



**The Institutional Arrangements and Resilience of Québec Local
Communities in The Welcoming and Integration of Immigrants:
A Theoretical and Practical Contribution**

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis focuses on the role of cities in immigration, particularly in Québec. The literature shows that cities can intervene, and are progressively doing so, in order to ensure a complete offer of services to newcomers, in particular in the coordination of local actors. Thus, this research aims to answer the following question: How do local communities in mid-sized Québec cities welcome and integrate immigrants? This research seeks to understand the capacity of local communities to mobilize stakeholders, coordinate services dedicated to immigrants and deliver them. The research builds on the lessons learned across the rest of Canada. Two case studies are conducted, in Gatineau and Québec City. The analysis is based on multilevel governance theoretical framework, where immigration is a responsibility increasingly shared between various orders of government.

This present study leads to empirical and theoretical contributions. At the empirical level, the two case studies make it possible to trace the contours of the Québec model of governance in terms of immigration. They show that the communities have taken responsibility for themselves and that the cities have assumed leadership to ensure the coordination of local actors and to meet the needs of newcomers, although the institutional arrangements remain sub-optimal.

The theoretical contributions of this thesis are twofold. First, the case studies conducted in this thesis refines an analysis grid developed by other authors. Two elements of analysis are added, analyzing the engagement of the political side *versus* the administrative side, as well as the sufficiency of financial resources. These two elements of analysis have the potential to enrich the understanding of the portrait as well as the evaluation of institutional arrangements.

Second, the other theoretical contribution is the development and definition of the concept of ‘governance void’. Governance void is defined as an absence of clearly stated policies on the sharing of responsibilities between orders of government and other stakeholders. This absence of policy gives way to all types of structures, often suboptimal, that vary depending on regions and through time. In a context of multilevel governance, the roles and responsibilities of the actors must be clearly defined and understood.

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Introduction

We live at a time when migratory movements have never been greater and when communities all over the world are diversifying at an unprecedented rate. Several causes are at the source of these important social change of the 21st century, in particular, urbanization that began in previous centuries (as explained by journalist and essayist Doug Saunders in 2012 book *Arrival City*), climate change, worsening economic conditions in certain regions of the globe, political instability, rise of inequalities and a search for better opportunities facilitated by better access to international transport and information (see namely International Organization for Migration, 2021 and 2022). For instance, according to the World Migration Report, in 2020, the number of international migrants was 281 million, representing 3.6% of the world population¹ (the others still living in the country in which they were born.) (International Organization for Migration, 2022) Naturally, this diversification comes with exciting advantages, but also great challenges for people and governments everywhere.

Immigration and diversifying communities are among the biggest challenges our century faces. Immigration has a large spectrum of possible consequences on human life, affecting positively or negatively human experience. On the one hand, the positive impact of immigration includes a greater diversity of communities and increased opportunities in accessing labor, goods and capital for instance (International Organization for Migration, 2022). Immigration and greater diversity create occasions for innovation in both social and economic aspects. For immigrants, migration is the search for a better life and often for greater opportunities for one's children (see for instance Saunders, 2011). On the other, and perhaps mostly when governments cannot lead those changes positively in the composition of communities, immigration can produce negative effects such as racial discrimination, insecurity, segregation, racism, radicalization, and so on. While the key issues (such as war or people displacement) or decision-making are mostly visible at the

¹ More specifically, 169 million were migrant workers, 146 million were male migrants and 135 female migrants, 26.4 million were refugees, 4.1 million were asylum seekers, 55 million were internally displaced people among which 48 million were displaced due to conflict and violence, while 7 million were due to disasters. (For more details, see International Organization for Migration, 2022)

national or international levels, for instance with the important Syrian or, more recently, Venezuelan² migratory movements toward Western countries, it is the local communities that are welcoming and integrating newcomers. In other words, many policy challenges related to immigration are also closely linked to local politics.

Although laws and administrative processes governing the movements of people across borders is the policy domain of national governments and multilateral organizations, municipal governments can influence local communities to enhance the outcomes for immigrants as well as the local welcoming population. They can foster a welcoming community by adopting policies promoting tolerance, respect, and diversity. This can start in their policies, for instance promoting diversity among municipal institutions' employees. Municipal governments can also work toward better initiatives for the settlement and integration of newcomers (such as transportation, housing, education, language training, and integration in the workforce). Because they are connected to organizations that deliver direct services, they can coordinate the design and delivery of local services, identify the gaps and work to fill them. Good (2009) uses the concept of “socially sustainable growth”, as developed by Polèse and Stren (2000) arguing that municipalities can steer “the development of civil society in the direction of social inclusion and interethnic harmony” (p. 277). The involvement of municipal governments in the planning and coordination of local actors, including non-profit organizations, school boards, and businesses, has led to the best possible outcome for newcomers as well as the rest of the community (Andrew, 2014; World Economic Forum, 2018). However, in immigration as much as in other field of legislation, cities must work within more constrained areas of policy jurisdiction and are subject to the policy preferences and decisions of national and regional governments. The literature also shows that the integration of the efforts of all orders of government is an essential condition for successful local policies (see for instance Biles et al, 2008; Bradford and Andrew, 2010; 2011; Biles et al., 2011; Tolley and Young, 2011; Burstein et al., 2012; Burstein and Esses, 2012; CIC, 2014; Sheilds et al., 2014).

In Canada, this model of governance has been well documented, namely in Ontario (see for instance Good, 2009; Tolley and Young, 2011; Andrew et al., 2012). In Ontario,

² See International Organization for Migration, 2022.

the responsibilities for immigration between the three orders of government are clearly stated in the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) signed in 2005 by all three orders of government. In this agreement, municipal organizations including local governments have the power to tackle issues related to immigration with the support and collaboration of the provincial and federal governments. Local hubs of collaboration have been created through the implementation of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIP), which take place at the municipal level, or even at the borough level (in Toronto) gathering key local partners involved in the welcoming and integration of newcomers (see for instance Tolley and Young, 2011; Andrew et al., 2012; Graham and Andrew, 2014).

In the province of Québec, which is the focus of this research, the role of local governments in immigration is less formally recognized. Even though some cities have a direct agreement with the provincial government, these arrangements are not common.³ Therefore, significant disparities exist among Québec cities and communities, including in terms of coordination mechanisms that are put in place at the local levels. Moreover, the role of local communities and how they answer the needs of newcomers has been of very little interest in the scientific literature. Although Québec has been a pioneer by signing the first agreement on immigration with the federal government (all other provinces and territories have then followed, except Nunavut), decentralized policies and the empowerment of local communities have developed less in Québec than in Ontario for instance. Knowing that the economic outcomes for immigrants are lower in Québec than in Ontario, local practices meant to welcome and integrate immigrants should be a preoccupation for policy makers and are consequently the research topic of this thesis.

The main intent of this research is therefore to document and analyze policies on immigration in Québec, namely regarding provincial sharing of responsibility with municipalities and how municipalities organize themselves to play their role in welcoming

³ The provincial government, under the article 29.1.1 of the *Loi sur les cités et villes (Cities and Town Act)*, have made agreements with some cities to transfer them additional powers and financial resources (Desmarais, in Lacasse et Palard, 2010). A first agreement was signed with the City of Montréal, receiving the bulk of immigrants each year, in 1999, and few again over the years (Rimok et Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008; Germain et Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011). The City of Québec signed a first agreement in 2000 (Desmarais, in Lacasse et Palard, 2010; Germain et Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011), as well as the City of Sherbrooke in 2005, the City of Shawinigan in 2007, and the City of Gatineau in 2007 (Germain et Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011).

and resettling immigrants. Relevant institutional arrangements will be subjected to analysis: policies, agreements, as well as local actors in a few communities and coordination mechanisms. The City of Montréal, the province's largest city and home to the largest share of new immigrants, has already been the subject of analysis in the past (see for instance Tolley and Young, 2011; Fourrot, 2013). This thesis will instead focus on mid-sized cities in the province, namely Québec City and Gatineau.

1.1 Background

Immigration is a responsibility shared by all orders of government in Canada, from federal to municipal. According to articles 91 s.25 and 95 of the Canadian constitution, the federal and provincial governments share the responsibilities related to immigration (Canadian Constitution Act of 1867 to 1982). However, it is the local communities that welcome and integrate newcomers (Biles et al., 2008; Tolley and Young, 2011), and this is why local governments are often at the forefront on this issue. Municipal governments are increasingly recognized as playing a central role in immigration. For instance, the COIA has directly transferred responsibilities to municipalities (Seidle, 2010; Andrew et al., 2014). For Frideres (2008, cited in Biles et al., 2008), social integration happens at the very local level, such as the neighborhood because this is where networks, or 'social capital', is formed. Therefore, cities (municipal government) can play an important role in steering local actors to make their communities welcoming and resilient (Andrew et al., 2014; World Economic Forum, 2018).

In 1971, the province of Québec became the first Canadian province to sign an agreement on immigration with the federal government. The current Canada-Québec agreement on immigration, known as the Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens (or Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall agreement), is the fourth to have been signed and dates back to 1991. According to this agreement, the provincial government chooses their immigrants (except for some categories such as family reunion and refugees) and provides services for their settlement and integration. In exchange, the federal government transfers funding (indexed to inflation) to the province annually to support service delivery consistent with the intergovernmental agreement. Since 1991, all other provinces and two territories have signed similar agreements with the

federal government (except Nunavut), but none of these are as extensive as the agreement with the Québec government (Biles et al., 2008)⁴ (See Chapter 3).

While the COIA is more recent and the province has not had the same duration of experience as Québec, Ontario has developed best practices that have, in turn, been shared across Canada and mirror best practices around the world, in jurisdictions such as the United States and Australia (see for instance World Economic Forum, 2018). If Ontario has developed multilevel governance in immigration, with formal structures, collaboration across governments and clear recognition of the roles and responsibilities of all actors, the case of Québec seems quite different. Notwithstanding the fact that those two provinces are neighbors and annually receive significant numbers of immigrants, they seem to share very little about their policies and practices in this field.

An overview of the literature shows a research gap on the institutional arrangements in immigration in Québec. The formal structures, agreements, responsibilities, and coordination mechanisms have not been studied in Québec to match study of regimes in some other provinces of Canada, and almost nothing has been written about immigration policy services in Québec outside of Montréal. In addition, many shifts in provincial policy have occurred over the years, transferring the responsibility in immigration from one institutional actor to another. Decentralization of powers from the provincial level (which has gathered the bulk of responsibilities since the Canada-Québec agreement in 1991) toward local communities (or municipal governments) seems also less significant or formal in Québec, compared to other provinces, with the effect of weakening the capacity of local communities to organize in the face of immigration and evolving demographic trends. In addition, from a practical perspective, one can currently observe a disparity between the institutional arrangements and richness of the ecosystems formed of organizations and programs aimed at welcoming and integrating immigrants in cities across Québec. The metropolis of Montréal, the city attracting most immigrants, is the only one with both

⁴ In fact, the Québec government is the only one having the right to select as many immigrants. The other provinces can however count on the Provincial Nominee Program to select few immigrants with specialized competencies that answer local needs. Source? Outside Québec, the provinces have chosen to let the federal government select immigrants for «nation-building» reason, while in Québec, the provincial government can select immigrants for that same reason, giving priority to French-speaking immigrants (Biles et al., 2008).

formal structures and a documented capacity to welcome and integrate newcomers (see for instance Dumas, 1997; Fourot, 2013).

Cognizant of the importance of collaboration between the various orders of government, as well as the importance of the role played by the local environment in the welcoming and integration of immigrants, this thesis therefore seeks to document and evaluate the institutional arrangements in place at the local level in Québec. The expertise and commitment of the local community are necessary both to allow newcomers to access the opportunities for which they immigrated, but also to guarantee living together and long-term peace in the diversifying community.

