing committees and forums to raise awareness on racism. The participants also specify who should accomplish these actions. In this respect, the Forum encourages the involvement of the youth, schools, communities and the State in the fight against racism. The recommendations identify the responsibilities that each body or agency should assume. In identifying the actions to be taken and those who should implement these actions the Forum provided practical suggestions for Antiracism Education. The Forum recommended the involvement of youth in schools in order to educate them about Antiracism from a young age. It is an effective strategy to target youth in this category as it is at this level that Antiracist Education should start.

The youth stressed Canada's role in ending commercial and industrial multinational intervention in developing countries and reminded us of the leading role that Canada should and can play in the world. This position also draws our attention to the moral obligation of Canada towards the developing world and the international development agenda to support countries of the South in freeing themselves of the economic trap of multinationals so that they can progress economically and politically. Youth also indicated that the antiracist struggle necessitates the involvement of various agencies and institutions such as youth organizations, schools and the State. They note that there are both individual and collective responsibilities that should be assumed in the struggle against racism and that society needs to tackle racism at the local, provincial and pan-Canadian level.

The Forum's recommendations aim at eradicating racism through specific antiracist activities and we clearly see the link between the practices of racism outlined and the recommendations identified to rectify the various forms of racism. The youth's position can be interpreted as resistance to the specific forms of racism pinpointed during the Forum. In order to thoroughly understand how the identified elements of racism and recommendations are situated in the struggle against the power inequities that Black Francophones face, let us now locate this discussion in a broader social context, that is, the discourse of resistance and the local and global struggles against racism.

How can the Antiracism Forum be considered a Strategy of Resistance?

The organization of the Forum is significant in many ways. The major factors that explain the importance of the event were revealed in an interview

conducted by an Anglophone daily newsletter with one of the Youth Collective leaders the day following the event:

> Newsletter: Why is it necessary to have a consultation leading up to the conference?
>
> The Collective representative: It is an opportunity for the voices of Francophone youths in Ontario to be heard. The issue of racism and perceived social differences will be brought to light at the World Conference and their responses will help implement concrete actions.

The media statement indicates that the event was significant for various factors such as permitting the voices of youth to be heard, shedding light on racism and implementing concrete actions to promote social justice. It is important to emphasize the act of "la prise de parole comme prise d'action/speaking-out as a form of action" since this is an essential means of participating and taking part in such a pivotal process. This social and political affirmation in a public Forum with international implications relates to the significance of discourse in the sense that Black Francophone youth belong to a category that faces various barriers within a closed and seemingly restricted context. At the Forum they were able to occupy a public space to make their voices heard and to construct discourse that pertains to social justice. In this sense, the practice of speaking out is in itself an act of resistance. The Forum also relates to resistance in an essential way insofar as it unveils racism that exists in Canada, a country as the youth pointed out—that is perceived of as non-racist. During a focus-group interview I conducted with the Youth Collective's leaders about two months after the Forum was held, one of the leaders spoke of the event as a strategy of resistance in the sense that the event stressed the prominence of racism in Canada, notwithstanding the image that the world has of Canada as a non-racist country:

> Canada has a large non-racist image, uh we have the best laws, we have the best country in the world. Canada wants to keep that position but our position with uh by doing that consultation is to show then there are still systemic barriers that exist, we face it [racism] every day, here in Canada. For Canada to keep this image Canada has to go further [and to] change radically specific positions to be able uh to become a true model and not just to say it and to leave the old rhetoric.[1]

This discourse stresses the point that it was a crucial step to hold the event because Canada is portrayed to the outside world as a liberal country

where racism is not practiced. However, by organizing this event, the Youth Collective's work revealed existing systemic barriers. This discourse outlines the distinction between "to say it" and "a real model." The youth's discourse reveals that this positive image of Canada is a myth and contradicts the reality. The segment "one lives it here in Canada" signifies that the youth and others experience racism precisely in Canada, not elsewhere. As the leader's discourse indicates, it is not enough to "only state it" but rather to apply the image to the social reality. We can appreciate the contradiction exposed in this critique of the impression given to the world about Canada as a country free of racial tensions. During the forum it was stated instead that racism in Canada is subtle. This reinforces earlier observations about the lack of open debate about racism within both the Francophone and the Canadian contexts. It may be that because racism is not spoken about openly the country is perceived of as a place where racism does not exist. Therefore, faced with these various forms of racist procedure the youth's strategy is to speak out about racism and systemic barriers.

It is obvious that the youth believe that speaking of racism is itself an action that will help fight it. Their perception is that addressing racism repeatedly produces results in the sense that it raises awareness of racism and brings the topic to the fore. The youth's goal is that Canada become a real model of tolerance and neither a myth nor a subject of rhetoric. By identifying various forms of racism, the youth produce a counter discourse to the existing public and official information about Canada. The practical strategy of resistance taken by the Forum is to affirm to Canadians and to the world that racism does prevail in Canada. In this context, it is worth observing that, as much as youth speak of racism in Canada, they want Canada to assume responsibilities and to take part in the antiracist struggle.

The Forum is also a strategy of resistance in the sense that it offered Black youth an opportunity for sharing experiences, discussing the causes of discrimination and reflecting on their deliberations. The event provided space for them to tackle racism and to become prepared for the World Conference. Therefore, the event is important in terms of the impact it had on youth. It raised the awareness of youth about racism in their daily lives and inspired them to take actions to effect change. That event was also significant because youth constitute an important category in the sense that they are future leaders and decision-makers. The audience did not only include Black youth but also whites. Their presence served to raise their level of consciousness concerning the existence of racism and to lead them to accept their responsibilities. Coming together to fight racism is an important act, not only for creating dialogue, but also because racism does not concern

Blacks alone. The very organization of the Forum gave the message that racism should not be fought just by Blacks.

The event was of critical importance because it brought together various groups from schools, the community and the State. Representatives of the various levels of the government participated by funding the event, attending sessions or sending letters. The letters all acknowledged the significance of the initiative in empowering Black Francophone youth and raising awareness of the importance of representing the diversity of Canadian society at various institutional and State levels. The participation of politicians and the State was a signal that the State was committed to Antiracism. There was also evidence of the beginning of a dialogue between the State and its citizens. Significantly, the Forum was funded by the federal government and could not have taken place if funding had not been granted. However, the Canadian State had a moral obligation to support the Forum and other consultations that took place in preparation of the World Conference. As the Conference was an international event, States around the world affirmed their commitment to the steps taken by the United Nations. In that context, Canada showed to the world that its civil society had been consulted. It is also worth noting that the Forum was one of the few Francophone consultations held in Ontario. It is highly significant that Black Francophone youth as a dynamic part of Canadian society and as a group that faces various systemic barriers seized the opportunity to have its voice heard.

In addition, the active participation of community members, by attending or by taking part in different activities, indicates that the initiative was significant for the entire community. In interviews conducted with community members who participated in the Forum, their discourse affirms the importance of the event for them. Their participation in the Forum can be seen as part of their commitment to Antiracism. Their presence was a strategy that demonstrates that issues of racism should be tackled in partnership with various groups and individuals. Therefore, the Forum also shows how a specific event can be part of social dynamics: relations among and within groups and the connections between the State and community organizations in the context of struggle against racism.

The Forum exposed the racism Black Francophones face and brought it before the international arena. In addition, it outlined concrete actions to be taken to struggle more efficiently against discrimination and intolerance. It was an important event as it contributed to fashioning instruments that determine progress towards the elimination of racism. This Canadian initiative helped at practically all the levels of the World Conference in South Africa as it allowed the implementing of solutions that would join with

the United Nations' goals to fight racism. The Forum relates to resistance by showing connections between barriers identified in the sections on racism, silence about racism and the organizing of this event in which youth publicly name racism in Canada and denounce it. The Forum also played the leading role in a movement of young Black women and other youth in the Black Francophone community who grew up in Canada, are engaged in Antiracism and articulate the discourse of Antiracism. Keeping in mind that many of these youth are part of the generation that entered the school system during the 1990s when the Antiracism Education program was in place, their approach reveals the fruitful outcome of the efforts of antiracist educators (Ibrahim, 1998). Antiracism is important for them and this youth organization as well as others presently tackle Antiracism as part of their struggle and vision for social justice.

The Forum is a significant example of the development of youth strategies to provide their basic needs with respect to Antiracism. The organization of this event itself shows that this group, the Youth Collective, is a site of resistance. Its work reminds us that by talking of education and resources, strengthening organizations, equity and the well being of the community we contribute to the antiracist struggle (Clottey & Clottey, 1998). In addition, this event draws our attention to the high level of organization some Black Francophone groups have reached and demonstrates the vital role that community organizations play in the struggle against racism. Such an activity will have long-term impact on youth in the process of social change. The ongoing work of organizations such as the Youth Collective can lead to raising public awareness around racism. As an official activity organized within the Black Francophone communities in Ontario in relation to the World Conference, the Forum had political, practical and moral significance. Many other consultations and forums were held across Canada in Quebec (McAndrew et al., 2001) and other provinces within the Anglophone and other communities and throughout the world (World Conference against Racism, 2001a). These facts reveal that the event itself was not only for Black Francophones but also concerned Blacks in the Diaspora and was intended to all of us. It exposed the practice of racism in Canada and the experiences of racial minorities to the world, discussing global issues such as the role of Canadian multinational companies as well. The Forum undertook the responsibility of bringing these issues to international attention.

The ultimate impact of the Forum is that its results have been added to other consultations that were held in Canada and around the world. The World Conference confirmed the continued existence of inequities around the world when it comes to the distribution of wealth, to poverty and to

the participation of women and minorities in decision-making processes (World Conference against Racism, 2001b). The World Conference tackled the repercussions of colonialism and slavery on Black people, committing itself to struggle against racism. It is significant that the recommendations of the Black Francophone youth Forum overlapped with the main declarations of the World Conference with respect to fighting poverty and discriminatory immigration laws. The Forum therefore produced fruitful results. When we consider the evidence that the Youth Collective's representatives took part in the World Conference, it demonstrates that these youth join global efforts to struggle against racism.

More importantly, the Forum overlapped with the World Conference at another level in the need to face the challenges ahead in the follow-up on the World Conference's recommendations with respect to the struggle against racism. In their final report, the youth stressed that a major challenge after the Conference is when the time comes for governments to implement in their charters and constitutions effective measures to ensure ongoing efforts to eradicate racism in Canadian society and around the world. The youth challenged the Canadian State to apply its best practices and comply with the World Conference's recommendations, and the World Conference outlined similar challenges. In addition, some agencies drew the youth's attention to their upcoming responsibilities. One of the official letters sent to the youth stated "so much of the declaration and action plan, which will be finalized at the World Conference rests in our hands. Yours will be the challenging task of trying to complete the promise of a world free of racism and discrimination." It is therefore very clear that since the World Conference the main issue has been to ensure the continuity of the work that the World Conference has started.

These concerns draw our attention to the magnitude and diversity of the challenges ahead. We also realize that issues of racism in Canada and in the world should be dealt with simultaneously. However, we are also aware that the solutions are in our hands. This will not only be the challenge for youth, but for States, civil societies and for all of us. It is our responsibility and commitment to ensure implementation of the recommendations of the World Conference against Racism. The important point is to implement laws and policies that aim at eradicating racism. It is significant that the World Conference has taken realistic steps by identifying concrete actions to combat racism. The actions that are taken to rectify the historical injustices committed against peoples and countries are a crucial measure in the process. In the aftermath of the World Conference demands were made concerning reparations to be made to Black Peoples in partial compensation for the traumas of slavery and colonization. For example, organizations

and States took part in events such as the African and African Descendants World Conference Against Racism (AAD WCAR) that took place in Barbados between 2–6 October, 2002 (Re-evaluation Counseling, 2006).

The Youth Collective continued the debate that was initiated during the Antiracism Forum through activities such as workshops and Internet discussions. More particularly, representatives of the Youth Collective participated in the World Conference and confirmed that they or other youth would take part in upcoming international events that will follow up on the World Conference's recommendations. The youth's continuity of antiracist activities confirms that this organization has been faithful in following up the recommendations of the Black Francophone youth Forum as well as those of the World Conference.

I emphasize that the Forum is about strategies of resistance because Blacks used that space to denounce racism and identify how to fight it. The event is strategic because it shows the contrast, on one hand between the silence over racism that prevails in Francophone communities and the subtle nature of racism in Canada. On the other hand the outspoken nature of the Youth Collective exposed Canada's racism. These positions are particularly meaningful because they come from a group that faces various barriers. Even though the Forum has been one isolated event undertaken by one Black Francophone organization, it demonstrates that Black Francophones are deploying various efforts and fighting racism vigorously. It is a provincial event that is situated in a global context. It is linked to the entire world and brings to international attention what happens in countries with an undeservedly positive reputation. It reflects to the world an image different than the one portrayed about Canada. In placing this event in a perspective of resistance, we can say that it affirms that these social actors are not isolated in specific places in Ontario's cities. They rather participate in local and global events and have already started making their presence felt in the international arena. After all, the organization of the Forum illustrates accomplishments of youth organizations. It also shows that different age groups of Black Francophones are taking initiatives to identify means of building their communities.

PART 2: SOLIDARITY

Establishment of Solidarity

Solidarity is a regional assembly of Francophone racial minority and ethnocultural organizations that was created at the end of 2000. It groups about 15 organizations in different fields such environment, advocacy, community

economic development and women's organizations. The news of the establishment of Solidarity came formally in documents disseminated by Solidarity and in the media. A press release issued by Solidarity states:

> It's in the concern to reply efficiently to the development needs and the positive growth of the community, that the organizations of racial and ethno-cultural minorities decided to come together to establish [Solidarity] . . . The [current] situation of the racial and ethnocultural minorities is a particular problem within the Franophone community of Ontario.[2]

Moreover, an article entitled "A united voice for the ethno-cultural Groups,"[3] that came out in a weekly Francophone newsletter, outlined the major goals behind the creation of the organization. It reads: "[Solidarity] wants itself to be the official voice of all the Francophone organizations of the racial and ethno-cultural minorities, this [Solidarity] has a mandate to promote the interests of the organizations of the racial and ethno-cultural minorities . . . such as dialogue . . . advocacy and development and partnership.[4] Solidarity's press release lays out the organization's major goals and the reason for its establishment. It indicates that the conditions of Black Francophone organizations are severe and that, accordingly, Solidarity was created to bring the existing organizations together to improve these conditions and to enhance the development of the Black Francophone community. The media article reveals that the organization's fields of action include official representation of organizations of racial and ethno-cultural minorities, political advocacy and partnership. Solidarity's press release includes the notion "to dialogue" which underlies emphasis on working together. In this instance, the organization's idea is to bring the groups to work together commonly for the community. The expression "a particular problem" reveals the state of organizations within the Black Francophone community. Among their challenges are the lack of organizational skills, dialogue among Blacks, the invisibility of these groups on the political arena and their absence from key decision-making processes.

Solidarity draws our attention to conditions within Black Francophone organizations which faced many difficulties at the end of 2000. As we have mentioned in a previous section, the Black Francophone community had a strong infrastructure at the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s. Its demographic presence has continued to increase since the 1980s. The present situation makes us realize that since then, the condition of the Black Francophone community, which lives in Ontario as part of Canada's official linguistic minorities, has not progressed but deteriorated. This

observation is in itself striking. However, what should be emphasized in this context is that the status of these organizations constituted the motivation to establish Solidarity. In this way, Solidarity was created out of its members' preoccupation with improving the conditions of Black organizations. In this context, we can observe that the organization places emphasis on the unity and partnership of Black Francophone organizations.

As Solidarity seeks to enhance the development of the community, it becomes evident that official representation, partnership and political advocacy are identified by the organization as crucial to the development of the Black Francophone community. Let us now examine how these elements relate to the development of this community and how they can eliminate the major barriers that Black Francophones encounter in terms of community development, racism and inequitable power relations among Francophones. In an interview I conducted with the official spokesperson of Solidarity, Alain Kofi a Congolese who has worked in mainstream institutions for about ten years before he decided to work for immersion schools and community organizations, he explained the context of the organization's major goals. In the following remarks he speaks of one of Solidarity's major mandates, being the official representative of the Black Francophone community.

> Alain Kofi: We said to ourselves, well, why not have a structure that will be present at all uh uh decision-making processes to defend the community, that it be the official voice . . . often uh the results that come out of these bodies give the orientation to the ministries to apply the things, we could bring the aspirations of the community at the governmental level.[5]

In this quotation, the spokesperson describes Solidarity as a presence in mainstream major decision-making processes that is there to defend and reinforce the interests of the Black Francophone community. Solidarity seeks to influence institutions of power including the government and Francophone institutions at all levels. The spokesperson reiterates that these bodies are significant as they offer orientation to governments to make and implement policies. The organization aims to be involved in issues that concern *la Francophonie* in general and Blacks in particular. Participation by Blacks in decision-making and power structures serves to promote not only Black Francophone issues but concerns of the entire Francophone community. That is why the participation in the decision-making process that Blacks seek is real and effective power sharing that can serve the interests of the community. The spokesperson's discourse demonstrates that the official

voice is primarily preoccupied with a presence on decision-making bodies. Decision-making is important as an element of power. As we have seen in the sections on racism, Black Francophone absence from the decision-making processes concern the entire *Francophonie* and has been identified as contributing to an imbalance of power. Under such conditions, Blacks are repeatedly excluded from key positions and their priorities are not taken into account. Solidarity is obviously attempting to rectify one of the major forms of exclusion and discrimination. It is evident that participation in processes of decision-making is an essential practical step in the process of community development.

In addition to being an official voice, Solidarity has a mandate to build partnerships. The concept of partnership deserves extended analysis because Solidarity's discourse shows that this notion is crucial to the building of the Black Francophone community. Solidarity notes the gravity of a situation in which the lack of pertinent partnership results in the deterioration of Black Francophone organizations. Partnership means sharing resources and expertise, working together, multiplying sources of funding, rectifying power imbalances and creating a dialogue between the community and the State. The partnerships that Solidarity aims to build are with Black Francophone organizations, with Francophone mainstream institutions and with the State.

When it comes to partnership among Black Francophone organizations, Solidarity pinpoints the divisions among Black organizations as a major challenge that faces them and Solidarity seeks to build solutions to resolve this problem. The existence of conflicts and disagreement among Black Francophones is directly linked to poverty. Limited resources trigger competition and cause tensions to arise.

> A: that [the conflicts between the Blacks] is also due to the poverty [and] to the competition, the funding is not enough . . . the aim of [Solidarity] is to bring together people [Blacks]
>
> G.: there is not enough partnership at the level of our organizations, within our organizations we don't work together
>
> M: the partnership not only at the level of the subsidiaries, but also the confidence XX and the sharing of information
>
> G: but [also] to work together.[6]

These were the reactions to the question of conflict recorded by different members of Solidarity, during one of that organization's general meetings.

The term "the reason for being" affirms that partnership is the major factor that triggered the establishment of Solidarity. That is, Solidarity aims at grouping Black organizations and establishing dialogue among them. The record shows that Blacks denounce conflicts within the Black community as tensions disrupt the unity of their organizations and hinder community development. Solidarity takes on real significance as a vehicle for uniting Blacks. We should, however, note that our goal should not be to merely denounce conflict in the Black Francophone community, since no group is immune to conflicts. The point here is not to essentialize Blacks but rather to envision how to deal with differences in a healthy way so that these conflicts will not lead to the destruction of Black communities. The goal is to avoid repeating past and present experiences where conflicts led to the collapse of community organizations. It is in this context that Solidarity's members aim at enhancing unity in order to build communities. Participants interviewed saw partnership as an effective solution to such conflicts. They suggested that partnership should enable them to undertake common projects and allow organizations to avoid duplicating activities. The discourse of unity among Blacks, guided by the will to pool efforts and work together instead of working in isolation emerged from these deliberations.

Partnership is not only seen as a solution to overcome conflicts among Blacks, it is also portrayed as a means of rectifying conflicts with white Francophones. Solidarity's spokesperson stresses:

> We know that those organizations use the members of the ethno-cultural community as customers [it is necessary] that we also be among the people that are there to give guidance with regard to the files that concern the *Francophonie*. We are full partners, we are all equal and we we bring the aspirations of the ethno-cultural community. We don't want that anymore . . . it has been years, the services that exist here our community members constitute ninety percent of the customers of these services and that uh the there isn't any change, therefore this shows [than] this problem persists in the community . . . our role at the level of [Solidarity] is to see if the service [is appropriate].[7]

The discourse of this social actor explains how the organization perceives partnership with white Francophones. In speaking of mainstream institutions, he confirms the fact that Blacks are the majority of clients of these institutions. Solidarity aims at improving this situation through participation in all community development processes and by providing guidance and counseling. We can see that he employs the terms "equals" and "full partners" as opposed to "clients." The use of the term "full partners"

emphasizes a need to participate at all levels of activities and decisions. As we have seen in previous sections, Blacks employ the notion "full" as it appears in issues like "full community" and "full members" to stress the dignity and worthiness of autonomy and equity. At the same time, use of these terms expresses a refusal to be relegated to the roles of clients. The discourse of Solidarity's spokesperson emphasizes that the notion of "clients" is to be replaced by the concepts: "partners" and "equals." We can indeed interpret this position as resistance to racism resulting from some of the Francophone mainstream institutional practices that were addressed in previous sections.

Black Francophones constantly associate their feelings of being betrayed by white Francophones to their exclusion from power positions and their use as clients and consumers. During interviews, the discussion on partnership with white Francophones shifted to services offered by mainstream institutions and the issue of power imbalances. Members of some Black Francophone organizations explained that they try to offer comparable services on a voluntary basis while mainstream Francophone organizations are paid to accomplish similar tasks. Solidarity is working on strategies to rectify these conditions by improving decision-making, increasing partnerships, and having strong structures to support their offer of services.

This discourse of the Solidarity spokesperson informs us that the concept of partnership with white Francophones is associated with participation in decision-making. The partnership that Blacks seek includes having the power to decide, that is, not only to use services, but also to take part in the processes of decision-making about the services they offer. This situation would become a reality when each group is autonomous and they all cooperate. Some of the participants, who speak of partnership with white Francophones, stressed the point that one cannot talk about partnership when imbalances of power prevail. At present Blacks find themselves in an inequitable relationship with white Francophones and not one that is based on mutual trust and interdependence.

Some Blacks also suggest that the role of Solidarity could include organizing antiracist workshops that bring together white and Black Francophones. This position indicates that Blacks are not against partnership with whites but they do wish to achieve equity. Partnership should be viewed in terms of how their community can benefit and their right to an equitable share of funding. In order to attain these levels of equity the goal of Black Francophone organizations in relation to partnership is to reach a stage of equitable power relations. Furthermore, they expect to reach that stage in partnerships development when they can improve job creation and achieve

economic stability. The essential process of reaching this level of community development lies in the pursuit of equitable access to decision-making. The discourse of the participants evokes important points with respect to the future directions of Solidarity in relation to how it deals with power relations with the mainstream community as well as resolving the issue of conflict between Blacks. Instead of confrontation and conflict among their groups and with white Francophones, the best strategy for Blacks is keeping a focus on the socio-economic development of the community. In this way Black Francophone organizations could devote their time and energies to meeting major needs and formulating strategies that will help the community to progress.

During the fieldwork, it was stimulating to observe that research subjects did not speak only of conflicts but also referred to alternatives they plan to implement so as to build their community. This is a practical strategy of resistance especially if we apply it to broader relations within Black communities. We can look at this position as constructive when a specific group does not reject co-operating with mainstream society but rather seeks to rectify power imbalances. However, we need to understand that the impact of racism on communities creates internal and external conflict and in many cases confrontations become inevitable. Therefore, in addition to resolving conflict, a precondition for progress is to eradicate racism by working towards an equitable sharing of resources. This strategy reveals that the Black Francophone community representatives are aiming to enhance dialogue between all Francophones.

In addition to bringing the Black Francophone community and white Francophones into closer positive collaboration, Solidarity also seeks to establish partnerships with the State. Dialogue with the State is essential as it is the government that provides resources to ensure the well-being of the community. Solidarity plans to achieve this objective through lobbying, by raising the awareness of funding agencies to the needs of the community and ensuring the proper access of Black organizations to funding. Solidarity maintains that the State should consider the needs of the community and this involves making the State recognize its responsibilities towards its minorities. Solidarity is therefore concerned with an integrated approach to development through enhancing access to funding, developing organizational capacity and building partnership with other community groups as well as with the State. Strategically and as an ethical principle Solidarity has put its partnership mandate into practice.

In addition to the mandate of official representation and partnership, Solidarity also targets advocacy as a main goal. Solidarity's spokesperson says about this point of its mandate: "[Solidarity] has a mandate to claim

or to promote the aspirations of the community, if for example racism case bursts for example in the community, [Solidarity] could look into this kind of file."[8] These words demonstrate that Solidarity aims at advocating on major issues that concern Black Francophones. It does so by making representation on the rights of Black Francophones on issues such as funding, youth in the schools, improving immigration and other services and the presence of Blacks on major committees. As explained, Solidarity has already intervened on behalf of the community in major cases of racism. In this regard, Solidarity can be viewed as the official body that protects the rights of Black Francophones and keeps watch on how these rights are exercised. The actions taken by Solidarity prove that Black Francophones identify goals that enhance their community development, and more than that, put these goals into practice.

This discussion demonstrates that the driving factor for the creation of Solidarity is to respond to the major challenges and problems Black organizations face. Solidarity has put its mandate into practice through specific activities and accomplishments. During the first year of Solidarity's work (2001), the organization focused on the main fields of development. They included partnership, organizational development and taking steps to ensure Black Francophone representation in State and Francophone community institutions. It was at that stage that the organization started to be represented on major committees that concern Francophones in general. It has also implemented development projects for the community and its specific activities show a connection between the organization's goals and practices. The activities cited illustrate the significance of Solidarity in protecting Black communities in major domains of social and political activity. They also show how community organizations deal with power relations in connection with institutional racism, poverty and development. To thoroughly understand Solidarity's role of resistance in community building, I will focus on two of its many achievements: the development project and its opposition to the dissemination of the ape postcard. I will first discuss the project of global development, identify its main components and how it may impact on community building.

The Global Development Project

The global development project aims at capacity building and has been undertaken by the members of Solidarity. In the following sentences, the spokesperson of Solidarity outlines the purpose and functioning of the project.

> [The] global development project will be a project that could uh help us to move ahead on a lot of things on the the functioning . . . we would

> like it to be for the long term [and] continual, we have just finished [the] first part of the project, a project of organizational development. [Solidarity] offered a series of workshops on accounting, how to present requests [of funding], how to initiate community projects.[9]

The global development project is a long-term commitment divided in several stages. The use of the term "continual" emphasizes the importance of continuity and is a reminder of the negative impact of short-term projects that led to the collapse of many Black community organizations in the past. The lack of continuity of some projects disrupts community development. In this instance, we notice that the development of the Black community is situated in the context of a long-term plan that includes stages and therefore allows for evolution through progressive organizational change. The first part of the global development plan, which has been completed, consisted of building structures and capacities of Black organizations to get them prepared for the upcoming stages of the global development project.

During the interview, Solidarity's spokesperson emphasized the point that the project is driven by the challenges of organizations established by racial and ethnic minorities. Those conditions include a lack of vision, problems of organizational structure or procedure, duplication of activities and the lack of dialogue. His discourse demonstrates that the project seeks to enhance organizational development and to reinforce the human and community capacities of Black Francophone organizations and their members. The project places emphasis on improving organizational skills to enhance access to funding and targets partnership with Black organizations while seeking to improve collaboration with other organizations. These collective goals are to be accomplished through partnership activities. According to Solidarity's spokesperson, the organization initiated activities that consisted of a series of workshops on various themes such as accounting. It has also offered training to other organizations on basic techniques and skills: writing proposals, deciding on their mandate and identifying appropriate existing government programs. We can therefore note that the activities set by Solidarity are practical strategies to rectify the major shortcomings that Black organizations face. For example, major themes identified by members of the Black Francophone organizations are lack of organizational skills. For these reasons, this stage of the development project focuses on enhancing organizational development and access to funding, building partnership and identifying other concrete solutions to improve development.

By focusing on this short-term stage of the project, the global development project aims firstly, to empower member organizations and prepare them for a subsequent stage during which they will be able to offer

services more efficiently—a responsibility that can be perceived of as a long-term goal. This carefully planned strategy corresponds to Solidarity's mandate of development. The outcome of the project will be beneficial for Black Francophone community organizations in the sense that it can strengthen organizational structure, bring better visibility to these groups and enhance inclusion in Ontario *Francophonie*. The development project is significant as it can have fruitful results for community building, enhancing this activity in a variety of ways. By implementing solutions to strengthen organizational development community organizations will also help to fight poverty.

Solidarity's positive input into the Black community was stressed by organizations that have participated in the project. This feedback came out during an all day meeting of the Solidarity general assembly in which I conducted participant observation. The purpose of the meeting was to assess the first phase of the developmental project, to identify the impact of Solidarity on the community and to make suggestions on future directions. I will not give an account of the entire meeting but I will emphasize that, in the discourse produced during the meeting, participants acknowledged the role of Solidarity as a mediator for other organizations. The umbrella body has helped them in many ways. For example, it helps other groups to obtain funding. The affiliated organizations have also gained basic skills such as identifying their mandate. They stressed the significance of the group's role of advocacy. The following quotation is an example of participants' comments on Solidarity: "[Solidarity] allowed us [to] work together [and to] defend the interests of the community XXX how to advance in our organizations."[10] The views of the participants on Solidarity outlined in this example and in other interviews bring to our attention the fact that the organization has had an impact on Black Francophone community building and in rectifying imbalances of power relations among Francophones.

What appears to be particularly important is the combination of several elements: the structure of Solidarity, its partnership within the Black Francophone community and also its collaboration with white Francophones. This discussion reveals that, as part of the development project, Solidarity provides the space and platform to dialogue and strategize for the community's positioning. The meeting became a space that revealed the social dynamics of the various actors, how its members identify issues and how they participate. In my observations, matters of concern to Black Francophones are discussed and negotiated among community organizations that, in so doing, produce a group discourse and then go on to strategize.

Solidarity group members are connected to key committees in the community, and they all meet in the same consultations that aim to better

strategize in order to protect the interests of racial minorities. As Blacks mostly work in isolation and, sometimes in conflicting positions, Solidarity enables them to co-operate. This is a vitally important stage in dealing with relations among Blacks. Community members, through their involvement in Solidarity, are rectifying a state of conflict by engaging in concrete action. The importance of this phase of development comes out in an evaluation of the overall status and capacities of these organizations. Such an evaluation explains the accomplishments and explores the role a community organization like Solidarity can play at the level of community development (Holder, 1998). More importantly, the present stage of the development project allows the identification of the future orientations of Solidarity.