1.2 Research motivations and objectives

Motivations and purpose

The thesis intends to fill a gap in the literature on what is put in place by cities and local communities to welcome and integrate immigrants in the province of Québec. Drawing on similar research conducted in the rest of Canada, and mainly in Ontario, this research documents local arrangements created to promote welcoming communities for immigrants. The focus is on mid-sized municipalities, i.e. large cities outside the metropolis of Montréal (including its immediate suburbs Longueuil and Laval). The thesis researches the institutional arrangements related to immigration: the main actors are mapped, their activities are described as well as coordination mechanisms with the provincial government. Based on the existing literature (see next chapter), these local arrangements are evaluated in order to assess the local capacities of communities to welcome and integrate newcomers. This analysis is conducted under the lens of a multilevel governance framework (see next chapter), which has already been used by previous authors in the context of immigration, and some theoretical contributions are also done on this model.

For the purpose of the thesis, the cities of Gatineau and Québec City are the focus of the research. After Montréal (including Laval), those two cities are the largest in population. They are also third and second respectively in the number of immigrants welcomed every year (see chapter 4). In addition, they make ideal case studies because one (Gatineau) has a long history of engagement toward newcomers, while the other one

(Québec City) has only more recently given attention to this subject. They both show different trajectories regarding their engagement in immigration.

Thanks to the federally-funded research program *Metropolis* conducted from 2002 to 2012 as well as the *Welcoming Communities* initiative that took over for three years (Wiginton, 2012), the literature review shows the valuable role local communities and cities can play in welcoming and integrating immigrants across Canada. However, it also demonstrates a clear research gap when it comes to the province of Québec. Most of the research focusses on historical context and elements explaining how immigration and diversity are generally tackled. But very little has been written on policies, programs, and their effects on the resilience of local communities.

There is evidently a need to better understand and evaluate how institutions and actors manage the responsibility of immigration in Québec. Since local communities and municipal governments can play a role in welcoming and integrating newcomers, it is necessary to make sure they have all the tools and resources to be able to play that role toward newcomers. This thesis is an attempt to highlight local arrangements in immigration, its strengths as well as its pitfalls. While immigrants come to Canada or Québec for a variety of reasons, from economic difficulties to family reunion or escaping dangerous situations, many choose to live in Canada for potential opportunities.

The literature clearly states that local communities have been able to fulfill basic needs for newcomers (housing, transportation, language training, and employment opportunities). To that end, and for more efficiency in the delivery of those services, service providers must coordinate. Many actors can lead the coordination mechanisms, but research has shown that municipal governments are often better suited to play that role, and with some interesting results (Andrew et al., 2014; World Economic Forum, 2018). This role is also important to ensure the community is equipped to face the diversification of its population, which can impact the quality of life of both the existing population and the immigrants. Phenomena such as the creation of ghettos, racism, radicalization, segregation, decrease in safety are some of the risks that must be tackled pre-emptively. A greater understanding of these issues and equal access to opportunities are some of the ways a community can increase social cohesion.

1.3 Research questions

The main objective of this thesis is to answer the following question: **How do local communities in mid-sized Québec cities welcome and integrate immigrants?** This research aims at clarifying the resilience of local communities. To answer this, further questions must be asked:

- What are the institutional arrangements related to immigration between the provincial government, cities, and the communities? What role do they play and which services do they offer to immigrants? What are their coordination mechanisms? What is the level of integration between the different orders of government?
- What are the capacities of local communities that arise from those arrangements? To what extent are local communities able to document and provide for the needs of immigrants?
- Are local communities able to document and share the best practices that they have developed in their territories?
- What does this situation teach us about a multilevel governance theoretical perspective?

Research proposition

Several ideas to be validated are identified in this thesis. A research proposition is framed because of its exploratory nature and the objective of documenting empirical elements. This research proposal is based on prior research as well as preliminary observations that lead us to reasonable assumptions. This is how it unfolds:

First, and foremost, the focus is on documenting and evaluating the local arrangements, namely services provided to newcomers and coordination between the local actors providing them. The COIA has led to several policy innovations, many being considered best practices. Québec, on the other side, has seen more responsibilities being placed onto its shoulders without appropriate oversight or rigorous evaluation of its institutional arrangements, policies, and outcomes. Based on preliminary observations and knowledge of the laws and municipal context, the hypothesis to be tested was that local communities

in Québec have less well-structured and formal local arrangements related to immigration when compared to Ontario, for instance.

Indeed, many services are offered to immigrants in cities (for housing needs, language courses, transportation, etc.), but there might not always be formal and reliable coordination mechanisms that ensure the proficiency of these services, their adaptation to the evolving needs of newcomers, as well as communication mechanisms that assure that immigrants obtain access to them easily. Coordination between local actors is essential to fill any gaps that can exist in the welcoming and integration of newcomers. Preliminary observations also show that variations exist between regions in Québec when it comes to a locus of coordination including their members' composition, efficiency, and structure.

Looking at the institutional arrangements in immigration, a preliminary analysis of the policies in place shows that the responsibility of immigration has been shifted from one institution to another in the past years. For example, for almost a decade immigration has been the responsibility of the *Conférences régionales des élus* (CRÉ)⁵, a supra-local structure present in all regions (see for instance Fourot, 2013). With their abolition in 2014, the responsibility has been shifted to the municipalities and *municipalités régionales de comtés* (MRC)⁶. At the same time, significant cuts have occurred in the *Ministère de l'Immigration* (now the *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration* (MIFI))⁷, where regional offices have been closed. In addition to a low level of support from the MIFI, some confusion has been created by shifts in the implementation of provincial policies within the regions. This would explain the current asymmetry between the initiatives put in place in different regions to welcome and integrate immigrants. These could mostly depend on local leaders in the almost total absence of the provincial government to support local communities and foster best practices.

⁵ *Conférence régionale des élus* can be translated as Regional conference of elected officials. This institution was a supra-local institution existing in each region of the Québec. They gathered elected officials from all orders of government, but also civil society actors. They were created in 2003 and abolished by the province in 2014.

⁶ *Municipalités régionales de comtés* (MRC) can be translated as Regional County Municipalities. MRCs are association of smaller municipalities. Larger cities, such as the one studied in the doctoral research, have the responsibilities of both municipalities and MRC.

⁷ *Ministère de l'Immigration* or its different names who have evolved through varied government stands for Department of Immigration.

1.4 Research goals

Immigration in Québec is addressed differently than in the rest of Canada. The literature review shows a difference in treatment due to the questions that have been asked related to immigration. For Biles et al. (2011), the topic of immigration in Québec “has led to concerns about social and cultural diversity” (see Adams, 2007; Bouchard, 2011, cited in Biles et al., 2011, p.400). Social, historical, and political contexts have influenced differently the conversation in Québec, among both the scientific community and the public (see chapter 3).

In order to preserve the French-speaking identity of the nation, Québec was the first Canadian province to seek more responsibilities in immigration (Paquet, 2016). In 1968, the Ministère de l’Immigration⁸ was created. Québec was also the first to obtain an agreement with the federal government devolving more responsibilities to the province. However, despite the fact that the current agreement in immigration is the oldest among all provinces, little is known about how the agreement unfolds at the local level.

Thus, in Québec, very little has been written on how to make communities more resilient to increasing diversity. Very few best practices have been identified and shared in the very unique context of this province. However, some data suggest that the outcomes for immigrants might be less attractive than elsewhere in Canada (in Ontario for instance) (see, for instance, IRCC, 2016; Institut du Québec, 2018)⁹. The purpose of the thesis is not however to comment the effectiveness of local communities and cities in welcoming and integrating immigrants to their outcomes – the causal link would be impossible to establish. Nevertheless, the assumption behind the research – supported by an extensive corpus of literature - is that local arrangements allowing very little or no gap in the services to immigrants (or what has just been called a ‘welcoming community’) would lead to better outcomes for them. In sum, the thesis is an attempt to discuss the topic of immigration

⁸ These terms can be translated as Department of Immigration.

⁹ For instance, a report from the *Institut du Québec* (2018) shows that the retention rate in Québec (84,3% after five years, and 81,4% after ten years) is lower than in Ontario, British Colombia and Alberta) but that this gap has been decreasing overtime. The report also shows employment rates that are lower in Québec (14,1% for the immigrants from 25 to 54 years old that have been here for five years or less, while this rate is 9,3% in Ontario and 7,3% in British Colombia). Employment rate in Québec has been decreasing and catching up with Ontario since 2014. In other words, the trend seems to be that the economic outcomes of newcomers are still lower than in Ontario although they have increased in the past years.

while focusing on practical and local policies, analyzing, evaluating, and suggesting avenues for improvement.

While this thesis seeks to bring on local practices a public policy analysis based on existing literature elsewhere in Canada and around the world, it is also an enthusiastic and avowed attempt to use another standpoint on the immigration debate. The public discussion so far has been mostly about social and cultural aspects of immigration, becoming at times a very sensitive topic (see Chapter 3). Being under the impression that most of the debate has been conducted without a public consensus emerging and has remained sterile, the author of this thesis voluntarily avoids these aspects. This is not to say that those are not important – a public debate must certainly be conducted on the role and the values given to the culture of the host nation and those of the people who integrate it – but it appears that the discussion was focusing almost solely on identity, rather than practical aspects. The debates concerning the identity and notions of interculturalism/multiculturalism and laicity are certainly important, yet the debate on the quality of reception environments for including newcomers is also crucial, and the latter has been little discussed both in the public sphere and in academia. However, the two discussions seem essential to ensure the reception and inclusion of newcomers in their host community in a long-term perspective. Perhaps this discussion on the welcoming capacity of local communities will bring another perspective to the philosophical debate on immigration that has been going on in Québec for several decades now.

In this thesis, the lens of the public policy discipline is used to frame and evaluate current policies. This perspective has been tested elsewhere across Canada with interesting results, and it is assumed that the research framework could also be applied effectively in Québec while taking into account the uniqueness of its model of governance (namely the Canada-Québec Agreement in Immigration signed in 1991). This thesis is an attempt to fill some knowledge gaps and build some bridges between different practices and perspectives while increasing outcomes related to immigration for both the welcoming communities and newcomers. This new perspective also seeks to acknowledge the differences that remain between Québec and the rest of Canada.

The goals of this research are threefold. This first research goal is to develop an applied knowledge of institutional arrangements by mapping all actors, policies, programs, agreements, their role, as well as coordination mechanisms in immigration in two mid-sized cities in Québec, Québec City and Gatineau. This creates broader knowledge on how the provincial and local communities share responsibilities in immigration in this province. This research program has been conducted in other provinces - and even countries - but never in this province which happens to uphold unique immigration policies and practices. Therefore, this original research enriches the literature both practically (for the case of Québec) and theoretically on how local immigration policies should be analyzed and understood.

The second research goal is to increase the understanding of multilevel governance as a theoretical framework. The multilevel governance framework has been used in immigration by previous authors, as well as in other areas of research (such as regarding climate change and environmental issues) because it highlights the actors and the role they play toward each other in the accomplishment of certain state responsibilities. Even though this framework has been used to better understand the immigration policies, the literature review shows it has not yet been used for the province of Québec. Because there are specificities in its model, including the lack of formal structures of governance, a contribution is made to this theoretical aspect.

Finally, this thesis is also intended to generate policy recommendations that can be implemented by both provincial and local governments. Because very little research has been conducted on the case of Québec – and because there is a language barrier with the rest of Canada – the assumption that can be made is that very little is available to governments to improve those practices. It is also possible that a political choice was made by successive governments to avoid the topic knowing its sensitivity. Therefore, this thesis will also make the case that immigration policies – outside its social and cultural aspects – are worth tackling to increase and preserve inclusivity and safety for all.