We observe that this project's goals are complementary to a global development plan identified by the Black community during its consultations with *l'Entente Canada-communauté*/Canada-Community Agreement. While l'Entente's development plan was envisaged as a strategy for the entire province, Solidarity's development project focuses on a specific region. However, it is evident that Solidarity does, in fact, put the basic idea of l'Entente project into practice. Keeping in mind that most of Solidarity's member organizations took part in l'Entente consultations and that Solidarity is working in partnership with l'Entente, we can see why Black Francophone organizations are positive about the progress of their community development. At last Black organizations are heading towards similar goals in terms of the development of their community.

In the discussion about Solidarity, I have analyzed the global development project as part of the organization's accomplishments. The project is significant because it demonstrates the major role Solidarity plays in meeting some of the challenges that Black organizations encounter. It also illustrates crucial issues that relate to community development. I will now focus on Solidarity's opposition to the controversial incident of the postcard picturing an ape issued by a Francophone Community College as part of its promotional material. This is a concrete example that demonstrates how, in keeping with its mandate of advocacy, Solidarity intervened on behalf of the Black Francophone community in major cases of racism.

The Ape Postcard: Resisting Institutional Racism

The media and public documents issued by Solidarity covered the organization's active movement of protest in the middle of 2001. As indicated in a weekly newsletter article entitled "The advertising of the Collège: evolution of the position in saw teeth!,"[11] it was stated: "This picture that represented a Black monkey was the object of a strong dispute from [Solidarity]."[12] In this instance, the media coverage of Solidarity's protest

confirmed that the incident was not ignored as the organization took a leading role in denouncing it. Solidarity's process of opposition referred to in the media included many measures such as media campaigns, press releases sent to the College and to community and governmental agencies and demonstrations in front of the provincial parliament. It also convened press conferences. One of Solidarity's press releases entitled "Racism and Intolerance: A Reality in Toronto," publicly identified the College's act as a case of institutional racism coming from an educational institution. Solidarity's press releases included terms such as "[The] College's use of racism imagery deeply troubling" so as to emphasize that the incident was not minor but a major infringement of codes of civil behavior.

In addition, Solidarity's procedures of protest included communication with the College through letters sent directly to the institution asking to meet with the College's representatives to discuss the issue of the postcard. That is how the group communicated its position on the incident and explained its expectations of what the College should do to rectify its racist action. In fact, as it was stressed in one of the Solidarity's press releases this organization requested immediate withdrawal of the publicity material and a written public apology to: "Black people and those with origins in Africa for the pain, humiliation and aggravation caused by the dissemination of the racist material." Furthermore, the media article showed that Solidarity offered "[to] work in cooperation with [the College] for setting-up an antiracist policy in . . . the statutes of [the College]."[13]

Let us now examine what the process of opposition reveals about this Black organization's practices of resistance. Based on the various steps taken, we can note that by sending information to the public and the institution concerned and also by holding a demonstration in front of the provincial parliament, Solidarity makes a public and political issue of the incident. In so doing, the organization's position indicates that the incident is of concern to the public, politicians and State representatives, and that they should all join in the movement to protest against this incident. When it comes to the College's responsibilities, we notice that while Solidarity accuses the College of overt racism and intolerance, it is ready to work jointly with the College to rectify the incident's impact. This offer to collaborate is articulated by Solidarity's suggestion of initiating workshop sessions with the College in order to promote respect for diversity and to implement antiracist policies, an offer associated with a strategy for creating working partnerships that Solidarity stresses as a tool for developing equitable relations among Francophones. Solidarity's approach to this tense situation also demonstrates the need for antiracist policies that guarantee the institution's commitment to respecting diversity and the equitable representation of visible minorities.

This process can be viewed as an example of a commitment to antiracist education that reveals Solidarity's aims of building a constructive relationship between its community members, educational institutions and the State. Solidarity's strategy provides approach for avoiding the reproduction of similar occurrences in the future.

Yet another important element of Solidarity's oppositional strategies included working with Black Anglophones in order to develop successful responses to the incident. Solidarity's spokesperson explains:

> In this moment, we we work in collaboration with the [Black] Angolophones with regard to [some] files because they are more experienced than us, if I look at the example uh uh uh of the case of [the College], about race relations, they oriented us and they told us what they did in the past and uh with regard to today's reality we try to see a little bit how we we can manage this situation.[14]

This explanation indicates that Black Francophone organizations presently co-operate with Black Anglophones on issues, such as race relations, that are of concern to both communities. The discourse reveals that Solidarity's process of opposition to this racist incident included a series of consultations between Solidarity and Black Anglophone organizations. Through these consultations, Solidarity identified how it would deal with the incident. The spokesperson's discourse affirms the fact that since Black Anglophones had established expertise in antiracist action, their Francophone counterparts could benefit from this expertise. This example illustrates how connections are built through partnerships between racial groups and also demonstrates how the struggle against racism brings together diverse parts of the Black community. In all of these activities, we clearly see the role that Solidarity plays in establishing links between Blacks. This case also draws our attention to the fact that in the same way Black Francophones need a space to openly debate racism they also need to develop expertise and leadership in Antiracism. The practices of Solidarity and other Black Francophone groups inform us that Black organizations have started to develop various strategies in order to provide for their needs in matters concerning Antiracism. We recall the Antiracism forum as a means of providing a space for discussion about racism but the various positions taken by Solidarity vis-à-vis this specific incident concerning the ape postcard reveal that the organization is confidently developing expertise in Antiracism by facing up to very difficult and practical circumstances. This strategy also stresses that racism is one of the factors which bring Black Francophones and Anglophones together.

However, the use of the terms "They [Black Anglophones] lived in the past"[15] reaffirms the perception that Black Francophones now experience the kind of racism that their Anglophone counterparts have faced in the past. While Solidarity's strategy reveals that Black Francophones benefit from the expertise that their Anglophone counterparts have gained, a major issue that comes up in this regard is the need for practical solutions to avoid reproducing discrimination that Black Anglophones have faced. We can link this analysis to the claim made by Blacks during l'Entente consultations. That claim demanded official recognition for Black Francophones as a full community. As it was stressed, in that case official recognition would lead to implementing policies targeting the long-term development of the Black community. In the context of the discussion about Solidarity, we can conclude that the process of obtaining official recognition for Black Francophones as a racial minority may include implementing policies derived from the experiences Black Anglophones have had of facing racism and fighting it.

After all these steps were taken by Solidarity, let us examine the results of the protests. In the following words Solidarity's spokesperson explains the College's reaction to the course that Solidarity took: "[Solidarity will] return over to see uh uh which kind of pressures we will put, [the College] until now has played the game of silence, it does not want to reply, not at all, but with our legal counsellors, we will see what we would be able to do with regard to this matter."[16] These words indicate that the College did not respond to Solidarity's major demands. In fact, the College did not reply to Solidarity's letters, make a public apology for using the specific imagery, nor address the question of its intention to implement antiracist policies. This segment of the discourse also identifies Solidarity's reaction vis-à-vis the College's position. It reveals that Solidarity planned to take further actions after consultations with its legal advisors. Based on interviews and participant observations, I concluded that Solidarity was determined to take appropriate steps that may go all the way to taking legal action against the College. This position is similar to the one that emerged during l'Entente, when Black Francophones affirmed that they were ready to take legal action against the federal and provincial governments if it became necessary. They finally did. When Solidarity faced the issue of the ape postcard, it proposed taking legal action against a Francophone mainstream institution, demonstrating that Blacks are active in protest at all levels.

While the issuing of the ape postcard demonstrates institutional racism as characteristic of a publicly funded educational institute, Solidarity's reactions confirm the strong resistance coming from the Black Francophone community. It shows how that community creates spaces and takes

concrete actions to affirm their rights. Therefore, Solidarity's active and structured opposition relates to power relations and shows that the dominant group cannot marginalize this community without paying a price. Furthermore, Solidarity's active pursuit of this case is significant in the sense that it reveals that, while some may believe that the College's practice is a minor incident, others, like this organization affirm that such incidents should be strongly opposed.

While many social actors applauded Solidarity's leading advocacy role in protesting the ape postcard, others contended that Solidarity should have reacted in cases that targeted all racial and visible minorities. Mubungi, one of Solidarity's members said during one of the meetings: "There are horrible discriminatory things that happen, it is necessary for there to be a voice that gets up from the community. I take the case of the aberrant comments made by the the Mayor, [Solidarity] did not react, why?"[17] The discourse of this social actor refers to a specific incident, that is, the infamous racist comments that the Mayor of Toronto made about Africa in the middle of 2001. The Mayor cancelled his trip to Kenya to meet with African International Olympic committee delegates to lobby for Toronto's 2008 Olympic bid after he publicly stated: "I just see myself in a pot of boiling water with all these natives dancing around me" (Harding, 2001: B1). In speaking of this incident, the social actor uses the terms "awful," discriminatory" and "absurd," which show the disgust at the attitude of the Mayor, who is the head of the most multicultural city in Canada whose words therefore represent the discourse of a very important official of the Municipal Government.

The Mayor's comments are a reminder of how politicians—in this instance one may also recall Parizeau's comments following the loss of the referendum in 1995—undermine respect for racialized groups who constitute integral parts of the social fabric of this society. Antiracist organizations did mobilize in protest against the Mayor's racist remarks. The specific acts of protest included demonstrations, letters, the boycotting of major events organized by City Hall and even a call for the Mayor to resign. The incident and the mobilized acts were recorded by both the Anglophone and Francophone media (Senda, 2001). The point stressed in the Solidarity member's quotation is that Solidarity should have joined the protests. In so doing, this organization would have shown that the Black Francophone movement is politically aligned with other racialized minorities.

Solidarity's mandate includes advocacy and obliges it to raise its voice. When racist incidents occur, there has to be a strong voice to denounce these practices since such incidents are of concern to us all. This reminds us that one cannot afford to remain silent about racism. We should not act as

if it did not take place or it may happen again. It should be morally, politically and legally contested by all: the State, communities, institutions and by us, social actors who believe in justice and equity. Like Solidarity, we, too, should fight this and other forms of racism that exist in our consciousness, institutions and societies. The least required of us in such situations is that we denounce these practices. The ideal is to eradicate them. Therefore, Solidarity's position demonstrates that the existence of such bodies is crucial to contesting discrimination and fighting racism. The outcome of this incident also reinforces previous demands made during l'Entente debates for the implementation of policies that protect the rights of Black Francophones as a racial and linguistic minority.

I have spoken of the global development project as an example of Solidarity's accomplishments and highlighted Solidarity's resistance to the publication and dissemination of the ape postcard. It will be useful to see, through these two specific examples, how Solidarity relates to Black Francophone efforts to enhance community building and to rectify the power relationship between Francophones.

Why is Solidarity Considered a Strategy of Resistance?

I contend that Solidarity's activities reflect resistance in a number of ways. I also view this organization as significant for Black Francophone community development revealing an approach to community building as identifying shortcomings and barriers, as well as developing practical solutions to solve them. It is clear through this research that Solidarity focused on issues such as under-funding and lack of organizational skills. This organization's actions included facilitating Blacks' access to funding, enhancing organizational skills and contributing to the Black Francophone community development. Therefore, Solidarity addresses the issues identified in the previous sections of this study as major barriers. Furthermore, Solidarity affirms the notion that community organizations deal with major points that relate to their development. As observers we assert that Solidarity focuses on themes, such as enhancing organizational development, reinforcing access to resources and partnership, which are crucial to community building. This indicates that the development of the Black community is high on its agenda and that Solidarity aims at responding to all these needs.

The greatest significance of this organization for Black Francophones is bringing together Black organizations to work cooperatively in order to build a unified vision among these groups. While Solidarity encourages the various organizations to continue some of their work independently it also places emphasis on working together at specific levels. Therefore, Solidarity has led these organizations to work together to improve possibilities for

the development of the entire Black Francophone community. The aim of the discourse on unity is to benefit from the expertise that is developed in various fields within the Black community. This demonstrates that Solidarity offers Blacks a space to discuss, dialogue, identify concrete solutions, respond to the needs of their community and to plan for the future. As it focuses on decision-making bodies and advocacy, Solidarity is empowering the community. In addition, when community organizations are strong, the community will benefit in the sense that the socio-economic conditions of the community members are elevated. Other Black organizations presently tend to forge coalitions at regional, provincial and national levels. Youth and women's groups have formed umbrella organizations. This fact shows that the Black Francophone community is becoming increasingly united, is keen to work collectively and that this community's resistance to the power struggle is not any more an individual or isolated challenge.

In addition, Solidarity brings together organizations, like the Youth collective that focus on a specific sector of activities. All sectors together constitute complementary fields of development. It is worth observing that many of the organizations target community economic development as an objective. The example of the development project shows us that Solidarity plays a pivotal role in supporting the development of these organizations. Therefore, the creation of Solidarity is useful for the Black community, for Francophone mainstream institutions and for the government. When it comes to its impact on the governement, the organization is an official body that the government can communicate with about issues concerning Blacks. In terms of its impact on mainstream institutions, the establishment of Solidarity means that it can monitor the services offered by these institutions with the aim of improving them. It also seeks to ensure equitable representation and protect racial minority's rights.

Therefore, Solidarity is poised to rupture the dominance of mainstream organizations. Its existence demonstrates that Blacks have reacted seriously to the actions of mainstream institutions. Its resistance to the issuing of the ape postcard indicates precisely how Solidarity acts at various levels. These cases also reveal the kind of social dynamics that Black Francophones face. Whatever the situation, they are about facing up to power struggles vis-à-vis white Francophones or the State and building their community. The example of Solidarity shows us that organizations engender activities through which these social actors work together and seek to ensure long-term community development (Holder, 1998). It is also a reminder of the conditions these groups endure and how they try to resolve the problems they face. The point that I am making here is that community organizations are sites of resistance. Keeping in mind that when I collected

these data at the end of 2001 Solidarity had existed for only one year, it had then accomplished quite a lot.

Solidarity has brought the concepts "dialogue" and "partnership" to the Black Francophone community. It, however, should be noted that the idea of a body that brings together Black organizations and protects racial minority rights, is not new. There are similarities in the goals and accomplishments between Solidarity and earlier umbrella organizations that existed at the beginning and in the middle of the 1990s. This fact means that, while most of those groups do not exist any longer, others have emerged. However, this type of evolution indicates a loss of energies and funding. In the same way other groups have collapsed in the past, this organization or future formations may collapse as well. There is no doubt about the efforts deployed but when there is no continuity, there is a corresponding waste of energies. Solidarity has received financial support from the State that has allowed it to carry out its mandate for the present stage of the project. The organization has proven that it can accomplish results and succeed. The challenges ahead for this group are: to execute the successive stages of the global development project, to adhere to its mandate and to ensure that the State continues financially supporting it. As we have seen in the sections on racism, factors such as under-funding have severe consequences on community organizations as they often lead to the collapse of some of these organizations, and this could happen to Solidarity. The continuity of this organization is essential for supporting community development. The example of Solidarity reminds us that, in the process of community development, one should learn from earlier experiences so that such events will not occur again.

Therefore, we see connections between the Antiracist Forum, which was organized by the Youth Collective and the activities accomplished by Solidarity. The activities of both organizations challenge racism at various levels. They both stress the need of Black Francophones for antiracism work as a racial minority living in a predominantly white society. The community development of the Back community necessitates taking Antiracism into account. Both organizations are crucial for the Black Francophone community, and, in that respect, the existence of various groups can be perceived as a resistance strategy. More importantly, the activities and initiatives described tell us that Blacks, who choose to stay within Francophone communities, are not prepared to accept inequities but make *la Francophonie* inclusive by reinforcing their presence within those communities.

I have cited the case of Solidarity as an example of a Black Francophone organization's accomplishments. I have outlined its objectives, some of its major activities as well as its significance for Black Francophone

community development or rectifying inequitable power relations between Black and white Francophones. I have indicated that the organization has made significant impact on the Black community by defending its rights and interests. My analysis reveals the importance of unity and partnership for the development of Black organizations. The two examples provided, the development project and the challenge to ape imagery, demonstrate that the existence of such organizations is crucial for the community. Solidarity also shows Blacks organizing and achieving these ends. This discussion reveals that Solidarity helps groups move from the trap of poverty and lack of strong organizational structures to a sophisticated professional level of operation. Solidarity's example reaffirms that, from the perspective of resistance, community development is linked to partnership, Antiracism, fighting poverty, building organizational skills, access to decision-making, making connections among Black Francophones and to the equitable distribution of resources.

PART 3: MAKING CONNECTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK/ FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITIES

Introduction

As we have seen, various connections are made among groups of Black Francophones Africans and Haitians. Community organizations like Solidarity or Women Provincial, forge coalitions bringing together Africans and Haitians. The links are made through political, commercial, cultural, social and religious activities. Ties include claims to legal rights, establishing social networks, cultural activities, media and sports (Chambon et al., 2001). While these ties are made at the regional and provincial levels, some groups establish connections with their communities out of Canada, for example, in the United States of America, in Europe, in Haiti, or in African countries. However, the connections Black Francophones make are not limited to Francophones but extended to their Anglophone counterparts. This part of the study will therefore focus on the connections developed among Blacks. It is important to speak of these ties because they relate to Black Francophone processes of integration and settlement in the sense that they include practices linked to community economic and other issues of development. More importantly, the connections are built by Francophones as resistance to the various forms of racism they encounter within Francophone communities. These ties show that Black Francophone social positions are not limited to *la Francophonie*, that these Blacks connect with other racial minorities in Canada and that their practices are situated in particular ideologies that concern all Blacks in the Diaspora.

The Discourse of Black-African Unity

Mubungi is a Congolese who arrived in Quebec at the beginning of the 1980s. He was the director of a Pan-African organization that was created in Quebec during the 1980s to bring together Blacks from Anglophone, Francophone and other African and Caribbean countries. When Mubungi moved to Toronto at the beginning of the 1990s, he established in the city Africa Vision, a branch of the Quebec Pan-African organization. The idea of creating the organization was to bring together Blacks from the Diaspora to work on common community issues. As it appears in Mubungi's following discourse, the Black Francophone tendency of making connections within the Black community is grounded in specific ideologies aimed at uniting all Blacks.

> Mubungi: Africa is itself first multiple and the girls and sons of this continent we first are African before being Anglophones, before being Francophones, before being uh Arabic-speakers, the colonization . . . all that followed after did that in fact, the deportation of the sons and daughters of Africa, we witnessed the emergence in other parts of the world like the Caribbean, the United-States, Canada live in the Diaspora and that those that remained in the large continent.[18]

The discourse of this social actor indicates that Africans (a term he also uses to refer to all Blacks) share their belonging to the continent despite the linguistic boundaries that place Africans in different spaces. He mentions that slavery and colonization led to scattering Africans and Blacks over the world and even though these people are separated, they are of the Black Diaspora based on commonalties that they share. He uses terms such as "Diaspora," "sons and daughters of Africa" that relate to notion of kinship. Mubungi's discourse illustrates the emergence of Pan-Africanist politics and ideologies that were developed by thinkers like Marcus Garvey (Garvey, 1968), Patrice Lumumba (Brichaux, 1993), George Padmore (Hakim and Sherwood, 2003), Kwame Nkrumah (ibid, 2003) and Cheikh Anta Diop (1974). Pan-Africansim, which was strongly adhered to in Francophone Africa, is embedded in the spirit of unity among Blacks and Africans in the continent and the Diaspora and the will to support their countries and communities. Mubungi's discourse demonstrates the approach of uniting all Blacks in spite of their different languages and countries. The underlying idea that guides this position is that slavery and colonization fragmented Blacks in the Diaspora. However, these populations also meet in some specific spaces. During the interview, Mubungi stressed the point that Blacks who come together in

places like Canada (should) build ties. Mubungi's view reveals that the connections among Blacks are not limited to language.

> Mubungi: The linguistic question is important for us but at the same time secondary and this linguistic problem to me personally comes to put barriers between us again. I provide an example that unfortunately exists, a member of the KKK that wants to kill Blacks as it was done before and that is still done a little bit today, the bullet will not choose an Anglophone, will not choose a Francophone, will not choose an Arabic-speaker.[19]

In this context, Mubungi's discourse indicates that language is an important category, but is not the major one that determines Black identities. He indicates that the linguistic divisions place Blacks in separate spaces, for example, in Anglophone-Francophone binaries. His discourse also puts emphasis on African unity. He stresses the necessity of building coalitions with all Africans regardless of the language they speak. By mentioning that white supremacist groups, like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) target Blacks for racial hatred, notwithstanding the languages they speak, Mubungi's position demonstrates that Black-African unity cannot be confined to linguistic boundaries. By using the example of the KKK, Mubungi reminds us that such racist groups existed in Quebec and other Canadian provinces (Gouvernement du Québec, 1996). This discourse emphasizes the primacy of race identification and solidarity in the experiences of Blacks. However, keeping in mind that Mubungi speaks of Blacks in the context of the Diaspora, we can say that he also stresses factors such as history, culture and geography that Blacks share.

Mubungi's position draws our attention to the fact that the linguistic divisions that exist between Francophone and Anglophone in Africa and in the Caribbean, continue in Canada. Therefore, this discourse situates language as part of the colonial project as tools that separate Blacks along former colonizers' divisions (hooks, 1994). His position reiterates that affiliations among Blacks should go beyond linguistic divisions. Conversely, this view reveals that the ties among Blacks should be based on shared experiences that go to history, race and culture. His discourse reveals that Blacks should come together also because racism is directed to them all. The focal point we take from this discussion is that both race and language count for Black Francophones. Their racial and linguistic identities are not contradictory, but are complementary. This discourse is portrayed in the context of broader Diaspora Black identities that include race, language, culture and shared history (Gilroy, 1993).

Mubungi's position on race and language makes us realize that Black Francophones re-produce discourses that circulate within the Diaspora. In this sense, these social actors are connected to the broader Black communities and to a very broad African outlook. Mubungi's discourse also affirms the continuity and adaptation of concepts such as Pan-Africanism by these Francophones. Many examples of ideological and political movements come to mind: Pan-Africans, Black Panthers, International Black Women Congress and the present movements of Reparations for Slavery. These issues are relevant to Blacks in the Diaspora including to Blacks Francophones. Therefore, Mubungi's position is significant because the ideological theory informs and shapes the social action of Black Francophones. For example, the fundamental principles of the organization Mubungi belongs to—Africa Vision—are based on ideas of unity among Blacks. He stresses that "Moreover we are trying to bringing very closer the Francophone and Anglophone ethno-cultural community."[20] It is worth mentioning that this specific organization not only has Board members who are Anglophone and Francophone Blacks but is also taking steps towards linking Black Francophones and other Black organizations in the city. It will be useful to provide some examples of these connections and examine how these ties are situated in the struggle of Black Francophones to build their community and to rectify the power inequities they face within Francophone communities.

Ties within the Black Community

Some of the ties established between Black Anglophones and Francophones are similar to those already created among Black Francophones. There is evidence that Black Francophones co-operate with Anglophones in issues of race relations, environment and the film industry. In addition to examples of existing ties analyzed in previous sections such as the Antiracism Forum and the coalition's contest of the ape postcard, partnership among Blacks also extends to include events like celebrating Black History Month. It is also worth mentioning that links have been developed relative to issues that pertain to community economic development through co-operation with Black Anglophone business and other economic networks. In addition, affiliations are built based on cultural, gender and other lines. The ties Black Francophones initiate with their Anglophone counterparts have recently become more organized, and regarded as an integral part of some organizations' mandate.

For example, centers specific to Black Francophones are deliberately making efforts to bridge gaps between Black Anglophones and Francophones. In this regard, Mubungi says: "It is unfortunate that we don't work a lot with our Anglophone friends. We have approached the persons in

charge of Caribana and they are very open to that. They invited us to their next meeting to see how we can participate."[21] These words reveal that Africa Vision took steps to participate in the Caribana Festival, a major yearly event celebrated in the city. While this position relates to a major event, the desire to participate indicates clearly that the connections among Blacks are rooted in issues of culture, race and history that Black Francophones share with other Blacks. Like Black History Month, this event celebrates histories and cultures of Blacks. It has symbolic significance for Blacks in North America and in other places.

This is a situation where we observe Diasporic connections in action. In this instance, collaboration relates to events produced by peoples of African descent on the continent and in the Diaspora. It is therefore a local event that is situated in a global context that pertains to the Black Diaspora. The participation of Black Francophone organizations in these events reveal that they want to actively take part in events that have significance to Black people locally and globally and that they are claiming their space within a national and global contexts.

These connections relate to social categories such as race and language in how they divide and unite. We have already underlined the fact that language (French) is the basis of the political action of Ontario Francophone communities and race regulates social relations within and across groups. Race brings Black Francophones together as one community in those instances where they establish a racial minority. Race also leads Black Anglophones and Francophones to forge connections. This shows that both language and race allow the constitution of linguistic and racial communities. Race, culture and history have also generated global movements based on Blackness and African-ness. In this regard, we should keep in mind that language is the basic tool of *la Francophonie Internationale*, a space in which Black Francophones participate. Thus, in the same way that Black Francophones in Ontario belong to the Francophone and the Black community, they are globally part of both the Black Diaspora and *la Francophonie Internationale*. Their multiple belonging situates them in a unique position that enables them to participate in the two spaces and gives them the possibility of bridging these two spaces. This topic is broad as it relates to Diasporic connections (Gilroy, 1993; Walcott, 1995). However, these connections reveal numerous aspects of association concerning relations with and within linguistic and racial minorities.

From a perspective of resistance, these ties tell us that the affiliations Black Francophones have created are neither limited to one category of individuals nor to one space. The connections are rather based on various factors such as geography, race, culture and history. In addition, Blacks

make the various affiliations as Blacks and Francophones from within the Francophone community. This means that the category "Francophone" has become elastic and is now a broad one that includes various elements. It also indicates that Black unity is not necessarily in conflict with Francophone issues. It is and has always been, within the pan-African context, part of their Francophone being. After all, the ties reveal that Blacks work together on issues that relate to their common agenda that finally seeks to enhance development within Black communities. These ties also have a specific impact on Black Francophones. They indicate that links are made within and across groups of Blacks and that others can be developed in the future. As we will see in the forthcoming discussion, a significant impact of the possibility of creating links among the Black community is that these connections are perceived of, by some Black Francophones, as a strategy of resistance to rectify inequitable power relations they face within the existing configuration of Francophone communities.

An Optional Position: Constituting the Black-African Francophone Community

In the following quotation, the spokesperson of Solidarity pinpoints an issue that is presently outlined by community members who state that if the racism they face continues to prevail, they would prefer to leave Ontario *Francophonie* and become a part of the Anglophone community. In this context, the spokesperson challenges the inequitable power relations between Francophones that situate Black Francophones as a sub-category of Franco-Ontarians. This categorization is related to the discussion of the status of sector (versus full community) which is assigned to Black Francophones. The spokesperson explains that Blacks will not accept the present situation and are looking for alternatives:

> One day, with, well, members of some organization we were examining the repercussions of this situation with regard to our community. There are the Francophones, they go directly to the decision-makers, we are underneath the Francophones and we already want to arrive to this level, [we wish] that they recognize us so that we could be able to go together to see the decision-makers. If uh this situation never improves . . . The Francophone ethnocultural groups could also develop their strategies. We could have a direct access to the decision-makers like the other communities. This reality [situation] will not be able to continue like that for years, we will be able to find other means, other ideas, why not [don't we ally] with the African Anglophones that are there, and then create two branches, there will be the

> Anglophones, there will be the Francophones, so we come together to create that [community].[22]

These words reveal that the current inequities in the power relationship that Blacks face should not continue. At the present time, Blacks must use white Francophones as intermediaries in their attempts to communicate with the State. This emphasizes their status as a subordinate racial minority within the linguistic minority. In this quotation as well as in the rest of the interview, the discourse of this social actor confirms that Blacks will continue developing strategies to rectify this situation. In this context, he suggests possibilities such as being part of the general African (referring to the Black) community. The point here is that if Black Francophones become a "full community" like Black Anglophones, they will then communicate directly with the State. The argument he stressed in the interview is that some communities like Jamaicans, do not need to have intermediaries in order to communicate with the State, but do it directly. Black Francophones are aware of the advantages from which some multicultural communities draw benefits. This position is similar to earlier demands, made by some Black Francophones during l'Entente negotiations to be recognized as a full community. Those Blacks envisaged a Black Francophone community as one created within the Francophone community.

There would be one linguistic community—Francophone—consisting of a racial community—the Black Francophone community—and other communities including white Francophones. In the context of this position proposed by the spokesperson of Solidarity, Black Francophones would constitute a Francophone community situated within the Black community. In this instance, it would be part of one racial community—the Black community, consisting of linguistic communities, including Francophone and Anglophone Blacks. In other terms, the social actors who take the first position plan to remain as a distinct Black community within *la Francophonie*. Those who opt for the second position plan to evolve as Francophones within the Black community. They then plan to leave *la Francophonie*. The two proposed models seek the status of community for Black Francophones.

The fundamental question that deserves to be asked is, what leads these Blacks to opt out of *la Francophonie*? To reply to this question, we should note that this particular evolutionary movement is directly related to the social actors' perspective on exclusion within existing Francophone institutions and communities. As social actors stressed during my fieldwork, the abandonment of Ontario *Francophonie* is also related to frustration as a result of the underemployment of Blacks and the under-representation

of Blacks in mainstream institutions. In addition to the exclusion exerted within *la Francophonie*, research subjects who opt for the majority language in Ontario stress the advantages that Anglophone institutions offer. They outline the positive impact of being integrated into Anglophone communities and cite, for example, easier access to employment and the openness of Anglophone institutions. In this context, it is worth mentioning that Black Francophones stress the point that Black Anglophones are better off. This view is expressed in the discourse of social actors such as Maurice Kwasi: "The people that speak the English language, that come from Africa they they are in a better position than the people that speak the French language that come from Africa."[23]

Similar perceptions are constructed by research subjects like Mubungi who strongly support the idea of making connections among Black Francophones and Anglophones. Mubungi states: "I look at the Anglophone ethnocultural group at the level of the strategies at the level uh of the things that they do they are . . . at length in advance in comparison with us."[24] In this context, Black Francophones like Maurice and Mubungi draw comparisons between their situation and that of Blacks who are located within Anglophone communities. These social actors are convinced that Black Anglophones are in a far better socio-economic situation than they are. They also believe that their Anglophone counterparts have more expertise at many levels such as in the areas of Antiracism and economic development. This conclusion is based on the perception of inclusiveness of Anglophone institutions to Black Anglophones, the number of Blacks hired, access to more resources, funding and opportunities. The fundamental argument provided by social actors during the fieldwork is that Anglophone institutions are in a way "neutral": open to racial minorities and offer them opportunities. Black Francophones wish to share in social and economic well-being of their Anglophone counterparts. It should be emphasized that the view that Black Anglophones have gained more resources and policies than Black Francophones may be related to the fact that Black Anglophones have been in Canada in large numbers and concentrations of population a long time before their Francophone counterparts arrived in appreciable proportions.