1.5 Elements of definition

This thesis focuses primarily on the role of cities in the face of immigration. The term “immigrant” is understood in a broad sense throughout this text, but the definition

established by Statistics Canada can also be used to refine our understanding. Thus, the federal body defines an immigrant as follows: an “[i]mmigrant refers to a person who is, or who has ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident. Such a person has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship by naturalization are included in this group.” (Statistics Canada, 2021). The term “newcomer” is also used in this thesis as a synonym of “immigrant”.

However, when it comes to immigration, the theme of diversity management arises quickly. Thus, the question of *vivre-ensemble* (or living together) is also intimately linked to the growing diversity of cities, focusing moreover on the community elsewhere, rather than on immigrants and the services intended for them. In order to better understand the issues facing local governments and communities, a portrait of diversity has been drawn up for each case study. In this portrait of diversity, data has been added on Indigenous populations. Moreover, some municipalities, such as Gatineau, deal with the issue of diversity in the broad sense, including policy issues related to Indigenous and immigrants within the same bodies and organizations. Although this thesis focuses on the responses of ecosystems to immigration at the local level, other aspects of diversity management have been touched upon in order to better reflect the realities experienced at the local level.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This thesis seeks to document the institutional arrangements at the local level in two medium-sized cities in Québec, namely Gatineau and Québec City. This analysis serves to assess the local capacity of local communities to welcome and integrate newcomers based on the scientific literature. A practical and theoretical contribution is then provided by this thesis. This contribution is also significant given the constant increase in the number of immigrants and the challenges, described above, that result from it. The analysis is conducted from the perspective of multilevel governance, which provides a better understanding of how different governments and civil societies can work together to increase the efficiency of public decisions. To this end, this thesis is organized as follows.

First, the introductory chapter has framed the context of the proposal – the largest migration movement in history – and explained its relevance – the local capacity to

welcome and integrate newcomers as a key condition to successful outcomes for both migrants and welcoming communities. The introduction has narrowed down the research agenda by identifying a research gap in Québec related to the local capacity of mid-sized municipalities to put in place institutional arrangements to assume responsibilities in immigration. Research motivations, questions, and propositions frame the program for this thesis. The goals of the research project then state that this thesis seeks to contribute both practically and theoretically to the creation of knowledge. Practical contributions include a better understanding of the current institutional arrangements at the local level, including a greater understanding of the challenges and opportunities for the welcoming and integration of immigrants. As for theoretical contributions, this research program allows me to enrich the grid of analysis developed by previous authors to assess local capacity, as well as the theoretical framework on multilevel governance tackling the issue of governance void.

Chapter 2 defines the theoretical ground on which this thesis relies. The chapter first discusses theoretical elements defining the circumstances under which local governments have played a greater role in immigration. This chapter presents the conceptual framework of multilevel governance under which the analysis is then conducted (see Chapters 5 and 6). The framework has already been used with the topic of immigration, namely by researchers Leo and August (2009) who have applied it to some Canadian provinces (British Columbia and Manitoba.) The framework is particularly helpful to analyze the institutional arrangements in Québec as it highlights the different actors, policies, and programs, the sharing of responsibilities, and coordination mechanisms between them (Leo and August 2009; Leo and Enns, 2009).

Chapter 3 presents the literature review on immigration allowing to answer the research question, namely how local communities manage to welcome and integrate newcomers. To that end, the engagement and responsibilities of all three orders of governments are detailed, as well as the role of local organizations who deliver most of the services to immigrants. A focus is placed on the case of Québec as it is relevant for the current research. Regarding the case of Québec, the circumstances that led to its greater involvement in immigration are detailed. This chapter also allows us to put into context the particularities of the Québec case, in particular its intercultural approach. These elements

are important to understand the particularity of this case compared to other Canadian provinces. Then, some best practices are identified, particularly related to the province of Ontario whose agreement with the federal government directly includes municipalities. The case of Ontario provides a few good examples of multilevel governance arrangements and also because it has been the topic of most researches conducted in the field in Canada. In sum, in Chapter 3, the state of the knowledge on multilevel arrangements is made, allowing to expose research gaps as well as best practices. This literature is important for future understanding of the case studies.

Chapter 4 focuses on the methodology, including research design and methods. Two principal approaches are used to detail the two case studies of Gatineau and Québec City. For both cases, the institutional arrangements will be looked at, applying research strategies that have been conducted in Ontario. This is done in order to be able to map all the actors and coordination mechanisms and then evaluate the capacity of the local level to welcome and integrate newcomers. The grid of analysis used by previous authors, mainly in Ontario, is used and can be found in Annex I of the thesis. The methodology of ethnography (Gatineau) and case study (Québec City) are defined in depth in this chapter.

Chapter 5 is entirely dedicated to the case of Gatineau. This chapter draws a full portrait of the actors and coordination mechanisms as well as of evaluation of local institutional arrangements. For the first city studied, an ethnography is used as the researcher is well aware of the ecosystem of actors in Gatineau, its policies and programs. As an ex-municipal councilor (2017-2021), I have a deep knowledge of the situation that prevails in Gatineau, and although this creates a potentially biased view concerning local policies undertaken, this research methodology provides an opportunity to share this detailed knowledge and experience. For the purpose of comparison, the grid in Annex I is used to analyze the situation in Gatineau. In addition, the ethnography approach allows one to dig deeper to create a better understanding of why Gatineau has seen such institutional arrangements being created. Additions are suggested to this grid based on this case study, where the ethnography allows to highlight other conditions of success of local arrangements. This new grid is suggested in Annex II and could from now on be exported to enhance comprehension of local arrangements in other communities.

Chapter 6 focuses on Québec City. This is the second case study and relies on a more traditional methodology. Actors and coordination mechanisms are mapped out, and an evaluation of institutional arrangements is conducted. The additional criteria of evaluation developed in the Gatineau case are also used, allowing to shed light on the situation and confirm the interest of their additions. The second case study also allows the researcher to detect tendencies in multilevel governance framework in immigration in Québec.

The final chapter is the conclusion. The goals of the thesis are restated and findings are exposed. The contribution of this thesis is detailed in practical and theoretical aspects. As for practical contribution, the thesis sheds light on institutional arrangements at the local level in two cities, pointing out challenges and strength in both cases. Policy recommendations can be applied to all municipalities who need to implement institutional arrangements based on their own assets and realities. Policy recommendations also include aspects of how the provincial government collaborates with municipalities regarding the responsibilities in immigration. The thesis concludes that the provincial government can support local community initiatives in order to reinforce the local capacity to welcome and integrate newcomers. Few elements of conclusion are articulated in that sense.

As for theoretical contributions, the conclusion elaborates on governance voids in a context of multilevel governance. The research concludes that, compared to Ontario, the Québec government has not adopted defined policies on how institutional arrangements should be planned at the local level to ensure that cities remain welcoming to newcomers. This aspect has simply not been the topic of formal policies. Although this thesis advocates – in accordance with the literature - for the respect of the principle of subsidiarity and the respect of differences among municipalities (Montréal, Gatineau and any other municipality have completely different realities in immigration and therefore their arrangements regarding this topic should also be different), I argue that the *MIFI* could better facilitate with clear and official policies the creation and use of coordination mechanisms. The state can be helpful namely by supporting local communities and sharing best practices at a greater scale. This situation is defined in theoretical terms and contributes to the understanding of multilevel governance more generally.

Chapter 2 -

Theoretical Foundations and Framework:

Multilevel Governance of Immigration

This chapter explores the broader theoretical context of the growing role of cities and local communities in the domain of immigration. Looking at this issue from a theoretical perspective demonstrates that cities are increasingly assuming responsibilities, but also that they must collaborate with other orders of government, which continue to assume some responsibilities in this field, as well as with local actors. This transfer of responsibility operates in a context of multilevel governance.

In this chapter, I lay the ground on which the research program is based, namely the growing role of municipalities and the increasing importance of collaboration through different orders of government. First, I explore the context in which this research program is established, exploring concepts such as international migratory movements and "glocalization" (according to which the responsibilities of national governments are notably transferred to local governments). Next, I explain the conditions that enabled the cities to grow their role toward immigration in the last decades.

The second section of this chapter explores the issue of immigration in Canada from the theoretical framework of multilevel governance. I first define how scholars interested in multilevel governance have analyzed the field of immigration. The multilevel governance approach has been used to illustrate how stakeholders share responsibilities since the 1990s. This theoretical framework sheds light on the research question that implies sharing and collaboration between different orders of government to achieve immigration objectives. The literature makes it possible to assess the level of integration of public decision-makers to face the challenges of immigration. It also sheds light on the fact that, although immigration is quite a codified field of government activity as well as the subject of several public policies, a gap remains in Québec about the sharing of responsibilities between local actors and links with other orders of government. This element will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1 ‘Glocalization’ and international movement of migration

The domain of immigration and its current challenges must be understood in the context of what has been called ‘glocalization’. Courchene (1995) introduces the concept of ‘glocalization’ according to which nation-states are limited to their traditional functions to face problems that are rooted internationally. In that context, states transfer power ‘upward’ to international actors they create such as Canada-United-States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA), the European Union, and the World Trade Organization. On the other hand, nation-states must also transfer power ‘downward’, to citizens directly and to a ‘network of international cities’ (p. 6), which Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal are part of in the Canadian context¹⁰. For the author, this creates a new ‘regional/international interface’. Cities, which are the closest order of government to citizens, ought to make more decisions following the principle of subsidiarity. They become of increasing relevance because they can design and implement strategic responses to global problems. In circumstances where municipalities have no constitutional power and are ‘creatures of the provinces’, this cannot be achieved without the effective collaboration of all the orders of government.

Immigration is a great example of a situation where local responses are the most suitable for dealing with international issues. Saunders (2012) observes that people are migrating massively all around the world, following two paths; they are moving from rural to urban regions, and seeking economic opportunities for themselves and their children, therefore, concentrating in ‘transitional urban spaces’ (p.3). Often, these people move to an ‘arrival city’, which, for Saunders, must be a safe place where to land and must offer opportunities to fully integrate the city within a period of a few years. Arrival cities, commonly a neighborhood, a suburb, or a slum of a greater city, are transitioning zones and play a specific role in the integration of immigrants. For instance, the arrival city must provide affordable housing and economic openings for families to make enough money for their children to get educated and then to participate in the city’s economy. They must also

¹⁰ For a recent and complete discussion on cities’ network in the face of international, complex and wicked issues, see Caponio, 2022.

offer a certain social fabric. For Saunders, the integration of immigrants solely relies on the ability of cities to create sufficient economic opportunities for newcomers.

2.2 Why do municipalities assume a role in immigration?

Despite immigration being a responsibility shared between the federal and provincial governments, for about two decades, municipalities in Canada have become key players in the selection, settlement, and integration of immigrants because the success of newcomers depends on the receptivity and capacity of the very local community to include them (Biles et al., 2008). Local actors, such as local organizations, communities, and municipal governments, have the power to largely influence the success of the settlement and integration of newcomers. They plan, organize, coordinate and offer most of the first-line services, whether it be housing, financial support (in some provinces), education, child care, public transit, language training, or employment opportunities (Biles et al., 2008; Tolley and Young, 2011). They are dispensing the bulk of the services to immigrants. They need to aim to create a welcoming environment. They put in place windows for immigrants to obtain better outcomes. For Frideres (2008, cited in Biles et al., 2008), social integration happens at the very local level, such as in the neighborhood because this is where networks, or ‘social capital, are formed. This is why municipalities have increasingly assumed a role in immigration. When municipalities have taken the leading role and prioritized the integration of immigrants in the city’s agenda, this has led to a most positive denouement for both newcomers and the rest of the community.

Cities are able to largely influence local communities to enhance the outcomes for immigrants as well as for communities. They can foster a welcoming community by adopting policies promoting tolerance, respect, and diversity. This can start with their policies, for instance promoting diversity among cities’ employees or through zoning responsibility (see for instance Hou, 2004). They can also work toward better initiatives for the settlement and integration of newcomers. Because they are at arm’s length from all organizations that deliver direct services, they can coordinate the offer of services, identify the gaps and work to fill them in. Good (2009) uses the concept of ‘‘socially sustainable growth’’, as developed by Polèse and Stren (2000), arguing that municipalities can steer

“the development of civil society in the direction of social inclusion and interethnic harmony” (p. 277).

Moreover, economic incentives are aligned for municipalities and local communities to ease the inclusion of immigrants. Municipalities have a strategic interest in making sure newcomers have access to all the opportunities and can then contribute to the community that has welcomed them. On the one hand, cities are more and more at the forefront of economic development since they can foster regional clusters, economic diversity, and innovation (Wolfe, 2009). Immigrants are crucial to this process sometimes because of their expertise or because they are ready to fill jobs in circumstances of labor shortage. Likewise, their different cultural backgrounds offer social and economic opportunities. On the other hand, because of their proximity to local actors and institutions, municipalities are in the best position to help them settle and integrate their new community.

In addition, if immigrants’ integration succeeds, cities benefit from positive economic and social outcomes. Florida (2005) asserts there is a strong connection between diversity and competitiveness. Diversity would generate a ‘virtuous circle’, bringing corporate investment, creating jobs, and bringing more diversity. For him, policies should aim at putting in place adequate social conditions for this virtuous circle to materialize. Successful economic integration increases the tax base of cities. On the opposite end, if cities do not succeed in properly integrating immigrants, this can be more than a loss of opportunity. In parallel, there is burgeoning literature about city regions being key actors in economic growth as they bring people together, allowing clusters to emerge, diversity to flourish, and creativity to arise (Bradford, 2004; Wolfe, 2009). In that context, cities have a direct interest in attracting and retaining immigrants. As a result, all around Canada, immigration has become an unavoidable topic for municipalities. This is particularly the case for large urban cores which welcome the vast majority of immigrants.

Nonetheless, even though municipalities are being given more responsibilities, they do not often see their resources increasing at the same speed (Poirier, in Lacasse and Palard, 2010; FCM, 2010; 2011; Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery, in Tolley and Young, 2011; Evans et al., 2019). This fact compromises their very capacity to deliver services and successfully welcome and integrate immigrants. In addition, immigration has naturally fallen in the

hands of municipalities as they are increasingly working with vulnerable populations, including immigrants, to offer first-line services. According to the FCM (2010), this has happened because the federal and provincial governments have progressively cut the funding of social programs over the past two decades or so. Municipalities are increasingly providing the social net that a growing number of citizens relies on, particularly in the large urban cores. Therefore, immigrants, who often have multiple and urgent needs, become a major concern for cities as part of a vulnerable population.

Even though municipalities have invested more and more efforts in immigration over the last decades, it is also in a context where the governance of immigration has been shared among the different orders of government. Paquet (2016) explains this phenomenon with the expression of ‘‘federalisation of immigration’’. For several authors, the powers officially delegated to Québec following the failure of the Meech Lake Accord made it possible to change the claims of the other provinces. Others also explained that the rise of neoliberalism, following the budgetary and fiscal crisis in the 1990s, set the stage for the federal government to transfer certain powers to the provinces. Paquet (2016), acknowledging these two phenomena, explains that it was in fact the provinces that gradually led to the revision of the Canadian immigration model between 1990 and 2010. For her, the provinces are agents of change, and she calls this phenomenon the mechanism of provincial construction. This approach is one of the scientific contributions she makes on Canadian federalism, more particularly in the field of immigration.

The lens used by Paquet is a historical explanation of how, progressively since the beginning of the 1990’s, the provinces have increased their power in immigration, in fact shifting the power hold by the federal government toward the provinces. Paquet does not specifically discuss the role of the cities, but her contribution still tends to demonstrate that the breakdown of power has changed in immigration, and that all orders of government must collaborate to ensure the success of newcomers as well as of welcoming communities.

The next section discusses the theoretical framework of multilevel governance which was developed in a context of increasingly shared powers among the different orders of governments as well as the civil society. Multilevel governance has been applied to understand policies and institutional arrangements in many fields, including immigration.

2.3 What is multilevel governance and how does it apply to immigration?

In this section, I first define multilevel governance as a theoretical framework. Scholars have attempted to build this definition, and I review their contributions. Then, I explain in which circumstances it has been used. Second, I describe how this theoretical framework has been applied to immigration policies in Canada.

How to define multilevel governance?

Multilevel governance appears in a context where issues are global, diffused, and sometimes wicked (Caponio, 2022). For Leo (2006), multilevel governance emerges in a context of glocalization and of “borderless economy”. Multilevel governance theoretical framework focuses on the division and management of power by different authorities. Multilevel governance implies collaboration across orders of government, but also involved other types of actors, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or private organizations. These actors are all part of the decision-making process, and this is the difference between government and governance (Leo, 2006). For Filomeno (2017), multilevel governance implies both vertical (across levels of government) and horizontal (among local actors) modes of interaction to assess local immigration policies. In other words, multilevel governance implies an alignment and even an integration of the work conducted by different orders or governments, including the civil society. Policies, programs, priorities and actions must concur in order for the issues to be solved in a more efficient way.

Leo and Pyl (2007) define multilevel governance as when federal and provincial governments involve cities and communities in the process of policy-making. The latter become “significant partners” (p. 1) which increase their political and economic power. Leo and Pyl (2007), relying on Garcea and Pontikes (2006), state that it could also mean that the upper orders of government “steer” rather than “row”. In that view, local governments, agencies, and organizations are seen as key actors because they work on a smaller scale exempt of boundaries induced by a “vast, centralized bureaucracy.” (p. 2)

Bradford (2002) evokes multilevel collaboration which takes place “across political scales needs to replace one-sided ‘solutions’ of either centralization or decentralization”

(p.12). He says this aims to overcome “policy silos” imposed by the structures of upper orders of government. (p.57) Bradford (2004) argues that multilevel governance allows the implementation of “place-based of place-sensitive policies and programs” (p. 43) Bradford (2005a) further develops that idea. He writes:

In sum, place-based policy for cities and communities is built on *collaborative, multilevel governance*. It brings the local scale back into the public policy-making process. But it does so within specific parameters. On the one hand, cities and communities *are* the appropriate places to inventory the key policy challenges, tap some of the best ideas, invest in problem-solving capacities, and coordinate the multiple actors with a stake in quality outcomes. On the other hand, cities and communities *are not* the cause of the problems increasingly converging in their spaces. They cannot be left on their own to meet the challenges. And municipal governments cannot be ignored when the policy and fiscal decisions of upper-level governments are crucial determinants of place quality and sound choices depend increasingly on tapping local knowledge. (p.12)

Focusing on the Canadian context, Bradford (2004) discusses the place-based policy in a multilevel governance paradigm “to tackle complex and localized public policy challenges.” (p. 39.) He says this new paradigm places emphasis on “building on the assets of individuals and the capacities of communities” (p. 43) in line with the ideas of Amartya Sen, John Kretzmann, and John McKnight. For Bradford, cities face challenges that they must tackle, but they are also key actors to promote economic growth (see also Wolfe, 2009). However, cities do not have all the power nor the resources to properly address those challenges. Bradford (2004) highlights a growing disconnection between cities' responsibilities and resources that are available for them to make policies.

Multilevel governance relies strongly on the principle of subsidiarity according to which cities or regions must assume more power in the decision-making process. One important corollary of this value is that one size does not fit all. Magnusson, again one of the first scholars to have used this concept, wrote that “cities need to be governed in distinct ways” (Magnusson, 1996, p.492, cited in Leo, 2006). In other words, multilevel governance implies that decision-making must be asymmetrical and take into account local resources, capacities, and will. Leo (2006) has stated this clearly:

“If we challenge ourselves to think in terms of unbundled sovereignty, and to emphasize process over hierarchy in our understanding of governance, our concept of community must extend beyond metropolitan areas and cities to neighbourhoods and other communities, defined according to the boundaries these communities implicitly draw by the way they understand themselves, not according to anybody’s preconceived notion of how governance ought to look.” (p.493)

Besides, another important principle is that decision-making must take into account all stakeholders. Young and Leuprecht (2006) identify the risk that municipalities could become service providers without being involved in the process of decision-making.

Context in which multilevel governance has emerged

Multilevel governance became increasingly popular in Europe during the 1960s and then in the United States (Bradford, 2004; Lazar and Leuprecht, 2007), where, according to Lazar and Leuprecht (2007), it is rather designated as ‘networked governance’. For Leo, the new context in which government evolves calls for a process of decision-making that must be achieved otherwise. According to him, ‘traditional intergovernmental relations’ become multilevel governance or ‘re-scaling’ (Leo, 2006). In the Canadian context, Stoney and Graham (2009) explore the evolution of the relations between federal and municipal governments and find that, since the 1980s, the Canadian government has started to implement policies relying on ‘greater local autonomy’, substituting previous ‘centralized’ policies with ‘place-based, or place-sensitive, solutions’ (p. 379). This new era has seen the emergence of trilateral agreements which became more popular in the next era that they identify (1993-2006). Trilateral agreements are a type of policy that arise in the context of multilevel governance (Bradford, 2005b; Young and Leuprecht, 2006; Lazar and Leuprecht, 2007).

Other scholars have advocated for multilevel governance as a theoretical framework to understand decision-making in the field of expertise shared by different orders of government. In a book written in memory of Robert Young, a prominent scholar in this field who has been the first to use multilevel governance as a concept in Canada, one can read that ‘[i]n the Canadian political context of that time, the framework of multilevel

governance was the best way to study municipal policy-making.” (Wintrobe et al., 2021, p.20). Likewise, Kübler and Pagano have said that “ [m]ultilevel governance has become relevant in urban politics to better account for complex institutional entanglements in which cities are embedded, as well as for political actions of urban actors beyond city boundaries (Kübler and Pagano 2012, cited in Kaufman and Sidney, 2020, p. 2).

According to Young, despite all the advantages of multilevel governance, very few policies were developed using the key concepts of this framework. What he called “true multilevel governance” (Young, 2012, cited in Wintrobe et al., 2021) is understood as “the sustained coordination of power and resources among multiple orders of government and social forces” (Young, 2012, cited in Wintrobe et al., 2021, p.23) was not, in fact, the reality under which many policies were conceived. Among the obstacles to multilevel governance, Young identified “the federal government’s propensity to unilateralism” (Wintrobe et al., 2021).

What do scholars in multilevel governance have taught on immigration?

Immigration is indeed one of the policy fields where issues are wicked and where solutions requires the involvement of a multiplicity of actors and orders of governments. For that reason, it has often been described and understood under this theoretical framework. According to Andrew and Abdourhamane, this framework can serve well the growing interest of cities for immigration as they can access additional responsibilities and funding through multilevel arrangements (Andrew and Abdourhamane Hima, in Young and Tolley, 2011). Chiasson and Junchiro (in Tolley and Young, 2011) conclude that when the municipality is directly involved in the activities of immigration, this creates a multilevel governance dynamic that seems to be decisive regarding the involvement that the local communities have in attracting and welcoming newcomers. For Leo, this framework also serves well local actors because it recognizes their capacity and knowledge on particular issues:

“ It is not my argument, however, that local stakeholders and officials are more astute than their federal and provincial counterparts, only that they are perfectly capable of thinking for themselves, have access to much the same body of information and analysis and, in addition,

have the advantage of being intimately familiar with the situation in their locality.’’ (Leo, 2006, p.496)

However, Caponio (2002) notes that multilevel governance framework applied to immigration has been used more often in the European context than on our side of the Atlantic. Although some studies have been conducted without using the framework, according to him, they still relate to multilevel governance principles.