The relatively better situation of Black Anglophones may be due to the "open" approach of white Anglophones towards Anglophone racial minorities. However, one of the outcomes of differentiation of treatment is that the State implements more policies and attributes more resources for Black Anglophones who are situated within the Anglophone majority. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that Black Anglophones have obtained some resources only because they have been involved in a vigorous antiracist

struggle for many, long years. They made gains because they kept on and keep on fighting for equity. What Black Angophones have accomplished was not a favor from the State nor from white Anglophones, it is rather the result of dynamic and consistent social action.

Black Anglophones may not agree that they do not face racism in Canada or that they have obtained the rights they need. However, if Black Anglophones consider the challenges that their Francophone counterparts face, for example if they take into account the socio-economic level of Black Francophones in comparison with other Blacks, or if they consider the Francophone silence over racism, they may agree that they are better integrated socio-economically than Black Francophones. This does not mean that Black Anglophones do not face racism, though it does reveal that they do occupy a different social space since they are not a double minority. They—we—all live in a predominantly white racist State. Therefore, Black Anglophones still face racism but in less intensity than their Francophone counterparts. For Black Francophones, this is perceived as a much better situation. Therefore some social actors contended during the fieldwork that the Anglophone majority is more open than Francophones to diversity and consequently to the Anglophone racial minority. These facts lead Black Francophones to opt for adherence to only one minority identity rather than embracing the possibility of being members of a dual minority group—a state of affairs that weakens rather than strengthens them.

I emphasize that, while it is important to make comparisons on issues that concern different groups of Blacks, the comparisons can be useful if we identify what should be done to avoid the reproduction of racism that Black Anglophone faced in the past, so that Black Francophones will not face similar experiences. In this context, let us ask ourselves why Anglophone institutions are more "open" to Blacks? One reason is because some of these institutions apply policies of equity, which guarantee and ensure the access of Blacks to employment. This point stresses the significance of these policies in guaranteeing representation of Blacks and other racialized groups within the power structures.

It is interesting to note that Black Francophones who pinpoint the advantages that Anglophone institutions offer, a perception that encourages these Blacks to plan to leave *la Francophonie*, situate the question of power relations at another level. As these social actors outline the advantages that the English language provides, they do not perceive this language as a dominant one. They see English as the language that ensures success and economic integration and reinforces the access to positions of power and to economic integration, which is their main goal. It is significant that the language (English) that is perceived by Francophones in Canada as the

dominant language becomes the Black Francophone way of success. Similarly, Francophone Blacks who opt for this position do not perceive Anglophones as their oppressors. These Blacks look at Anglophones as a group that offers other racial minorities access to power and resources while they do not discriminate against Black Anglophones. In this instance Anglophones are not perceived as dominators of Black Francophones, but their "allies." For these Black Francophones the dominant group consists of the white Francophones.

To place the position of these social actors with respect to the English language and the Anglophone majority in the context of power relations, we contend that this position completely reverses the perception of power relations, as they have historically been experienced by white Francophones, in relation to English language and to Anglophones. These Blacks re-define their positions with regard to the struggle between Anglophones and Francophones in Canada. They tend not to fight with white Francophones against Anglophone dominance. They would rather situate themselves within the Anglophone majority. This social position is crucial because it highlights many aspects of the struggle for equity issues. It shows that the impact of discrimination can be severe as it leads social actors to take major initiatives, such as abandoning *la Francophonie*. This initiative underscores the impact of immigration on existing power relations since it means that Black Francophones do not simply fit into pre-existing power relations. Most importantly, it demonstrates that Black Francophones perceive alternatives and are willing to undertake drastic measures such as linguistic re-alignment and integration into mainstream Anglophone society if necessary. Blacks are not willing to accept the present state of racism and power inequities, and if the racism that targets Blacks within *la Francophonie* continues, these Blacks will take positions based on the options and alternatives available to them.

We should also note that many Black Francophones have already begun the process of integrating into the Anglophone community where they establish deeper and broader connections with Black Anglophones. These acts are consequences of the exclusion exerted by white Francophones, imbalances of power and racism. However, the subjects I have included in my research have chosen to stay within Francophone communities for the present. It should, however, be noted that some of my research subjects send their children to immersion and English-language schools. Nevertheless, their continued adherence to the Francophone community is indicative of a conscious decision to stay and not accept the inequities while exploring other options to fight racism. If the inequities persist, Black Francophones are planning and will deliberately move

towards the Anglophone communities. This is an alarming factor that will impact on the entire *Francophonie*. Keeping in mind that the demographic presence of Blacks constitutes a significant proportion of Ontario *Francophonie* and that their number is increasing, then we can say that if Blacks progressively pull out of Francophone communities that will significantly reduce the number of Francophones in Ontario. The point here is that the State and white Francophones need to be aware that the Black Francophone community will not accept the *status quo* for an indefinite period. Therefore, both the State and white Francophones should take appropriate measures to eradicate racism.

In this part of the book, I have spoken of ties built within the Black Francophone community. I have shown that the connections observed in the case of Solidarity among Black Francophones, extend to those with Black Anglophones in fields like economic development and environmental issues. The discourses that are produced by social actors with respect to the various connections also relate to Black and African unity. Their decisions reveal that race is important for them and that the connections built within the Black community are crucial for the development of the Black Francophone community. This topic is significant as it indicates that Blacks have identified viable options in their struggle against the exclusion exerted by the State within the Francophone mainstream community. The ties Black Francophones made with Black Anglophones are strategies of resistance that tell us that these Blacks do not fit into pre-determined separate categories. In so doing, they also resist colonial ideologies. The connections among Blacks offer them the possibility of situating themselves as Francophones within the Black community. As the example of the Antiracism Forum shows, these social actors are not isolated but occur within a global framework. On the one hand the Black Francophones of Canada within the Canadian immigration process build and maintain local, provincial and national alliances and on the other hand are connected to Black communities in Africa and the rest of the worldwide Black Diaspora.

I reiterate that, as we have seen in the case of Solidarity, the goal should not only be to avoid conflicts among Black Francophones but also not to let disagreements disrupt unity among Blacks. This unity is not spoken of to essentialize Blackness but as a strategy for transcending conflicts and building stronger communities. Diversity is to be fully appreciated but should not disrupt community development. It is important to note that differences among white Europeans have neither prevented them form protecting their common -namely colonial- interests nor from establishing the European Union. Similarly, differences have not prevented whites from forming the Canadian Confederation or making treaties in North America.

However, differences become obstacles in realizing African Unity and prevent Blacks from working towards common goals. As an overall conclusion I argue that we must understand how within the Canadian context Anglo and Francophone issues have been pitted against each other and as an overall Black-African unity strategy we must work to protect the political and economic interests of Black Peoples locally and globally. Working alliances among Blacks are a means of resisting racism as well as steps towards Black unity and the development of Black communities.

CONCLUSION

The strategies of resistance analyzed through the three social positions discussed in this chapter: the Antiracism Forum, Solidarity and the ties built among the Black Anglophones and Francophones, are only some examples of the activities conducted by these and other organizations. These strategies are the result of collective actions taken in public space. The acts taken reveal accomplishments of quite different community organizations. They show us that, notwithstanding the setbacks and obstacles Black Francophones face, there are social actors that play crucial roles in fighting racism and bringing about the process of transformation. The subjects clearly show that racism is central to the experience of Black Francophones and in taking actions to eradicate it they have demonstrated that it is possible to transcend this social aberration. As the lack of debate on racism has been identified as a major barrier, the achievements of these organizations tell us that these groups provide Blacks with the space they do not find to tackle racism within Francophone mainstream institutions. As we have seen, Blacks have shown initiative in addressing inequity based on social power. Black Francophone organizations have claimed separate budgets, recognition as a full community and some Blacks have even left the Francophone community. The multiple strategies they have developed also tell us that, in fighting racism, these social actors have multiple options which offer them alternatives to the status quo. After all else fails they can exercise their option to leave one space and choose to carry their lives on in another one.

Most importantly, the actions taken remind us that the objective of resistance is not merely to confront and to fight groups and institutions. Resistance is rather about commitment, civic participation and the protection of minority legal and political rights. These actions are undertaken to allow groups to participate more fully in Canadian life, to highlight issues that concern racial minorities as well as all Canadians and also to continue playing their part on the national and international arenas. Resistance also

serves to elevate their socio-economic level, to ensure a more equitable distribution of power, to improve relations among Black Francophones and white Francophones and to achieve real change. We should also note that the activism of Black Francophones can challenge the processes of nation building, white domination of the Canadian national project and also transform institutions at the highest levels of power. In addition, the strategies undertaken by Blacks reveal the will of community organizations to cooperate with the State in meeting the community's needs for development and promoting racial equity. The positions taken by the numerous organizations reveal the significance of the existence of strong community infrastructure as such support can be beneficial for both the State and its communities.

However, from the perspective of resistance, the question that deserves to be posed is: What will be the impact of the struggle of Black Francophones? This question is crucial as it allows us to go beyond identifying resistance and the multiplicity of position and let us reflect upon the outcome of the activism of these social actors. Keeping in mind how long it took immigrants from non-racialized communities to become integrated into Canadian society, we then need to ask ourselves if Blacks in Canada will even cease to be considered immigrants and if they will be equitably represented in the institutions of power. These observations will make more sense if we situate them in the context of the entire study, that is, the connection between racism and resistance. That will be the focus of the final conclusions.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

> What good was the Civil Rights Movement? If it had just given this country [USA] Dr. King, a leader of conscience, for once in our lifetime, it would have been enough. If it had just taken black eyes off white television stories, it would have been enough. If it had fed one starving child, it would have been enough . . . it gave us each other forever (Alice Walker, 2000, p. 128).

This chapter sums-up the salient points of my book. It highlights the major forms of racism Black Francophones face as well as the strategies of resistance they develop. The chapter also outlines the sociological and analytical contribution of my research to theory and its practical applications to policy. This chapter identifies the limitations of my study and offers some suggestions for further research.

Drawing upon the experiences of African and Haitian Black Francophones in Ontario, my work has focused on the dynamics of power and resistance within Francophone communities. It has explored the situation of Black Francophones in both the distribution of and access to the economic and political resources that the Canadian State allocated to Francophones as one of its two official linguistic communities in a minority situation. My work also focused on various strategies and sites of resistance developed by Black Francophones to fight inequities in the distribution of power.

My book has identified the nature of the institutional racism that Black Francophones face from the Canadian State and within Francophone communities and mainstream institutions. It has highlighted the institutional definition of "Francophones" offered by Statistics Canada. This study has also shown evidence of the impact this definition has had on Black Francophones. It has identified the limited access that Black Francophones have

to the major financial resources assigned by the State to Francophones. It has questioned the negative impact of under-funding towards attempts to develop the Black Francophone community. That impact is demonstrated by the collapse of organizations and the poverty level of the Black Francophone community. My book identified State racism as a central cause of under-funding in Black Francophone organizations and described how it hinders the economic development opportunities of the Black Francophone community.

This research also analyzed Black Francophone perceptions and experiences of racism within Francophone communities and mainstream institutions. It focused on specific forms of racism relating to how Blacks perceive power relations among Francophones, the dynamics that operate between organizations of women and the lack of open debate about racism within the dominant Francophone discourse. My work demonstrated how institutional practices such as the lack of equity and representation act to reproduce racism within Francophone mainstream institutions. In addition, my work outlined some of the discriminatory practices that Black Francophones face from both the State and Francophone institutions. For example, they face the non-recognition of academic and professional credentials, stereotyping, racialization of immigration and police violence—barriers that other racial minorities also encounter in Canadian society.

Having identified the various forms of institutional racism that Black Francophones are confronted with, this study examined specific strategies of resistance that Black Francophones develop to fight racism as they build stronger communities. I chose to speak of resistance because it reveals that social actors are not victims but they also struggle consciously to defend and protect principles of social justice. I examined three social positions that relate to specific actions taken by collectivities: the Antiracist Forum, the umbrella organization called Solidarity and various social and political ties developed within the Black community particularly among Black Francophones and their Anglophone counterparts. I have also indicated that some of my research subjects plan to leave *la Francophonie* to be part of the Anglophone community where they can build more connections with Black Anglophones as the racism they face persists. It was found that each of the social positions spoken of is situated in the discourse of resistance and has specific significance for the development of the Black Francophone community.

What have we learned from these observations?

As the themes of economic, political and social power are crucial in this study, my work has shown that Black Francophones have not yet attained neither economic nor political power. The lack of economic power

is evidenced by the severe socio-economic status of the Black community and the institutional poverty that its organizations face. It is also related to drastic socio-economic disparities between Black and white Francophones. When it comes to political power, we note that these individuals and groups are politically aware and can therefore defend the rights of their communities. However, in the sense that political power also refers to the highest levels of the State like the Parliament, the Senate and the institutional hierarchy, Black Francophones, as well as racialized groups like the First Nations, do not have equitable access to the political power that really counts. My work leads me to conclude that all forms of power are interconnected: they impact each other. For example, economic power permits access to political power and vice versa. However, economic power is vital since it relates to the socio-economic integration of the community and the access of social actors to both political power and social status.

Some of the major findings of this book are the reproduction by white Francophones of the dominance they experience at the hands of white Anglophones and the reproduction of racism that Black Anglophones have faced over a long time. These practices led us to identify similarities between the practices of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. My observations allowed me to conclude that Black Francophones are trapped in a double bind of the practices of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions. The analysis also enabled us to demonstrate that racism is ongoing in Canadian society.

Looking at the various groups of my research subjects who belong to different generations and to different waves of immigration, I observed that certain essential aspects of the discourse on racism are repeated irrespective of generation and length of presence in Canada. Elements of racism, such as poverty or systemic barriers such as exclusion from the work force, were frequently stressed by social actors including those who were born in Canada. I therefore made connections between immigration, *la Francophonie* and racism. I found it striking that among youth who arrived recently as well as those born in Canada, many perceive of themselves as "immigrants." This perception is connected to stereotypes that are perpetuated and internalized. In this instance, institutions and society mostly see their skin color, do not consider how long they have been living in Canada or what their experiences and qualifications are. The term "immigrant" is a social construct that still refers to racialized groups. The conclusion could therefore be made that identification in Canada is a factor of race and the privilege attached to whiteness. The link between immigration and racism in the Francophone context manifests itself by the racialization of immigration. The Black person is perceived of as "the other."

While this book reveals that Black Francophones in Ontario face racism, many studies also show that Black Anglophones in Quebec encounter racial discrimination as well. These observations generate the following questions: what has changed since the presence of Blacks in Canada prior to the establishment of Canadian Confederation? What has improved since the first wave of Black immigrants arrived in Canada? And, in a country which was built on immigration, have policies been implemented to elevate the socio-economic conditions of racial minorities?

The all too evident responses to these questions make us realize that notwithstanding the remarkable demographic change that has taken place in Canadian society, the institutions of power are still predominantly white (Cooper, 2003). The main argument I stress in this respect is that, if it took Black Anglophones so many years of struggle to overcome some of the systemic barriers, it should not take their Francophone counterparts the same length of time to make similar gains. It is therefore high time to bring an end to racism. This will be the challenge for the State in its policies, for the Antiracism struggle, for Black Francophones themselves and for all of us who seek to make equity real.

The discussions relating to strategies of resistance evoked in this study, inform us that social actors are vigorously struggling to combat issues like poverty and white supremacy. They are fighting for equity and the reinforcement of community economic development. The activism of Black Francophones reminds us that these social actors are committed to a double struggle, for both linguistic and racial rights. The various strategies of resistance built by Black Francophones, such as taking legal action, making claims for recognition as a full community, planning to be integrated into the Anglophone community, or generating ideas to constitute a Black Francophone community, showed us that Blacks have options. In addition, we have to acknowledge the fact that some parents deliberately choose to send their children to English-language schools. These same options can have major negative implications that will threaten the existence of Ontario *Francophonie* if racism is not eradicated.

My book has examined the complex situation of being a double minority, facing both language and racial discrimination, and living in a democratic State, Canada. It showed that this situation is linked to race, gender and language relations as well as immigration and the social dynamics of integration. Based on what I have pointed out in this work, I will now identify the sociological and analytical contribution that my work has brought to the major fields in which it is situated. These fields are the theories of Antiracism, of Black Feminism and Francophone Studies.

My research bridges two sociological fields, namely Antiracism and Francophone Studies. It has brought Antiracism to Francophone Studies by explicitly speaking of race and racism, which are undermined in Francophone Studies. When I discussed the antiracist literature relevant to the power relations in Chapter Three, I mentioned that Antiracism treats race as a social and political construct that is a product of specific socio-historical, political and geographic contexts (Lopez, 1995). Historically, white Europeans have acquired the power that has been reproduced in racial terms, namely, as various forms of racial superiority felt with respect to non-Europeans, and as a system of discrimination implemented as practices of exclusion, marginalization or other forms of oppression or control. In contemporary contexts, race continues to be significant because of its role in distributing power, resources and social privileges. As a result, racial and ethnic minorities are unable to participate equitably in the social, political and cultural institutions of Euro/Canadian societies (Sunderji, 1996).

Using race as socio-political construct and as an analytical category in this work enabled me to show that Black Francophones are disadvantaged vis-à-vis white Francophones in the distribution of the resources attributed by the Canadian State to Francophones as an official linguistic minority. It therefore led me to conclude that the power relations among Francophones are also racialized relations. Analysis through race permitted me to further explain the experiences of immigrants with Francophone communities and in the Canadian society at large. By examining the social positions of Black Francophones, linguistically and racially, we came to realize that white French Canadians or Europeans are no longer the majority among Francophones. There exist presently various groups including, First Nations, Africans, Asians and other racialized groups which make up the Ontario Francophone community (Ibrahim, 1998; Madibbo, 2005). This social fact has a specific impact. Language is an important factor in these relations but is not the only one that is relevant to the *Francophonie*. That is why race has to be introduced into Francophone Studies.

In terms of racism, as stated, Antiracism explicitly recognizes the reality of racism (Clottey & Clottey, 1998). We have seen that racism presupposes the social construction of racial differences. We looked at racism as group dominance based on socio-politically constructed racial difference. In its various systemic and institutional forms racism is marked by the existence of systematic policies and of exclusionary practices that have the effect of disadvantaging certain racial or ethnic groups (Bannerji, 1991). This conceptualizing of racism allowed me to unravel various forms of institutional racism coming from the State and Francophone communities such as

the under-representation of Black Francophones in the Francophone mainstream institutional hierarchy and the inequitable distribution of resources among Francophones. My study challenges Francophone mainstream institutions, academic and otherwise, which largely prioritize the interests of white Franco-Ontarians. My work has also stressed the lack of an equity policy and the need for diversity representation in the institutional hierarchy of Francophone organizations. This book has therefore shown that it has become necessary to speak of racism in discussing issues of Francophone immigration and transformation of Francohpone mainstream institutions. Thus, this work has reaffirmed the need to challenge the white Francophone social agenda which permeated Francophone Studies. Therefore, Francophone Studies should create spaces for other critical approaches like Antiracism and Anti-colonialism that will allow it to address critical questions related to race and racism.

When it comes to its contribution to Antiracism, my research joins ongoing studies carried out by Antiracists and Blacks Feminists, which challenge the predominance of racism in Canadian society (Dei, 1996a; Ng, 1995). My work has stressed the role that systemic racism plays in preventing the fair access of Black Francophones to resources and to the structures of power. It has demonstrated that, until the present time, groups such as Black Francophones have been perceived of as "immigrants" and that they are used as cheap labor to keep the system working. My research also joins these studies in that it unmasks racism in Canada and asserts that racism in this country is alive and well. This is demonstrated by historical facts such as the enslavement of Africans and the inhumane treatment of Aboriginal peoples (Case, 2002). Furthermore, my work brought up contemporary practices such as the non-recognition of foreign credentials, the issuing of the ape postcard and the practices of Canadian multinationals in developing countries. Therefore, my work interrogates the predominance of Euro-centric knowledge, the myth of the two founding people and the privilege attached to bilingualism, ideas that constitute the essence of Canadian nation building.

My book also fuses these two approaches, Black Feminism and Antiracism, to pinpoint the shortcomings of liberal democracy ideology that governs Western societies like Canada. The rise of racism, hostility and anti-immigrant sentiments in some countries, for example, in France (Agence France Press, 2002), in England (Craig, 2003) and in the United States, lead us to conclude that these issues are not limited to Canada. Rather, they extend to Western countries that receive immigrants belonging to racialized groups including Black Francophones. Joining antiracists, we contend that the persistence of racism in these societies remains a challenge for liberal democracy.

More particularly, this book brings language analysis to the study of Antiracism and Black Feminism. These two approaches do not address the question of language issues, including language discrimination, in a thorough manner. In addition, these studies largely focus on Black Anglophones and therefore undermine other Blacks belonging to linguistic minorities, such as Black Francophones. Antiracism and Black Feminism should provide more conceptual space for language analysis. For example, language can be situated in the model of the principle of Simultaneity of Oppression suggested by Black Feminists. As we have seen, the principle of Simultaneity of Oppression points out that each of the systems of oppression, for example, language oppression, sexism and homophobia does not operate alone. They are all interrelated and we cannot fully understand the impact of any one system without examining the interplay between various forms of oppression. Including factors such as language into the model of the Simultaneity of Oppression enables us to capture the intersection between the various forms of social inequities that Antiracists and Black Feminists seek to unravel and counteract.

My point is that, as much as Antiracism is a theoretical and political project that acknowledges the saliency of racism, it is also a linguistic one. We, however, should not forget that language itself should be looked at as an integral part of the colonial project. One should keep in mind that language, namely French, was introduced to the developing world through colonialism. It was and is still, used to divide and place Blacks in linguistic binaries of white majorities (Bebel-Gisler, 1981). In addition, language plays a major role in the constitution of nation-states as political units (Irvine & Gal, 2000) including colonial States like Canada. As Heller (1999) observes, in Canada, language is important because of its role in the process of nation-building. Quebec's claims of a distinct society are based on language. Therefore, in our efforts to challenge and deconstruct the Canadian national project, as well as redefine the concepts of "citizenship," "nation-building" and "founding peoples," we need to take into account that, while this project is based on the racial privilege attached to whiteness (Bannerji, 2000), the myth of two founding peoples also includes a linguistic element. As the national project protects English and French, it leaves out languages spoken by First Nations (Waterfall, 2002) and other groups who constitute fundamental parts of Canadian society. It leaves nations out as well. It is, therefore, necessary to bring language into the analysis of topics related to the impact of Black Francophone migration on citizenship and Canadian nation-building process.

My work intersects with studies undertaken by Antiracists and Black Feminists who carry out research on the Black Diaspora (Walcott, 1995). It

adds to ongoing work on transnational Black identities and migrations, an area of inquiry that pertains to Black Francophones. This latter populace also contributes to the Black Diaspora in that it bridges two spaces: the International Francophone space and that of the Black Diaspora.

Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I looked at what is said by social actors as well as the manner of saying it. I made the Black discourse the centre of my work, and I based my analysis on the discourse of subjects who are primarily concerned with the issues being examined. Analyses of subjects' discourse permitted me to identify how these subjects construct their social reality as well as the social positions they take. I succeeded in drawing from the discourse of my research subjects, diverse and thorough dimensions of the problematic being analyzed, that is, the dynamics of power, racism and resistance within Francophone communities. This methodological approach turns out to be essential to elucidate and complement the non-said and the implicit of written documentation. Considering that various aspects of the issues pertaining to Black Francophones have not been documented yet, we as researchers cannot neglect the considerable contribution of discourse to the conceptualization of our social reality.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Notwithstanding its contribution, this study is by no means exhaustive. It has raised many questions that remain unanswered. We are left with major concerns as to what will happen with respect to Black Francophones. In other words, within which categories will Black Francophones officially situate themselves; will Black Francophones evolve within the Francophone or the Anglophones communities, or will they constitute a separate Black community not belonging to any of the two majorities. Questions remain unanswered with regard to when will Blacks cease to be "immigrants," what needs to be done so that Blacks become full citizens and participants in the constitution of the national project, benefiting from legal and political rights. Answers to these questions, as well as other points that go beyond the scope of my work, deserve extended studies.

Some forms of racism faced by Black Francophones need to be examined in depth. For example, my study has not addressed the impact of racism on Black Francophone youth. Future research may follow up on Ibrahim's (1998) work on Black Francophone youth's experiences of racism in the French-language schools. As stated, Ibrahim has identified institutional practices of racism these youth encounter in terms of differential treatment because of their skin color, absence of Black teachers, under-representation in the curriculum of Black History and culture and enrolment

of these students in the Basic and General levels. In my work, similar racist practices facing Francophone youth came up notably during the Antiracism Forum. The youth who participated in this Forum identified the under-representation of material pertaining to Black history and culture in the school curriculum among the discriminatory practices they encounter.

The overlap between Ibrahim's and the youth's concern about racism tells us that future research needs to further analyze the racism produced in the educational system in order to eliminate these discriminatory practices. Extended studies may look at the Black Francophone students who dropout of the French-language schools. This phenomenon has been examined in relation to the English-language schools (Dei, 1993) but not in the context of the French-language schools system. Black students' dropout of schools has now become a public and political concern in Ontario since the largest number of students who dropout of these schools belong to the racial minority groups (Not like segregation in South, 2005). Since the Safe Schools Act was introduced in the school system in 2000, African-Canadian students constitute the majority of pupils under the age of seven who have been suspended. Black students are being identified as "at-risk" pupils as most of the suspended students end up dropping-out of the schools.

It will be interesting to examine how the dropout affects Black Francophone youth, the factors that lead these students to dropout of the schools and how do systemic and institutional forms of racism impact on this process. It will also be useful to build specific action plans that schools, the community and the State should implement to counteract this phenomenon. Such studies can also be situated within current debates related to educational reforms in Canada. Some of these debates are focused on antiracism, multicultural and citizenship models of education. The questions posed are whether the use of one of these forms of education is sufficient to accommodate the needs of students and their communities or whether a combination of these forms of education will provide schools with more appropriate tools to form future citizens. We can also observe that these debates about educational reforms are raised in other Canadian provinces and in other countries like the United Kingdom and the USA (McAndrew, 2001). A challenge facing Antiracism education is the tendency to move away from this form of education and to head instead towards citizenship education. However, these efforts are encountering resistance marked by a call for Antiracism education. For example, as we have seen during the debates about l'Entente, Black Francophones recommended implementing Antiracism education to guarantee the success of their children in the school system.

It is important to mention that groups of Black educators and parents in Ontario are currently advocating for establishing Black-focused schools. These demands are generated by the aforementioned forms of racism that Black students encounter in the educational systems (Dei, 1996b; Ibrahim, 1998). The Black-focused schools are looked upon as a way of combating the high dropout rate and problems with suspensions that Black students face. As we observed, similar schools have been created in other Canadian provinces such as Nova Scotia, and the USA. The Black-focused school debates have sparked mixed reactions. While some are raising criticisms of segregation, others are considering these schools an appropriate response to the educational problems of young Black Canadians. In this regard, research which seeks solutions to the dropout phenomenon should consider the fact that the school system is becoming increasingly racially diversified given the rapidly changing demographics of schools. Therefore, such research should investigate the following questions:

a) How should Black Francophone students be situated in the discussions about educational reforms in Canada?

b) What kind of education (antiracist, multicultural, citizenship or other models of education) is relevant to Black Francophone students?

c) How can the Black-focused schools foster the academic excellence for at-risk students and for other Black students?

d) What kind of curriculum should be implemented in the Black-focused schools? Research may also identify models of success of Afro-centric schools in the USA that can be used in the claimed schools in Canada.

It would also be interesting to further explore questions concerning Black women and gender relations within the Black community. Extended studies may follow-up on issues that arose during l'Entente such as the subsector of Black women discussed in Chapter Four. In that particular case, Black women made a request to negotiate a separate Entente between the State and Black Francophone women. This topic deserves to be analyzed in depth in order to reveal the dynamic of power among organizations of Black women and other Francophone mainstream—including women's—organizations. The situation of Black women within the Black Francophone community needs to be explored as well. I emphasize that gender relations

among Blacks should not be investigated to prove the existence of sexism within the Black community. Rather, gender relations should be examined in order to better conceptualize the intersection of gender with other social categories in the Francophone context.

At present, it will, however, be useful to look at Black Francophone women organizations' role in new-comer women's early stages of settlement and the consequent process of socio-economic integration. This group of Black Francophone women is faced with severe poverty. To examine this topic, we can use Black Feminism as it focuses on organizing as a form of activism Black women take to improve the economic development within the Black community (Collins, 1990). Research may offer a more thorough analysis of these organizations: their mandate, how they function and what services they offer to new-comer Black Francophone women. Such studies can also identify these groups' capacity and organizational needs. More precisely, research may identify:

a) What kind of projects these organizations can implement to enable women who had entrepreneurship expertise in the sending countries to pursue their career in the post-migration phase.

b) How these organizations can assist new-comer women in acquiring Canadian work experience.

c) What are the financial needs of these organizations, to determine for example, how a funding program like l'Entente could accommodate these needs.

d) How women organizations' goals can be achieved through working in partnership with other Black and Francophone organizations and with the State with regard to new-comer Francophone women.

Such work will help to offer visibility to structural and institutional racism experienced by Black Francophones. Antiracism and Black Feminism will have provided us with tools to address conflict and to encourage dialogue between the State and Black Francophones and among Francophones. These approaches are particularly of interest as they can influence public policy, for example, to identify suitable equity measures that would enhance the fair access of Black Francophones to resources. As we have seen, during l'Entente negotiations, Black Francohones requested a study on the impact of the removal of equity policies on their community. Future research may

follow-up on these demands with a view to suggesting specific affirmative action and equal opportunity policies that would ensure racial and gender equity, a long-term development for Francopone racial minorities, and the full participation of Black Francophones in the enterprise of the State and Francophone mainstream institutions including the Academy.