The field of immigration provides good examples of policies of the Government of Canada that, in recent years, have relied more on greater local autonomy, namely through trilateral agreements, and have encouraged the emergence of places-based policies (see Stoney and Graham, 2009). For instance, Local Initiative Partnerships (LIPs) and the Provincial and Territorial Nominee Programs (PTNPS) rely on multilevel governance principles (Leo and August 2009). Good (2009) also identifies the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC), involving partners from all three orders of government as well as community key stakeholders, as one subscribing to the foundations of multilevel governance. In sum, multilevel governance arrangements in Canada have taken the form of formal and informal agreements, ranging from extensive programs to more punctual decision-making.

Hooghe and Marks (2003; in Young and Leuprecht, 2006; Leo and August, 2009; Leo and Enns, 2009), summarize that researchers have identified two types of arrangements in which multilevel governance can take place. Type I advocates place their faith in collective decision-making following the principle of subsidiarity (see Norton, 1994; Schwager, 1999; Saint-Martin, 2004; and Bradford, 2005a). On the other hand, type II ones argue in favor of an approach led by market mechanisms to increase efficiency (see Casella and Frey, 1992; Weingast, 1995; Frey and Eichenberger, 1999; Garcea and Pontikes, 2004; Hooghe and Marks, 2002). Leo and August (2009) as well as Leo and Enns (2009) rather conclude, based on empirical evidence, that ideological stance does not serve well the purpose, and institutional arrangements in a context of multilevel governance should be designed to fit the particular situation. Therefore, they emphasize the need for multilevel governance to be flexible and adaptive (see also Leo and Pyl, 2007).

If multilevel governance arrangements appear well suited for immigration, some authors have identified conditions, or good practices, to enhance the outcomes. Firstly, multilevel governance implies considering local capacities. Tolley (in Tolley and Young, 2011) emphasize that: “‘one size fits all’ approach to immigrant settlement is simply untenable; regional variations, municipal differences, and community initiatives require a multilevel approach.” (p. 5.) Biles (in Biles and al., 2008) also underlines the importance of coordination between stakeholders for multilevel governance to work. Continuity – or rather lack of continuity – between government-funded programs is another issue.

The policy model for multilevel governance with the longest history in Canada is the one Courchene celebrated as creative and flexible: a federal-provincial agreement that is responsive to the differing conditions in different provinces. That model becomes deep federalism only if the provincial government takes responsibility for securing participation in policy making and implementation by municipal governments, community stakeholders or both, as Manitoba did in implementing the federal-provincial accord on immigration and settlement. In British Columbia, responsiveness to the community regarding settlement issues did not materialize because the provincial government had other plans. (Leo, 2006, p.502)

According to Fourot, a scholar researching in the field of immigration, the concept of ambiguities in the policy process (see Tuohy, 1992) is useful to understand power shifts between actors involved in immigration in a context of local multilevel governance. She identified different types of ambiguities and explains:

“The first approach consists of maintaining forms of ambiguities precisely to make use of this factor, enabling activism while at the same time allowing for room to manoeuvre in a changing environment. In the second approach, actors seek to benefit from the ambiguities of collaborative governance processes to advance their own agenda and interests. Finally, the third approach refers to the capacity of stakeholders to delegate the management of ambiguities to others, while allowing actors to avoid conflicts and to position themselves as leaders in a specific domain.” (Fourot, 2021, p.90)

The author argues that the ambiguities relating to the power held by each stakeholder are necessary for the proper functioning of institutional arrangements in a context of multilevel governance. According to her, these ambiguities would even have a positive effect on the participation to the process, as well as the results obtained in the context of the established governance.

To conclude, multilevel governance principles can be summarized under the following principles:

- It appears in a context where issues are complex, often wicked;
- It requires the alignment of the integration of the work of different orders of governments, as well as the civil society (non-profit organizations, private businesses, citizens), and seek to avoid policy silos;
- Multilevel governance seeks to promote place-based or place-sensitive policies as it builds on assets and local capacities;
- It relies on the principle of subsidiarity where “one size does not fit all”;

Moreover, multilevel governance framework is often used in a context where cities are involved as well as other orders of government, such as in the field of immigration. In the past decades in the Canadian context, some policies have reflected those principles, including the Ontario trilateral agreement on immigration (COIA) and LIPs that have been well-documented. Scholars from all over the globe, including in Canada, have used multilevel governance framework to better understand institutional arrangements in communities related to immigration. After defining the theoretical grounds on which the rest of the research is based, the next chapter seeks to illustrate the institutional arrangements in immigration in the Canadian context.

Chapter 3 –

An Overview of the Canadian Immigration Context

Given that immigration is a growing responsibility for cities all around Canada, it is worth asking how they are handling it. This literature review aims to extensively answer the question: How do local institutions adapt and manage immigrant settlement to offer them the services they need to settle and integrate the welcoming community? This section of the thesis reviews what has been written about the distribution of roles and responsibilities in the reception and integration of newcomers, the institutional arrangements that are made, as well as the outcomes to which they lead.

The literature on immigration is indeed very rich. Immigration is a very codified domain of policies, and it has attracted the attention of policy makers as well as researchers in the past decades. Because they were beyond the scope of this research, some aspects of this literature have been excluded. For instance, it is worth mentioning the burgeoning literature on refugees in particular, on the economic aspects of immigration including the impact of immigration on the labor market and their capacity to integrate it. This will not be included in this literature review as it does not serve the intent of this research, which is to define and evaluate institutional arrangements in two mid-sized cities in Québec.

The first portion of this chapter details how this sharing of responsibilities has been organized for several decades in Canada, and in Québec more particularly. This province has a unique historical context that explains its relationship to immigration. As it tints the policies decisions that have been made and the current situation, we brush over a global portrait. This section of the thesis aims to underpin the difference between Québec and the rest of Canada in terms of immigration, both in terms of what leads the province to adopt different public policies and the nature of the difference between these public policies. This section is essential to better understand the object of research, but also the literature on Québec.

Next, the chapter examines each institutional actor, namely the federal government, the provinces, the municipalities, and local organizations involved in immigration in Canada, and, again, more specifically in Québec, to define their role and the mechanisms

of coordination between them. In other words, this section reviews the literature that defines institutional arrangements. Next, the focus is placed on Ontario, more precisely on the multilevel arrangements that occur in this province. The goal of this section is, in fact, to show the arrangements that are considered best practices and that take place in a province neighboring Québec. The Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) has led to several policy innovations, many being considered best practices, including Local Immigration Partnerships. Both concepts are the topic of a sub-section. Finally, I review the literature about cities across Ontario, detailing the institutional arrangements at the local level. A focus is placed on Toronto because of its diversity as well as its engagement and pride toward it. Then, other municipalities which have been the subject of scientific publications are discussed.

In the following section, we identify some trends, innovations, and best practices in terms of reception and integration in local communities. These topics complement the review of the relevant literature to shed light on the research questions. To complete the literature review, I identify research gaps and unanswered questions that researchers have identified in this field.

The role of cities in the settlement and integration of immigrants in Canadian cities has developed into a topic of interest for scholars in the past decades. The *Metropolis Project*, running from 2000 to 2012, was funded by the federal government and produced many research publications on policies related to immigration. The *Welcoming Communities Initiative* took over for three years, then aimed to determine the characteristics of a welcoming community and identify best practices (Wiginton, 2012). Today, scholars in political science, economics, public policy, and concomitant disciplines have pursued research on the topic, even though the amount of research has declined since the end of the federal funding for the Metropolis project. It is worth mentioning that a valuable quantity of references used in this chapter, and in the particular in its second half, has been funded and conducted under these initiatives.

3.1 Immigration in Canadian Cities

According to articles 91 s.25 and 95 of the Canadian constitution, both federal and provincial governments can legislate about immigration. Article 95 stipulates that

provinces can rule on immigration ‘‘as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada.’’ (Canadian Constitution Act of 1867 to 1982) In other words, the federal government has priority in policies, programs, and spending when it comes to immigration. Nevertheless, over the last three decades, the federal government has concluded agreements with all provinces and territories, except Nunavut, to transfer them responsibilities related to immigration (Biles et al., 2008; Tolley and Young, 2011).

The first agreement was established between the federal government and the province of Québec. The current agreement between the two governments is the fourth one. Under the current *Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens* or the Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall agreement adopted in 1991, the provincial government chooses its immigrants (except for refugees and family reunions), and provide services for the settlements and integration of all immigrants. The historical conditions leading to the signature of this agreement are discussed in the next section. Since then, other provinces have signed similar extensive agreements with the federal government in order to increase their power in this field (Biles et al., 2008; Paquet, 2014).

Immigration is also a responsibility that municipalities have increasingly shared with the federal and provincial governments (Poirier, in Palard and Lacasse, 2011; Andrew and Abdourhamane Hima, in Tolley and Young, 2011; Biles et al., 2011; Fourot, 2015). Either through the transfer of powers to provinces or by agreements directly involving the federal government and local governments, this trend is observed across the country. For instance, in Ontario, the agreement between the federal and provincial governments, the COIA, directly transfers power to municipalities. The Association of Municipalities of Ontario (AMO) and the City of Toronto are partners of this agreement through a Memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed with the provincial government in 2005 and 2006 (Annex D and F of The Canada-Ontario Agreement, 2017). Inspired by the COIA, the implementation of Local Initiative Partnerships (LIPs) across the province has started in 2008, therefore involving cities and communities’ partners throughout the process of decision-making (Seidle, 2010).

Another great example of increasingly shared responsibility between the federal and the other orders of governments is the Provincial and Territorial Programs (PTNPs). This program initially started in the 1990's and allows territories to choose immigrants on

the basis of their competences and their ability to meet local needs. The territories involved in this program work closely with employers and can allow workers to immigrate to Canada based on a job offer or experience with a local employer. To date, nine provinces (except Québec) and two territories have taken advantage of this program. The program has also grown over the years, allowing more immigrants to come to Canada through this program, which has also become more complex over the years (over 50 streams now exist). In the international context of a brain race, this program has enabled employers and cities to be competitive. Also, this program made it possible to better serve smaller communities, which tend to find it more difficult to attract immigrants. Finally, as another advantage, the programs lead immigrants with lower skills to access permanent residence (Bagley and Nakache, 2014).

In addition, following a pilot project, called the Atlantic Immigration Program, aimed at providing immigrants with skills that meet the needs of the local economy, the federal government has recently announced the implementation of two new programs, the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot and the Municipal Nominee Program (IRCC, 2022a). Both programs aim to attract and retain immigrants in specific regions. To this end, the federal government seems to want to renew a partnership with the cities and territories concerned (IRCC, 2022a; AMO, 2022). At the time of writing this thesis, the announcement of these two programs was yet to be made.

Indeed, this framework of sharing responsibilities involves an inevitable asymmetry between provinces, regions and cities. This asymmetry reflects the different levels of power devolved to governments and communities, their capacity to attract newcomers, as well as funding. All provinces do not have the same responsibilities related to immigration, neither do cities. Québec holds all the responsibility related to selection, settlement, and integration of economic immigrants, compared to the other provinces and some territories which do not choose their immigrants except for a small number each year through the PTNPs. Even within the PTNPs program, asymmetry exists in the powers and responsibilities that have been delegated (Bagley and Nakache, 2014). Likewise, in Ontario, the implementation of LIPs has given greater control to local communities than in the other provinces holding extensive power in immigration (see further down this chapter). Such asymmetry is

nevertheless desirable as long as it takes into account the local capacity to receive immigrants. Scholars generally admit that one size does not fit all.