In addition, we can investigate how equity policies will allow for the recognition of foreign credentials. My study has shown that Black Francophones who migrate to Canada have foreign credentials which are not properly accredited. The non-recognition and non-accreditation of their academic and professional qualifications constitute a barrier to Black Francophones in obtaining meaningful and productive occupations in various State and Francophone mainstream institutions (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2001; Galabuzi, 2001). It is therefore important to continue examining this topic in order to develop and implement more initiatives to foreign credential recognition. We should also mention that the Government of Canada is currently working with provincial and territorial departments and partners—including licensing and regulatory bodies, sector councils, employers and professional associations—to improve the integration of immigrants and foreign-trained Canadians into the labor market so that they can make full use of their talents and experience to the benefit of Canada (Canadian Alliance of Education and Training Organizations, 2004). The aim of this pan-Canadian initiative is to speed up the process of foreign credential recognition; find ways to assist immigrants in acquiring the necessary Canadian work experience or language training, provide better information to prospective immigrants about employment requirements, and develop strategies to address employer attitudes.

Work has begun on regulated professions which face critical shortages such as physicians and nurses. Improvements made to credentials assessment and recognition processes within this set of professions will contribute to the development of a pan-Canadian model for foreign credential recognition. In this regard, research may join these efforts by identifying concrete actions to facilitate recognition of the credentials of Black Francophones and other bilingual migrants. It will be important to look at non-regulated occupations and trades in sectors such as colleges and universities and tourism. Research may also suggest what role Black Francophone community organizations can play in partnership with the State and other stakeholders to implement these action plans aimed at better recognition of foreign credentials.

The theory and methodology frameworks used in this book will eventually be applicable to the study of power, migration and resistance with regard to Black Francophones or other Blacks in other Canadian provinces.

Research may further document the socio-historical and contemporary context of the migration of Haitian and African Francophones to Canada and between Canadian provinces other than Quebec and Ontario, such as Alberta, Saskatchewan or British Colombia. We can also extend our studies on the connections built between Black Anglophones and Francophones in Ontario that have been identified in my work and in Ibrahim's (1998) study to other Canadian provinces. Research may analyze how these ties can help in enhancing the socio-economic integration of these immigrant communities. Such studies can also allow us to develop pan-Canadian comparative approach to Black migration. We can then link the studies on migration within Canada to global migration.

My book has not discussed globalization in connection to migration, to the receiving country (Canada) or to source countries (Haiti and States in Africa). As I have asserted in Chapter Two, global migration serves the interests of the labor market of capitalist/Western countries like Canada. Migration is presently viable for Canada (the host society) in a number of ways. Therefore, it has to be economically profitable for sending countries like Haiti or other African States. The question to be examined in future research is: how can immigration benefit the sending countries? To answer this question, research may further explore the economic, educational and political connections that some Black Francophone organizations have fostered with groups in sending countries. These connections are established with the aim of introducing economic opportunities and technologies to sending countries (Madibbo, 2002, 2003b; Maro implante un centre, 2001). We can look at the ties that Haitians in Canada build with their communities in Haiti and in the USA as well as the affiliations that Africans in Canada establish with their communities in Africa and in Europe. We can then identify how the expansion of technology and education in the South can be accomplished through the efforts of immigrant community organizations with the support of Canada, which receives significant numbers of Francophones from developing countries.

Research relating to the viability of migration to sending countries should consider global issues such as the North-South relations and the international development agenda. Bodies such as the African Union and the United Nations have recently taken initiatives such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development—NEPAD (http://www.nepad.org, 2002), which was the focus of the G8 summit that was held in Kananaskis, Alberta from 27–29 June 2002 (Blackwell, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2002), and the World Conference against Racism. Those initiatives aimed at bridging various gaps between the developing and developed world. More particularly, they seek to enhance the development of Africa. These initiatives are

faced with challenges such as the inequitable distribution of resources in the world. In addition, while Western relations with Africa are presently situated within the framework of globalization, resistance to globalization has itself become global (Nebenzahl, 2002; Reuters, 2002). Globalization is also perceived as a form of new colonialism and racism (Craig, 2003), and its pertinence to Africa and the developing world is questioned by many groups (Henriot, 2001). Africa still faces the ramifications of Western intervention represented by the impact of colonialism in terms of debt, famine and poverty. It presently faces the capitalist practices of the multinational corporations and the monopoly of institutions like the International Monetary Fund (see also the Group for Research and Initiative for the Liberation of Africa, 2002). This indicates that globalization itself has negative impacts on Africa. The question of how immigration can be beneficial to the source countries in the developing world is of most significance because the beginning of the 21st century is an appropriate time to bring Africa into the global economic agenda. Considering how its human and natural resources have been exploited by the West over a period of several centuries and keeping in mind its contribution to humanity, Africa—as well as other parts of the "developing" world—deserve to be paid back.

The proposed research topics are pivotal to a project of social change and require institutional and constitutional transformation. Although change can be a long process, steps can be taken to bring together ongoing political and ideological movements like Anti-colonialism and Anti-capitalism, to achieve our goals. While it is significant to continue identifying the various forms of racism racialized groups face, as well as the strategies of resistance deployed, the following steps go beyond identifying racism and resistance to building concrete solutions, taking action and implementing policies. We should transcend resistance to achieve change. Our ultimate goal should be to overcome power inequities so that all the oppressed, marginalized peoples can enjoy the fruits of our struggle.

During the years I took to produce this work, I often asked why at the dawn of the 21st century, do I need to devote years of my life to talking about racism? I also wondered why I needed to wear the intellectual and emotional stigma of producing antiracist analyses. I did not doubt the pertinence of my work but rather questioned the veracity of slogans about liberty and respect of human rights and their relevance to present socioeconomic and political realities. I answered myself with the thought that if things were ideal, I would not have chosen to write a book on social inequities. If situations were acceptable, we would not have opted to stress the persistence of racism in places like France, Germany, Belgium or the USA. If things were perfect, many would not have chosen to migrate, to leave

their countries to face racism and humiliation in the West. I chose to do this work because racism is a social fact that fellow Black members of my community still face and because things are not changing fast enough. I decided to undertake this study because, having spent years in the West, I am very concerned as I see that racism persists, and speaking out is still considered a taboo. I still see that in Toronto many of the taxi drivers are highly educated and from racialized groups, that a great majority of their counterparts in Montreal are Haitians, a community that has enormously contributed to the building of Quebecois society. I see that poverty still prevails within Black communities. I felt the need to produce this study because developing countries, like my home country—Sudan—are still enduring the ramifications of slavery, colonialism, capitalism and Western intervention. I am witness that my country, which was once identified to be the source of food for the world if it faces global famines, is presently one of the poorest countries of the world, facing starvation itself and torn by the longest-running civil war on the African continent. I observe atrocities like the genocide that a decade ago killed about one million people in Rwanda and the chaotic situation in Haiti. I am worried to see that the gap between the North and the South is growing wider. These facts tell me that we still have a lot to do to truly meet our goals of democracy, equity and respect for human dignity. We still have a long way to go to ensure the welfare of "minorities" in "modern" welfare States.

However, joining the struggle for power of my research subjects, I see my project as a step towards social justice. I feel that I am committed more than any other time before to the principles of social justice. As I stated, this work draws upon Black revolutionary discourses like Antiracism, Anticolonialism and Antislavery. As I conclude this book, I am confident that I will continue to be inspired by them. I have decided to join those who are vigorously fighting for justice and peace, to make of our world a better place to live. Would you?

Appendix A

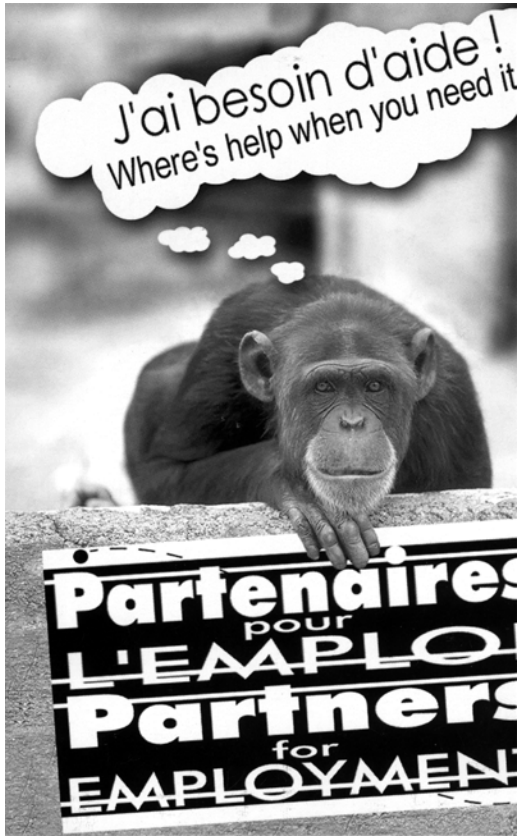
CANADA-COMMUNITY AGREEMENTS—SUMMARY OF FUNDING ENVELOPES

Province/ Territory	Date signed	Organization(s) signing	Distribution of Funding
Alberta	November 1999	L'Association canadienne française de l'Alberta	$13.380 million
British Columbia	December 1999	La Fédération des Francophones de la Colombie-Britannique	$12.060 million
Manitoba	December 1999	Société franco-manitobaine	$11.815 million
New Brunswick	December 1999	Le Forum de concertation des organismes acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick	$10.990 million
Newfoundland and Labrador	December 1999	Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador	$4.680 million
Northwest Territories	January 2000	La Fédération Franco-Ténoise	$2.595 million
Nova Scotia	December 1999	La Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse	$7.980 million
Nunavut	December 1999	L'Association des Francophones du Nunavut	$1.225 million

Province/ Territory	Date signed	Organization(s) signing	Distribution of Funding
Ontario	June 2000	Comité de direction pour le renouvellement de L'Entente	$22.125 million
Prince Edward Island	December 1999	La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin	$3.815 million
Quebec	December 1999	Quebec Community Groups Network	$15.205 million
Saskatchewan	December 1999	L'Assemblée communautaire fransakoise	$10.725 million
Yukon	January 2000	L'Association franco-yukonnaise	$1.820 million
Société nationale de l'Acadie	December 1999	Société nationale de l'Acadie	$755,000
National Organizations	December 1999	Les organismes nationaux oeuvrant au développement des communautés francophones en situation minoritaire	$18.400 million
Source: Entente Canada-Communauté-Ontario (2000).			

Appendix B

***LA CARTE DU SINGE*/THE APE POSTCARD**



Appendix C

TRANSCRIPTION PROCEDURES

Spelling: maintain correct spelling for words

Punctuation: comma (,) full stop (.) question (?)

Mark unclear discourse (XX) short sequence
(XXX) sequence of a few words

Mark discourse taken from excerpts (. . .) a few words taken out
(. . . .) a few phrases taken out

Letters or words between brackets []

Capitalize letters [T]he College

Add words to quotations to further explain the context of discourse: [It is necessary] to define the terms.

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. I capitalize the word Black to underscore the commonality of racism and capitalism that Blacks face as well as their shared history of struggles.
2. Cela prendrait toute une vie, donc plus d'un livre.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The project *Prise de Parole* was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Transcoop Program of the German-American Academic Council Foundation and the *Agence universitaire de la Francophonie*. Its principal investigators are Normand Labrie, Monica Heller and Jürgen Erfurt.
2. The project *l'immigration et la communauté franco-toronoise* was funded by the Joint Center of Excellence for research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS)/University of Toronto. Its principal investigators are Monica Heller and Normand Labrie.
3. When I have translated a book quotation from French into English I have indicated "A.M., Trans."

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. [La Francophonie signifie:]
   1. L'ensemble des États, des pays et des régions qui emploient le français comme langue nationale, langue officielle, langue de communication interne ou, simplement, comme langue de travail.
   2. L'ensemble des personnes qui emploient le français dans les différentes fonctions que voilà.
   3. La communauté d'esprit qui résulte de ces différents emplois.
2. J'ai toujours fonctionné au maximum avec et dans la communauté francophone . . . la définition euh des francophones dans cette constitution [statistiques] nous sert [considère] comme immigrants d'ailleurs, parce que

ma langue maternelle n'a n'est pas le français, je viens d'Haïti, la distinction surtout c'est c'est la définition des termes. Pour être considéré francophone, il faut que le français soit la la langue maternelle, il faut qu'on ait été élevé, éduqué dans un environnement français . . . j'ai pas été élevée . . . dans un environnement français, j'ai été élevée dans un environnement créole, [le] créole, qui est ma langue maternelle.

3. C'est Statistique Canada qui donne le nombre de trente trente mille, et qui donne une mauvaise idée sur euh le nombre devant lequel on a beaucoup de réserves. C'est un chiffre que je conteste énormément parce que je me demande si déjà à Ottawa on n'est pas plus que trente-trois mille on est cent mille individus si on euh compte tous les francophones euh ethnoculturels et minorités raciales.
4. Ici au Canada, tout est une question du nombre, c'est toujours dans la mesure où le nombre justifie.
5. Le gouvernement du Canada s'est engagé aux termes de la Loi sur les langues officielles, à favoriser l'épanouissement des minorités francophones et anglophones du Canada et à appuyer leur développement.
6. On n'est pas comptés dans la dans les statistiques des Franco-Ontariens, donc évidemment l'argent qui est les ressources matérielles ou financières qui sont euh injectées ne représentent pas la la réalité de la francophonie.
7. Patrimoine [Canadien] avance le chiffre qu'on est trente-trois mille . . . [sur] cinq-cent-mille. Il y a eu cinq millions qui auraient été consentis à la communauté franco-ontarienne . . . j'ai pas euh les listes de l'attribution de la programmation avec moi et des projets mais je crois comprendre que il y avait euh à peu près euh trois organismes . . . ou quatre qui avaient la programmation.

   Amal: Oui

   Armond: euh qui représentait à peine cent mille dollars en programmation

   Amal: Oui

   Armond: et en projets j'ai pas j'ai jamais la liste des projets [sur moi] mais généralement les projets sont toujours bien inférieurs à la programmation . . . alors ce qui veut dire que on est c'est à dire je serais très surpris que la communauté atteint deux cent mille . . . donc . . . c'est une injustice, même en adoptant le chiffre de Statistique Canada, ce qui nous est revenu . . . n'est pas proportionnel à notre poids démographique dans la francophonie ontarienne.
8. Oui, on reçoit des subventions mais là en programmation à quel prix? On reçoit pas des des subventions comme d'autres organismes franco-ontariens . . . on reçoit des petites subventions comme n'importe qui . . . on a pas des resources qui soient destinées vraiment à des vraies communautés, parce qu'il y a des . . . petits projets de euh euh soirée culturelle, il y a des grands projets comme des caisses populaires, de co-opératives, destinés à des vraies communautés.
9. Parce que euh il est [ils sont] considéré[s] comme des des organismes émergeants, pour moi le mot émergeant c'est des organismes qui poussent.
10. Il faut briser le cercle

11. Lilianne Tombu: Il y a ces barrières systémiques-là car c'est clair que les communautés de souche ont l'argent . . . et que les communautés de mino minorités n'ont pas, n'ont pas l'argent et on ne nous donne pas non plus les mêmes opportunités.
    Armond: On peut pas les comparer à une communauté qui se structure depuis plus d'un siècle, et on a les mêmes exigences.
12. Yliade: J'ai rentré des projets dans des ministères . . . j'en ai pas en programmation reçu même pas un.
    Amal: Depuis que [l'organisation a été fondée]?
    Yliade: (silence) depuis qu'on a commencé
    Amal: Comment est-ce que tu paies le loyer?
    Yliade: Par euh ma propre poche (silence) et quand je suis mal prise donc le conseil essaie essaie de de me donner un coup de main . . . j'attends (silence) . . . je suis au chômage pour le moment donc c'est dur . . . la communauté elle est pauvre . . . on a pas assez d'argent qu'on peut mettre dans nos organismes.
13. Je peux affirmer [que] à la fin de ce mois si mon conseil [d'administration] . . . ne m'avait pas secourue, j'aurais dû fermer les portes.
14. Donc, le taux de pauvreté existe en programmation.
15. Le problème d'accès [aux ressources] . . . c'est un problème systémique . . . c'est quand on parle de de l'injustice, quand on parle du racisme, c'est c'est effectivement ça, parce que . . . dans une communauté où les personnes sont les plus défavorisées les organismes qui sont créés au sein de ces communautés-là n'ont pas de ressources financières.
16. C'est ça la discrimination le racisme, même en termes du partage on les a pas, quand le gouvernement finance il ne nous finance pas, il finance les gens de langue maternelle française . . . c'est la discrimination, c'est le fait que le gouvernement fédéral (silence) ne reconnaisse pas que nous sommes une communauté de langue officielle en situation minoritaire, c'est les Franco-Ontariens qui sont des communautés d'une langue officielle en situation minoritaire, or, cette reconnaissance entraîne un programme de financement qui est l'obligation du gouvernement fédéral, les budgets sont mis de côté pour pouvoir le faire, comme nous nous ne sommes pas [reconnus], nous n'avons pas de budget.
17. La nouvelle Entente a pour but d'établir un cadre de collaboration entre le gouvernement du Canada . . . et la communauté francophone de l'Ontario afin de contribuer au développement et à l'épanouissement de la communauté et de spécifier les engagements financiers du gouvernement du Canada à cette fin [et] d'encourager la prise en charge par la communauté de son développement.
18. Les organismes de la communauté et le ministère du Patrimoine canadien reconnaissent l'importance de l'équité en ce qui concerne la participation et la représentation des femmes et des hommes.
19. Nous sommes plus nombreux que ce que les statistiques démontrent . . . refus systémique des bailleurs de fonds d'appuyer les projets et les organismes des minorités ethnoculturelles et raciales (p. 2) . . . manque d'équité et de justice dans l'allocation de fonds aux organismes de nos commu-

nautés . . . nous recevons peu par rapport à notre contribution en taxes . . . racisme systémique à plusieurs visages . . . il existe aussi . . . dans l'embauche pour les professions libérales; dans la reconnaissance des acquis et au niveau de l'intégration dans les organismes traditionnels franco-ontariens . . . manque d'opportunités (pp. 4–5) de se trouver un emploi dans leur [les noirs francophones] domaine de spécialization . . . ceci est dû au racisme qui existe dans notre société.

20. Accès équitable au financement (p. 12) . . . à même les fonds de programmation (p. 3) continuels (p. 3) . . . application stricte de la politique d'équité d'emploi visant les organismes et les institutions francophones recevant le financement fédéral (p. 7) . . . [nous demandons] étude sur l'effet de l'élimination de la politique ontarienne d'équité d'emploi sur les minorités raciales francophones (p. 8) . . . une politique d'équité globale dans les répartitions des ressources financières, des services et de l'emploi (p. 10).
21. Le comité de direction doit être représentatif des différents secteurs de la francophonie de la province en tenant compte de facteurs tels la démographie, la géographie, le sexe, [et] les minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles.
22. [Nous réclamons une] enveloppe distincte et autonome (p. 7) [et] . . . équitable (p. 9).
23. Dans l'Entente nous sommes un élément parmi des milliers, on est des secteurs.
24. Bien évidemment la majorité l'a toujours emporté et la minorité n'a jamais pu modifier les décisions ni en adopter qui lui semblaient indispensables pour la protection de ses droits, il y avait donc vote inégal au détriment des minorités raciales (p. 21).
25. [Nous réclamons que] le gouvernement canadien reconnaisse l'existence des minorités raciales francophones en Ontario comme une communauté à part entière, et non comme un secteur ou segment de la communauté franco-ontarienne. . . . et ce, parce que nous possédons les éléments constitutifs d'une communauté en droit et en fait (p. 13).
26. Donc ce qui est plus important pour nous c'est que le gouvernement fédéral nous reconnaisse pour ce que on est, nous sommes des noirs francophones, des minorités raciales francophones.
27. [Pour] faire avancer sa communauté on a besoin d'une protection, comme toute minorité, il faut que face à une majorité toute minorité soit protégée. Le gouvernement fédéral le fait en protégeant les francophones hors Québec en leur réservant des enveloppes financières. Nous demandons au fédéral de . . . dire que nous sommes la minorité d'une minorité et donc comme minorité d'une minorité nous avons la protection, un, de nous garantir un certain nombre de sièges, deux, de nous garantir une autonomie de décision dans les matières qui nous concernent . . . [et] qu'il y ait donc une politique directe et spécifique vis-à-vis de notre communauté pour qu'on ait un plan pour le développement et pour l'épanouissement de nos communautés.
28. Mtoru: ça implique que nous sommes aussi partenaires de ces écoles et que nous devons avoir si on doit avoir un gros centre culturel à Toronto . . . il y a des centres culturels jamaicains, pourquoi nous on en aurait pas?

29. Si on doit faire une action en justice on on va la faire contre l'Entente pour arrêter . . . effectivement nous allons entamer une action juridique devant les tribunaux.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Claude : Les minorités raciales ont joué un rôle crucial dans . . . l'avancement du fait français à Toronto. Notre lutte a mené en 1988 à la loi sur les services en français . . . on a milité pour que les conseils scolaires offrent les services en français . . . on était là au centre de la lutte et puis, d'une certaine manière nous étions trahis par les francophones de souche . . . bien qu'on ait participé à la lutte, on a travaillé avec eux . . . ils se servaient des communuatés ethnoculturelles quand ils voulaient augmenter leurs nombres, mais une fois qu'ils recevaient ce qu'ils voulaient, ils ont tous oublié qu'il y avait aussi des communautés ethnoculturelles . . . avec eux et à côté d'eux dans la lutte.
2. On est objet à des actes racistes à des attitudes racistes au niveau des institutions euh euh franco-ontariennes, c'est là où il y a le problème le gros problème, là je parle de [institution], [institution] est dirigée par les Franco-Ontariens, je parle des organismes des institutions qui ont vraiment du pouvoir au niveau de de ressources . . . tu vas voir ces organismes-là, toute la direction, les gens qui détiennent vraiment le vrai pouvoir des décisions, qui ont des des places clé, tu vois que les minorités ne sont pas là.
3. La réalité est que quatre-vingt-dix pourcent des clients du Franco Service et de la Clinique Communautaire sont des membres de notre communauté.
4. Regardez à l'université [nom] la majorité des étudiants qui viennent chaque année en maîtrise et au doctorat n'est composée que des Africain, comme profs, comme personnel [il n'y a] aucun professeur africain, il y a des des Africains qui ont étudié ici au Canada mais il y en a plus. On ne trouve personne parce que tout le monde est déjà parti . . . parce que cette institution se dit francophone, elle devrait utiliser aussi des francophones venus d'ailleurs, pourquoi moi je peux aller vous dire que les institutions francophones qui sont ici nous rendent des services? Dans des universités [anglophones], regardez le nombre de personnes qu'on emploie parmi ces personnes-là vous allez voir beaucoup des des gens qui parlent la langue anglaise mais qui viennent d'Afrique.
5. Suite à la création [d'] [Ontario Solidarity], on a dit à [Women Provincial] que nous aimerions un peu être un organisme autonome, on est membre de [Women Provincial] mais euh on est un membre à part entière, on voudrait que tous les dossiers des femmes immigrantes nous reviennent . . ."êtes-vous sûres que vous êtes capables, êtes-vous êtes vous sentez-vous prêtes? Parce que là nous-autres on voudrait pas être, de tu sais euh que vous vous veniez nous demander comment faire des subventions, on n'a pas vraiment le temps pour ça" . . . c'est comme si elles voulaient pas qu'on se proclame autonomes pour prendre ce qu'on fait à notre notre nom je pense c'est comme . . . une forme de maternalisme envers des femmes immigrantes,

on fait pas confiance à vos capacités, c'est comme ça, on n'était pas certain des habilités des des femmes immigrantes à se prendre en charge.
6. Les petites négresses ne dansent pas le balle.
7. Au Canada, le racisme est beaucoup plus subtil qu'ailleurs, par contre il y a toujours des petits moments où c'est vraiment évident, c'est [le racisme] quelque chose que tout le monde essaie d'éviter surtout dans la communauté francophone.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Le Canada a une grande image de non-raciste, euh on a les meilleures lois, on a le meilleur pays au monde. Le Canada veut garder cette position-là mais notre position avec euh en faisant cette consultation-là c'est de démontrer qu'il y a en programmation des barrières systémiques qui existent, on le [le racisme] vit à chaque jour, ici au Canada. Pour que le Canada garde cette image il faut que le Canada aille plus loin [qu'il] change radicalement certaines positions pour pouvoir euh devenir un vrai modèle et non pas juste le dire et laisser les vieilles rhétoriques.
2. C'est dans le souci de répondre efficacement aux besoins de développement et d'épanouissement social de la collectivité, que les organismes de minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles ont décidé de se concerter pour créer [Solidarity] . . . La condition des minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles est un problème particulier au sein de la collectivité francophone de l'Ontario.
3. Une seule voix pour les groupes ethnoculturels.
4. [Solidarity] se veut la voix officielle de tous les organismes francophones des minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles, cette [Solidarity] a comme mandat de représenter les intérêts des organismes des minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles . . . comme la concertation . . . la revendication et le développement et le partenariat.
5. On s'est dit, ben, pourquoi ne pas avoir une structure qui sera présente sur toutes les tables euh euh qui prendront les décisions pour défendre la communauté, qu'on soit la voix officielle . . . souvent euh les résultats qui sortent de ces tables-là donnent l'orientation aux ministères d'appliquer les choses, on pourrait amener les aspirations de la communauté au niveau gouvernemental.
6. A: cela [les conflits entre les noirs] est aussi dû à la pauvreté [et] à la compétition, le financement n'est pas assez . . . la raison d'être de la [Solidarity] est de ressembler les gens
   G.: il n'y a pas assez de partenariat au niveau de nos organisms, à l'interne de nos organismes on ne travaille pas ensemble
   M: le partenariat pas seulement au niveau des subventions, mais aussi la confiance XX et le partage de renseignements
   G: mais [aussi] travailler ensemble.
7. On sait que ces organismes-là utilisent les membres de la communauté ethnoculturelle comme des clients [il faut] qu'on soit aussi parmi les gens qui sont là pour donner une orientation par rapport aux dossiers qui existent dans la francophonie. Nous sommes partenaires à part entière, nous sommes

tous égaux et nous nous amenons des aspirations de la communauté ethnoculturelle. On veut plus de ça . . . ça fait des années, des services qui existent ici les membres de notre communauté sont quatre-vingt-dix pourcent clients de ces services et que euh le il y a pas de changement, donc ça démontre [que] ce problème persiste dans la communauté . . . notre rôle au niveau de [Solidarity] c'est de voir si le service [est approprié].

8. [Solidarity] a pour mandat de revendiquer ou de faire la promotion des aspirations de la communauté, si par exemple il y a un cas de racisme qui qui éclate par exemple dans la communauté, [Solidarity] pourrait se pencher sur ce genre de dossiers.
9. [Le] projet de développement global ça sera un projet qui pourra euh nous aider à aller de l'avant sur beaucoup de choses sur le le fonctionnement . . . on aimerait que ça soit à long terme [et] continuel, on vient de finir [la] première partie du projet, un projet de développement organisationnel. [Solidarity] a offert une série d'ateliers sur la comptabilité, comment présenter les demandes, comment développer les projets.
10. B: [Solidarity] nous a permis [de] travailler ensemble [et de] défendre les intérêts de la communauté XXX comment avancer dans nos organismes.
11. La publicité du Collège: évolution de la situation en dents de scie.
12. Cette image qui représentait un singe noir a été l'objet d'une forte contestation de la part de [Solidarity].
13. [de] travailler en concert avec [the College] pour l'établissement d'une politique antiraciste dans . . . les règlements du [the College].
14. En ce moment, on on travaille en collaboration avec les anglophones [noirs] par rapport à des dossiers, parce que eux ils ont plus d'expérience que nous, si je peux prendre l'exemple euh euh du [the College], sur les les euh du cas relations raciales, ils nous ont orientés et ils nous ont dit ce que eux ils ont fait dans le passé et euh par rapport à la réalité d'aujourd'hui on essaie de voir un peu comment nous on peut gérer cette situation.
15. Ils [les noirs Anglophones] ont vécu dans le passé.
16. [Solidarity va] revenir dessus pour voir euh euh quel genre de pressions nous allons mettre, [the College] jusqu'à maintenant a joué le jeu du silence, il ne veut pas répondre, rien du tout, mais euh avec nos conseilllers juridiques, on va voir ce qu'on pourra faire par rapport à ce dossier.
17. Il y a des choses affreuses discriminatoires qui se passent, il faut qu'il y ait une voix qui se lève de la communauté. Je prends le cas des des propos aberrants que le maire a fait, [Solidarity] n'a pas réagi, pourquoi?
18. L'Afrique elle-même est d'abord multiple et les filles et les fils de ce continent nous sommes d'abord africains avant d'être anglophones, avant d'être francophones, avant d'être euh arabophones, la colonisation . . . tout ce qui suivait après a fait que la déportation des fils des filles de l'Afrique, on a vu naître dans d'autres parties du monde comme les Caraïbes, les États-Unis, le Canada vivent dans la diaspora et que ceux qui sont restés dans le grand continent.
19. La question linguistique pour nous est importante mais en même temps secondaire et ce problème linguistique pour moi personnellement vient nous mettre des barrières entre nous. Je donne un exemple malheureusement

qui existe, un membre de KKK qui veut tuer des Noirs comme ça se faisait avant et qui se fait un peu aujourd'hui, la balle ne va pas choisir un Anglophone, ne va pas choisir un Francophone, ne va pas choisir un arabophone.

20. On essaie d'ailleurs de faire un très grand rapprochement entre la communauté ethnoculturelle francophone et anglophone
21. Je trouve dommage qu'on ne travaille pas beaucoup avec nos amis Anglophones. Nous avons abordé les responsables du Caribana et ils sont très ouverts là-dessus. Ils nous ont invités à leur prochaine réunion pour voir comment on peut participer.
22. Un jour, avec, ben, des membres des organismes on était en train de voir les répercussions de cette situation par rapport à notre communauté. Il y a les francophones, ils passent directement chez les décideurs, nous on est en dessous des francophones et déjà on veut arriver à ce niveau, qu'on nous reconnaisse pour qu'on puisse ensemble aller voir chez les décideurs. Si jamais euh cette situation ne s'améliore pas. . . . Les francophones ethnoculturels pourraient développer aussi leurs stratégies. On pourrait avoir un accès directement au niveau des décideurs comme les autres communautés. La réalité ne pourra pas continuer comme ça des années, on pourra trouver d'autres moyens, d'autres idées, pourquoi pas avec les Africains anglophones qui existent, et puis développer deux branches, il y aura des anglophones, il y aura des francophones, donc on se met ensemble pour développer cela.
23. Les gens qui parlent la langue anglaise, qui viennent d'Afrique ils ils sont dans la situation plus meilleure que les gens qui parlent la langue française qui viennent d'Afrique.
24. Je prends le groupe anglophone ethnoculturel au niveau des stratégies au niveau euh des choses qu'ils font ils sont . . . en longueur d'avance par rapport à nous-autres.

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