Another source of asymmetry particular to Québec in the field of immigration is the *Loi sur le Ministère du conseil exécutif*¹¹, also called M-30, limiting direct relations between the federal government and cities. Québec is the only province to have this type of policy that frames relations between the federal government and cities, arguing that the latter are rather entirely under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Unlike other provinces, tripartite agreements between the three orders of government, or even direct relations between the federal government and Québec municipalities are therefore limited. The same is true for Québec public bodies, which cannot have a direct relationship with the federal government, except under certain conditions involving a ministerial decree (*Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation (MAMH)*, 2017). In other words, an agreement like the COIA could hardly have been possible in Québec, although multilevel arrangements could be possible between the provincial and local governments.

In the field of immigration, the case of Québec is therefore unique in Canada. The next section discusses the circumstances surrounding the engagement of the Government of Québec in immigration, as well as determining elements of the public and academic discussion in this field. This lays the ground for further discussions on the institutional arrangements in place in this province.

3.2 The Case of Québec

While immigration in Canadian cities has been discussed quite extensively and mainly regarding Ontario, the topic has been framed differently in Québec. Compared to Ontario or other provinces, very little and less systematic work has been pursued on how local actors organize themselves to welcome and integrate immigrants, as well as the impacts of these public policies in Québec. Therefore, the vast majority of the publications that are to be discussed in this current literature review have been written about Ontario or other provinces. Because of the unicity of the Québec context, including its agreement with the federal government, the findings of these aforementioned works are not always

¹¹ These terms can be translated as *Act on the Department of the Executive Council*.

exportable to the situation of Québec. Nonetheless, even if the literature is sometimes well developed regarding some aspects of immigration, little has been said about the province of Québec, even though it was the first province to which important responsibilities were devolved. In an article published in 2015, Fourot tracked the evolution of the field relating to immigration and local policies since 1995, she mentions that the literature has flourished since then, although she underlines that there is a lack of literature on Québec regarding those public policies (Fourot, 2015).

In Québec, the question of immigration is formulated differently in the scientific literature, certainly reflecting the way the subject has affected history and how it is approached in the public sphere. As noted by Biles et al. (2011), the topic of immigration in Québec ‘‘has led to concerns about social and cultural diversity’’ (see Adams, 2007; Bouchard, 2011, cited in Biles et al., 2011, p.400). A brief foray into the history of Québec is necessary to understand the cultural and social differences of this province. These aspects have certainly influenced how the discussions surrounding immigration, including the preservation of the Québec nation, the place of cultural communities, the religious neutrality of the State, secularism, and have unfolded in recent decades.

In a thesis dealing with immigration and Québec, and more particularly in the context where the literature on which the foundations of this thesis are based comes from the rest of Canada, and although it focuses on the administrative aspect of the reception of immigrants in the communities, it seems essential to place some elements of context. If certain administrative elements differ from the rest of Canada, in particular the Canada-Québec Agreement on immigration, it is above all because the historical and social contexts of Québec are different. The French-speaking nation had to work to preserve itself over the years in order to avoid assimilation. Immigration must also be understood from this angle.

The preservation of the Québec nation through greater responsibilities in immigration

In North America, the context of Québec is unique because of its origins from the old continent, its French language, its culture, and its small size (for its population, at least) on an English-speaking continent with predominantly British origins. The objective of this portion of the thesis is not to make a complete review of the history of Québec – and I only pretend to draw few lines on this complex topic –, but simply to explain how the

relationship to other cultures is different in the context of what authors describe as ‘‘la survivance¹²’’, i.e. survival of the Québec minority nation. The debates around immigration in Québec must be understood through this lens. There is a prevalent historical narrative about the history of Québec as a people who had to fight against assimilation and who continue to do so to preserve their origins and their unique culture (Cardinal and Papillon, 2011; Paquet, 2016; Piché, in Piché and Le Bourdais, 2019). Piché uses the terms ‘‘nationalism of survival’’ to describe this phenomenon (in Piché and Le Bourdais, 2019). Throughout its history, Québec has often perceived immigration as a strategy of minoritization or assimilation by the Anglophone majority (Piché, 1978; Labelle, Lemay and Painchaud, 1979; Bouthilier, 1997; Juteau, 1999; Seymour, 2002; Piché, in Piché and Le Bourdais, 2019). The perceived risk linked to immigration is that newcomers do not learn French and, consequently, do not integrate the culture, and that native Quebecers find themselves dispossessed of the leverages necessary to preserve and sustain their culture. As a consequence, immigration appeared early in the history of Québec as an important instrument of control of its distinctiveness (Paquet, 2016) and, somehow, its destiny.

Faced with the awareness of the relative demographic decline, supported by data, of Francophones in Québec, it was in the 1960s that Québec began to push for more autonomy in the field of immigration (Piché, in Piché and Le Bourdais, 2019; Couture-Gagnon, 2020). In 1968, the government of Jean-Jacques Bertrand set up the first provincial Ministry of Immigration. This new department was created in response to the arrival of immigrants who did not speak French and in order to preserve the predominance of French (Radio-Canada, 2018; Couture-Gagnon, 2020). This action of Québec in immigration will then be followed by a first agreement between the federal government and the provincial government in matters of immigration. In 1971, the Lang-Cloutier agreement was signed. Québec will gradually increase its autonomy in the field of immigration by signing a second agreement in 1975, the Andras-Bienvenue Agreement, then in 1978 by the Couture-Cullen Agreement (Bibliothèque du Parlement, 2018).

In 1991, a new agreement is reached, allowing Québec to choose most of its immigrants, a responsibility greatly desired to enhance control over its demography

¹² See, for instance, Cook, 2005.

(Bibliothèque du Parlement, 2018; IRCC, 2021a). The Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, or the *Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall* agreement, was signed in a context where Québec sought greater responsibilities alongside the rise of the sovereignty movement (Couture-Gagnon, 2020). Greater powers in immigration, namely the ability to choose economic immigrants, was one of the five conditions cited by the Québec government to sign the constitution at the beginning of the 1990s. The current Canada-Québec agreement was signed after the failure of the Meech Lake agreement, the last round of constitutional negotiations (Couture-Gagnon, 2020). According to Piché (2019, in Piché and Le Bourdais), the increase in autonomy in immigration by Québec has not had the effect of positively or negatively affecting migratory flows, whereas these have remained overall at the same levels in proportion to Canada. It is therefore in the choice of immigrants, particularly based on the language criterion, that immigration policy in Québec has been affected by the agreement between the two governments.

Interculturalism versus multiculturalism

Language and the Catholic religion are historically perceived as elements of identity that define the Québec nation (Groulx, 1926; Monière, 1977). With the *Révolution tranquille*¹³, Québec rejected the stranglehold of religion and prioritized the secularization of the State. It is quite interesting to note that this secularization will, from then on, define the conditions of reception of newcomers. Indeed, the concept of interculturalism, defined since the 1980s by a document entitled *Autant de façons d'être Québécois*¹⁴ made public in 1981 by Prime Minister René Lévesque, asserts that the French language and the secularism of the state are the two main pillars of Québec's integration policy. This interculturalism is defined in opposition to Canadian multiculturalism¹⁵. For the past three decades, this approach to the integration of newcomers, although sometimes debated, remains dominant.

¹³ These terms can be translated as Quiet Revolution. They refer to the period of time, namely the 1960s, where Québec has implemented many reforms which have ultimately led to the creation of the modern state. See, for instance, Linteau et al., 1989.

¹⁴ These terms can be translated as "So many ways of being Quebecers".

¹⁵ See Taylor, 2012 for a detailed and powerful explanation of what separates interculturalism from multiculturalism.

Once again, the perceived risk with Canadian multiculturalism is the potential drowning out the French language, which would lead to the dilution of the Québec nation. Several researchers agree that interculturalism and multiculturalism have several points in common, because the two approaches are based on the principles of plurality and respect of human rights, particularly to reconcile cultural diversity (Taylor, 2012; Gagnon and Boucher, 2014). However, as opposed to multiculturalism, interculturalism additionally pleads for the respect of the rights of a core, in this case the French-speaking people, who also have certain rights needing to be preserved (Bouchard and Taylor, 2008; Gagnon and Boucher, 2014). Moreover, the argument of the preservation of social ties is a criticism formulated against multiculturalism, particularly in European countries (Taylor, 2012). In other words, multiculturalism would not just present risks leading to ghettoization, but eliminating all principles or common bases that allow construction and decisions in a country. However, these criticisms are not unanimous. For Taylor (2012), for example, this position rather reflects the failure of French, German or Dutch multiculturalism through insufficient national integration policies and programs. As a solution, some have pleaded for better education of immigrants on Québec history (Létourneau and Geni, 2017). In any case, Canadian multiculturalism, although it recognizes the existence of two founding nations, does not recognize the existence of simply two cultures in Canada but a plethora of them¹⁶. For Quebecers, it is therefore equivalent to relaying Québec culture to the rank of all other cultures, and not to that of the founding people. This position makes them fear for their rights as a minority people and, consequently, for their survival.

This vision of integration has also been presented in the more recent report following the Bouchard-Taylor commission (discussed below.) This citation explains the fundamentals of this approach:

“Generally speaking, it is in the interests of any community to maintain a minimum of cohesion. It is subject to that condition that a community can adopt common orientations, ensure participation by citizens in public debate, create the feeling of solidarity required for an egalitarian society to function smoothly, mobilize the population in the event of a crisis,

¹⁶ Following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015) and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1991-1996), national policy has shifted paradigm. From the two founding nations frame, the Canadian government has moved to recognizing the role of Indigenous nations as foundational to Canada (see Honoring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future, 2015)

and take advantage of the enrichment that stems from ethnocultural diversity. For a small nation such as Québec, constantly concerned about its future as a cultural minority, integration also represents a condition for its development, or perhaps for its survival.” (Bouchard-Taylor Report, 2008, p.20)

In short, interculturalism defines Québec’s vision regarding the integration of newcomers. This integration must be based on the principle that French is the common language and that religion must be absent from the activities of the State. This last element is discussed in the next section because it has stirred many debates and has marked the difference between Québec and Canada in recent years, necessarily affecting the discussions on immigration both in the public sphere and in academic circles.

Secularism

With the *Révolution tranquille*, the Québec people took a stand against religion, which was at the time largely dominated by the Catholic Church, also very close to political power¹⁷. From then on, Québec turned towards greater neutrality of the State and complete separation between political power and religious beliefs, more so than in the rest of Canada where religious symbols remained accepted and valued to some extent. Nevertheless, there remains a certain cultural Catholicism in Québec, a set of principles that affect Québec society and values that it continues to carry.

The question of reasonable accommodation has made the headlines in Québec over the past two decades. A decision of the Supreme Court in 1985 ruled in favor of reasonable accommodation¹⁸, allowing for example the wearing of religious symbols in the public sphere (Radio-Canada, 2007a; Bosset, 2007). In 2002, the question of reasonable

¹⁷ This historical period followed what had been called the *Grande noirceur*, or Great darkness, embodied by Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis, who was very close to religious elites. With the *Révolution tranquille*, the Québec State put an end to the links between state infrastructures and religion, for example by taking schools out of the control of the Church, which until then had ensured their management. (see, for instance, Linteau et al., 1989)

¹⁸ According to the decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada in the Simpsons-Spears case in 1985, an employer has the general obligation to put in place a reasonable accommodation for a person facing discrimination (in particular due to the practice of their religion). This accommodation must be put in place to guarantee the right to equality for all. Finally, a reasonable accommodation must be put in place unless there is an excessive constraint for the functioning of the organization, in particular so that it does not hinder the regular activities of the organization or does not involve excessive costs (see Bosset, 2007).

accommodation arose in Québec when a young Sikh carrying the kirpan, a knife symbolizing his religious affiliation, sued his high school for the right to wear it in class. Since then, the debate rages on. On the one hand, some defend freedom of religion and, on the other hand, parents are worried about the safety of children if one of their classmates carries a kind of weapon (Radio-Canada, 2019a).

The Superior Court of Québec first decided in favor of the young Sikh, but the Québec Court of Appeal then decided that wearing this religious symbol should be prohibited. Finally, this decision was brought before the Superior Court of Canada, which reversed the decision of the Court of Appeal in a unanimous decision and authorized the young Sikh to wear his kirpan (Radio-Canada, 2019a).

This event brought on important public debates, but also appears among a list of debates having similar foundations. Indeed, in 2006, a Jewish community from Outremont in Montréal demanded that the glass windows of the YMCA be frosted as they deemed it indecent to see women in sportswear training (“lightly dressed”) from their synagogue across the street (Radio-Canada, 2006). It is also possible to mention the case of Hérouxville, a small rural community that had adopted in 2007 a code of conduct aimed at immigrants. As a small community quite remote from major centers, Hérouxville was unlikely to receive many immigrants, but certain elements of this code of conduct showed a misunderstanding of this reality, which was shocking and embarrassing for many. For instance, the guide specifies that the stoning of women is prohibited as men and women are equals. The guide also states that the wearing of the kirpan is prohibited in schools on its territory. Finally, it indicates that it is customary to put up a Christmas tree. This memorable event has had a profound effect on people (CBC, 2017), including academics (Gilbert, 2009).

These events led to the creation in 2007 by the Government of Québec of the *Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d’accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles*¹⁹, commonly called the *Commission Bouchard-Taylor* in honor of its two presidents Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor (see Bouchard and Taylor, 2008). Years

¹⁹ These terms can be translated as Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices related to Cultural Differences.

later, this commission continues to be a topic of discussion in the public and academic spheres (see, for instance, Gilbert et al., 2013; Lefebvre and Saint-Laurent, 2018).

In 2013, Bill 60 created with the aim to adopt a Charte des valeurs québécoises²⁰ was tabled for adoption in the *Assemblée Nationale*²¹. Among the objectives pursued in the bill was the prohibition of any religious sign among state employees (Radio-Canada, 2015). This proposal was going further than the recommendations of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission which stated that only certain government employees holding the power of "coercion" (namely judges, prosecutors, and peace officers) should be prohibited from wearing religious symbols. The bill was met with strong opposition from citizens and was ultimately not adopted.

Finally, in 2019, the government of Québec came forward with the proposition and adoption of the bill *Loi sur la laïcité de l'État* (respecting the secularism of the state), also known as Bill 21. Under this new law, the employees of the State who hold a power of coercion as well as teachers are not allowed to wear religious symbols. This bill, therefore, takes the recommendation of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission one step further and, although it is viewed fairly favorably by the Québec population²² (Le Devoir, 2019; 2022), the new law is currently being challenged at the judicial level. Once again, this new decision by the Government of Québec widens the ideological gap between Québec and the rest of Canada regarding management of diversity and immigration. As a matter of fact, several Canadian cities (Brampton, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary upstream others) have even decided to fund the legal action contesting this Québec law (Radio-Canada, 2021).

The following table summarizes the most important dates and events related to immigration in Québec history that have been detailed above:

²⁰ These terms can be translated as Charter of Québec Values.

²¹ The *Assemblée nationale*, or translated as National Assembly, is the parliament of the Government of Québec.

²² According to *Le Devoir*, support for the bill *Loi sur la laïcité de l'État* fluctuated around 65% among the Québec population at the time of its adoption (65% in December 2018 and 64% in May 2019) (Le Devoir, 2019). In January 2022, it was 55% according to the most recent survey (Le Devoir, 2022).

Table 3.1 – Timeline of milestones in Québec history leading to more provincial autonomy in the field of immigration

Year	Event
1968	Creation of the first Ministère de l’Immigration
1971	Signature of the Lang-Cloutier Agreement
1975	Signature of the Andras-Bienvenue Agreement
1978	Signature of the Couture-Cullen Agreement
1981	Publication of <i>Autant de façons d’être Québécois</i> by Prime Minister René Lévesque about the integration of immigrants
1991	Signature of the Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens (or Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall Agreement)
2008	Bouchard-Taylor Commission on reasonable accommodation
2019	Adoption by the <i>Assemblée nationale</i> of the <i>Loi sur la laïcité de l’État</i>

In sum, those elements are essential to understand the context in which immigration is discussed in Québec, both in the academic and public spheres. Although the goal of this thesis is not to focus the discussion on those specific elements, they form part of the reason why the Québec model of immigration is different from elsewhere in Canada. Overall, it is safe to say that Québec has sought a greater autonomy in the field of immigration for nation-building purposes. This is what differentiates it from the other provinces, which wished (with the exception of the choice of certain economic immigrants under the PTNPs) to leave the choice of immigrants to the federal government (see Bagley and Nakache, 2014). For Québec nation, the choice of immigrants quickly became a priority to preserve its uniqueness. Following the discussion of those context elements, the next section dissects the institutional arrangements in Canada and in Québec in order to better understand the context in which the case studies were pursued.

3.3 The institutional context: Mapping out the actors involved in the settlement and integration of immigrants

There has been a realignment in the sharing of power in immigration between the different orders of government in the 1990s (CIC, 2010a; Paquet, 2016). This realignment started with the agreement between the federal government and the province of Québec. Because the provinces were already managing most social policies and programs, and aiming to be more efficient to reduce administrative costs (CIC, 2010a), the federal government pursued comprehensive or more specific agreements with each province and

territories (except Nunavik) during the following decade or so (IRCC, 2022b). Nevertheless, today, Québec is still having more responsibility regarding immigration on its territory than other provinces²³.

The next sections pinpoint the actors in the settlement and integration of immigrants specific to the Canadian and the Québec context more specifically. Their main responsibilities of the federal government, the provinces, the municipalities, and the local organizations are defined. The focus will however be put on the province of Québec, being the object of this current thesis. Despite the fact that this province is the first one to have signed a bilateral agreement on immigration, less is known on how newcomers are integrated. This is a research gap on which I focus in Chapter 5 and 6. Then, the compelling example of Ontario with the COIA and the LIPs is presented. Other best practices and innovations are detailed in the last section of this chapter.

The federal government

The federal government promotes a multiculturalism policy, grants Canadian citizenship and permanent resident status, and decides the number of immigrants that will be admitted into the country (Rimok et Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008). *Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC)* is the leading player at the federal level (Biles et al., 2008)²⁴. IRCC defines its mandate as follow:

We select foreign nationals as permanent and temporary residents. We offer protection to refugees. IRCC develops Canada's admissibility policy, which sets the conditions for entering and remaining in Canada. IRCC also conducts, in collaboration with its partners, the screening of potential permanent and temporary residents to protect the health, safety and security of Canadians. Fundamentally, the Department builds a stronger Canada by helping immigrants and refugees settle and fully integrate into Canadian society and the economy, and by encouraging and facilitating Canadian citizenship. (IRCC, 2018)

²³ From a fiscal perspective, there is a disproportion between the federal transfer to Québec compared to other provinces, some of which were vocal about their disappointment (British Columbia and Ontario mainly) (CIC, 2010a).

²⁴ At the time when the book was published, that federal department was rather called Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). The name of the department has changed in 2015 to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). The name of the departments, organizations or programs have been updated in the literature review when the information could be found.

Moreover, IRCC provides funding and support for all organizations helping immigrants settle in Canada. In fact, the federal government provides funding for all organizations whose services are dedicated to newcomers (commonly called Service Provider Organizations (SPOs)), with the exception of the organizations based in Québec. In those cases, the funding comes from the provincial government, which funds them through the Canada-Québec immigration agreement. As of the years 2007-2008, IRCC spends through its programs an average of \$3,000 per individual who arrives in Canada (Biles et al., 2008). Along with the Department of Public Safety, IRCC shares responsibility for the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* (IRCC, 2018). The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* stipulates, in accordance with the Canadian constitution, that the IRCC can agree with provinces on the sharing of responsibilities in this field, and therefore recognizes the devolution of power to other orders of government.

Different federal departments play a role in immigration without being at the forefront. For instance, Canadian Heritage participates in the integration of immigrants with its mission to build a more inclusive Canada, by promoting cultural diversity, inclusion as well as official languages. Among other things, Canadian Heritage is responsible for the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canadian Heritage, 2022). Moreover, *Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC)*²⁵ is involved in the integration of immigrants by dedicating some programs to increase the economic outcomes of immigrants (Biles et al., 2008; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015).

The provincial government

The provinces of Québec, Manitoba (1996), British Columbia (1998), and Ontario (2005) have signed extensive agreements with the federal government recognizing the devolution of the responsibilities related to immigration. As a matter of fact, because the Canadian constitution recognizes the shared responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments, both entities can specify their arrangements through individual agreements. Other provinces and territories, except Nunavut, have also signed agreements with the federal government for a more specific issue such as international students, the

²⁵ In Biles et al., (2008), the authors rather refer to Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC), which has since been renamed.

Provincial and Territorial Nominee Programs (PTNPS), or employer-driven temporary foreign worker programs (Biles et al., 2008; Government of Canada, 2010; Tolley and Young, 2011). As presented above, the Provincial and Territorial Nominee Programs (PTNPS) allows provinces to select a number of immigrants each year to match their specific regional or local economic needs (Government of Canada, 2010; Paquet, 2014).

In addition to responsibilities devolved to them through agreements with the federal government, all provinces and territories are accountable for immigrants in their constitutional spheres of power. This includes housing, education, health, etc. They are at the forefront because of their influence on the labor market and the recognition of foreign credentials. Because municipalities are ‘‘creatures of the provinces’’, they are also free to devolve responsibilities to regional and municipal institutions.

Québec

The first Canada-Québec Accord was signed in 1971 (Bibliothèque du Parlement, 2018). It is not until 1991 that the federal government devolves responsibilities to the province for the selection of economic immigrants, their reception, and integration (Rimok and Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008; Seidle, 2010). Incidentally, the province is the only one deciding on its economic immigrants, although the PTNPs allow other provinces to choose some of them. As well, even though local organizations do obtain the bulk of their subsidies from the federal government, organizations based in Québec receive their funding from the provincial government. The government of Québec receives funding each year from the federal government and administers it to local agencies working for immigration settlement. In 2021, the actual level of spending exclusively based on the Canada-Québec agreement was of \$650,270.00 (IRCC, 2021a).

The province of Québec has published an immigration and settlement strategy, *Stratégie d'action en matière d'immigration, de participation et d'inclusion*, that applies to all departments and organizations: the last one dated back to 2015 and applied from 2016 to 2021 (Gouvernement du Québec, 2015). All 25 departments took part into the elaboration of this strategy, having specific programs aimed at facilitating the integration of newcomers (see also Rimok and Rouzier, 2008; Biles et al., 2011). The current strategy of the Government of Québec appears to be in continuity with the principles that have

guided its action in the area of immigration since the first powers were officially recognized as being exclusive to it. In other words, this strategy relies on the economic contribution of immigrants, the vitality of the French language, as well as communities that promote the full participation of immigrants, notably reaffirming interculturalism as an approach to integration.

The strategy includes a discussion on the role of municipalities and communities in fostering the full integration of immigrants. Municipalities and communities are responsible for the proper development of a service offer for newcomers. The document also mentions the importance of coordination between government actors, municipalities and civil society, especially economic actors. Regarding the role of municipalities, the strategy mentions the following:

Because of their proximity to citizens, municipalities and community stakeholders play a leading role in building welcoming and inclusive communities. The commitment of municipalities and the initiatives of philanthropic foundations are essential to ensure harmonious cohabitation in living environments and to guarantee the long-term settlement of immigrants²⁶. (Gouvernement du Québec, 2015, p.43)

Interestingly, the strategy mentions the need to renew its approach to municipalities and equip them to implement initiatives for welcoming communities. The document states:

Québec intends to implement a new partnership approach with municipalities and mobilize stakeholders in the living environment in order to improve welcoming conditions and promote the long-term settlement of immigrants as well as the full participation of Quebecers of all origins. This approach will be based on the leadership role that the metropolis, the National Capital and other municipalities can play in terms of coordination and mobilization of local communities. It will also be based on the adaptation of existing municipal policies and programs that target various issues, such as cultural development and the participation of seniors, so that the needs of people from ethnocultural minorities are fully taken into account. (Gouvernement du Québec, 2015, p.47)

²⁶ This paragraph and the following have been freely translated by the author.

Finally, the strategy promotes the desire to initiate a meeting between the elected representatives of the provincial and municipal governments, as well as government and civil society partners at the end of this strategy, in order to discuss issues related to immigration. In short, this strategy partly recognizes the role of cities and local communities, although the means of action are not clearly identified, except for the meeting for which there is no further information or trace.

In the past, the provincial government did use to delegate some powers to local institutions. From 2003, the *Conférences régionales des élus (CRÉs)* in each region were the key partners of the provincial government regarding immigration until 2014, when they were abolished (Rimok and Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008; Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011; Fourot, 2013). The *CRÉs* were regional or supra-local institutions. The provincial government has since repatriated the powers in immigration. Under articles 80 and 81, the provincial law states that the powers may then be devolved to another entity, such as an organization or a municipal government (Loi sur l'immigration au Québec, 2014). Moreover, the provincial government, under article 29.1.1 of the *Loi sur les cités et villes*, is expected to be able to ratify agreements with some cities in order to transfer them additional powers and financial resources (Loi sur les cités et villes, 2021). Thus, a first agreement was signed in 1999 with the City of Montréal, receiving the majority of immigrants each year, and then again in 2007 (Rimok and Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008; Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011). The City of Québec signed a first agreement in 2000 (Desmarais, in Lacasse et Palard, 2010; Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011), and the City of Sherbrooke in 2005, the City of Shawinigan in 2007, as well as the City of Gatineau in 2007 (Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011).

In 2019, a new policy shift came into being, which impacted the delivery of services to newcomers. The new program *Accompagnement Québec* was launched and progressively implemented across the province. According to the *MIFI*, the program aims to reach and support the greatest number of immigrants upon their arrival, in particular through a first appointment which is made in the majority of cases upon arrival at the airport. The support then offered by the integration assistance agents makes it possible to assess the needs of the immigrants and to direct them towards services likely to promote their integration in their respective regions. A follow-up is also offered to these people. Services under the

Accompagnement Québec program cover the following aspects of reception and integration: settlement services, integration into community life, francization, job search, and immigration procedures. According to data made available by the MIFI, between April 1, 2020 and March 31, 2021, 4,220 newcomers have been supported through this program (MIFI, 2021a). This shift is significant for the immigration ecosystems at the local scale, as it impacts the activities of local organizations that provide the bulk of services to newcomers, including some aspects now covered by provincial agents. This policy will be discussed later in Chapter 6.

The municipalities

The majority of immigration lands in the three largest cities in Canada: Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal, although the share of immigrants settling outside these metropolises has significantly increased since 1995 (Tossuti and Esses, 2011; Shields et al., 2014). This would be the result of varied policies and efforts of provinces, municipalities, and employers created to attract – and retain – immigrants (Tossuti and Esses, 2011), including the PTNPs (Bagley, 2012, cited in Shields et al., 2014; Bagley and Nakache, 2014). Wiginton (2012) even uses the term “marketization” to describe the phenomenon when smaller cities try to attract and retain newcomers. This phenomenon is also related to a greater decentralization of immigration policies across Canada.

Regionalization of immigration

Regarding the regionalization of immigrants, Wiginton (2012) identifies five dynamics that are found to be attractive across her sample when looking at how six smaller communities have attracted and integrated immigrants: tourism, manufactures (which are both employer driven), knowledge economy, investors to develop new commerce, and existing cultural communities (involving migrant networks). However, their settlement and integration pose serious challenges that she finds to be interrelated. Among these challenges, she identifies settlement and long-term services for newcomers, affordable and suitable housing, transportation, suitable employment for dependents and possibilities of career advancement, lack of cultural amenities, new diversity in schools, and local community tolerance. Overall, she concludes with a problematic lack of resources

(financial, time, and skills) which significantly limit how those communities can be welcoming for newcomers.

Likewise, in a study focusing on 15 municipalities in Ontario, Tossuti and Esses (2011) find that the regionalization of immigration has led to varying levels of interest from municipalities, thus corroborating Wiginton's results. The authors think of five strategies to enhance the context in which newcomers are welcomed. First, they recommend that integrative strategies should be adapted to local realities. Second, they find that the interest that municipalities show to newcomers does not always have to do with the size of the municipalities, but rather with their history and demographics. They insist that education about the positive impact of immigration should be the remedy in such cases. Third, they also explain that social and cultural impacts of immigration are usually appreciated, which could be part of the information promoted through education. Fourth, they recommend that funding should be adapted to small communities' situations as well as resources that are made available to welcome newcomers. Finally, they encourage the involvement of visible minorities in smaller communities.

Regionalization of immigration also led to different outcomes for newcomers depending on many factors. Lo et al. (2009, cited in Sheilds et al., 2014) describe the 'mismatch between the location of services and immigrants' residences' (p. 18). It seems smaller or rural municipalities struggle to offer the same services as large cities (Wiginton, 2012; Sheilds et al., 2014). Frideres et al. (2012, cited in Sheilds et al., 2014) explain that online services are often not suitable because newcomers either struggle to use them or do not trust them. Transportation seems to be a significant challenge for newcomers settling in smaller municipalities (see Sheilds et al., 2014). This calls into question the distribution of power between all orders of government in smaller municipalities.

The action of municipalities regarding immigration

Some cities are more proactive than others in the field of immigration. A large majority of municipalities are get involved in immigration, but they do not forecast immigration or local immigration needs (Fourot, 2015). Why do municipalities decide or not to engage in immigration? Some authors have argued that a massive number of immigrants is needed in order to reach a critical threshold for municipalities to get engaged

(see Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Good, 2009, in Fourot, 2015), but most claim a significant number of immigrants does not impact the activity – or inactivity – of the city in immigration (see Wallace and Frisken, 2000; Germain et al., 2003; Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011; Paré et al., 2012, in Fourot, 2015). Triggering events could explain why municipalities engage in immigration (see Li, 1994; Labelle, 1996; Abu-Laban, 1997; Wallace and Frisken, 2000; Fourot, 2013; cited in Fourot, 2015). Fourot (2015) concludes that neither a proportion of the immigrant population nor triggering events can fully explain why municipalities decide to legislate about immigration. Undertaking an institutional approach, she identifies four reasons to explain why municipalities take different positions and decide – or not – to legislate: “the state of intergovernmental relations, the particular politico-administrative regime, the civil society actors and the discourses about immigration and society.” (Fourot, 2013; cited in Fourot, 2015, p. 420)

Because they have become key partners in the settlement and integration of immigrants, municipalities have requested to be involved in the policymaking (Biles et al., 2008). The following excerpt from the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) Brief to the Prime Minister’s Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues in 2002 attest to this:

“Although municipalities provide services to new immigrants and refugees, immigration policy rarely takes into account municipal perspectives. Municipal governments welcome new Canadians in their communities not only because they contribute to a richer cultural fabric, but also because they fuel economic growth. But while there are benefits, there are also costs. Often municipalities must provide income support, subsidized housing, emergency shelter, childcare, and health care, and often must provide these services in numerous languages. The federal government has failed to recognize these costs, and has not provided adequate financial support for them.” (in Biles et al., 2008)

Since then, the federal liberal government of Paul Martin has shown a strong interest in municipal governments, an interest that has then declined in the decade of the Stephen Harper government and not regained attention since. With the Trudeau government, this spark for municipalities might be revived again, potentially due the mandate to set up the Municipal Nominee Program.

The case of Québec municipalities

The Québec Government does not have a clear path to devolve responsibility to municipalities or local community, neither does it put in place formal coordination mechanisms with local stakeholders like Ontario does, for instance. Therefore, the models of integration at the local level seem to vary with each city. Montréal receives the majority of immigrants and has developed a more extensive network of organizations to help immigrants settle and integrate. Nonetheless, the literature on Québec's institutional arrangements is mostly outdated as many political decisions (including the abolition of the *CRÉ*) were made after the last publications.

Chiasson and Junichiro (in Tolley and Young, 2011) examine closely four case studies. They conclude that the municipal governments of Montréal and Sherbrooke are very dynamic in the integration of immigrants. They collaborate actively with NGOs, have implemented policies related to immigrants, and also collaborate with the *CRÉs* (at the time of their existence) in addition to having their own initiatives. For Rimouski and Québec City, this seems to be in development. In the case of Rimouski, the initiatives related to immigration rather stem from the *CRÉs*. In Québec City, the leadership of the mayor regarding immigration has varied considerably depending on who was holding office. Desmarais (in Lacasse et Palard, 2010) completes the description of Québec City. She lists a few policies to promote the integration of immigrants: awareness projects involving citizens and experts on immigration, information sessions aimed at newcomers, city tours, a collaboration of the city in the *Foire de l'emploi*²⁷ organized by the Chamber of commerce, annual welcoming ceremonies for newcomers at City Hall, a newcomers' guide to housing, internships for newcomers, as well as the collaboration of the city with local organizations aiming to support newcomers.

Fourot (2013) focuses on the case of Montréal and Laval, and have also analysed local engagement toward immigration from 1960 to 2010. She retraces and compares the trajectories of the two cities and their progressive commitments to immigration. For Montréal, it was the period when Mayor Jean Doré (elected mayor of Montréal in 1986) took office that marked the beginning of a series of actions increasing the city's

²⁷ These terms can be translated as job fair.

commitment to building welcoming communities. At the same time, with the coming to power of Gilles Vaillancourt (elected mayor of Laval in 1989), the City of Laval closed itself to any conversation on the diversity of its population. The two cities have in this sense contrasted paths, the former setting up structures and policies to ensure the representation of all within the city. Political changes have not led to a questioning of Montréal's commitment to immigration, which has increased over the years, while Laval had limited its commitment in this regard until the establishment of the *CRÉs* in 2003.

Germain and Trinh (in Biles et al., 2011) identify one key challenge for the integration of immigrants at the local level. They write: “[t]he relative decentralization of programs to local partners (regions and municipalities) might not move at the same speed as the awareness and mobilization of elected officials.” They provide the example of the borough Côte-des-Neiges/Notre-Dame-de-Grâce in the City of Montréal which houses 76,500 immigrants representing 47% of the total population of the borough. The authors report that in their 2009 budget, no item seemed related to the integration of immigrants, which, they mention, “doesn’t necessarily mean inaction” (p. 266), but certainly begs the question of its relative importance for elected officials.

The local organizations

From the arrival of the first waves of immigration, local organizations provided services to newcomers (Biles et al., 2011). The latter were taken in charge by the community, therefore offering the bulk of services. In Québec, the Church and other religious organizations were for a long time responsible for the integration of immigrants (Germain and Trinh, in Biles et al., 2011). The framework of organizations has become more complex with time. In its last annual report, IRCC declares having signed over 500 agreements with local organizations and agencies that provide services to the 409,000 newcomers in 2020 (IRCC, 2021a). This covers the whole country except for Québec which obtains annual transfers from the federal government. In Québec, the *Ministère de l’Immigration, de la Francisation et de l’Intégration (MIFI)* reports having supported 106 organizations at a cost of \$43.7M in 2021 through the *Programme d’accompagnement et*

*de soutien à l'intégration (PASI)*²⁸, as well as having concluded 67 agreements for a total of \$6,998,272 as part of the *Programme d'appui aux collectivités accueillantes*²⁹, intended for social economy companies (NGOs and cooperatives), as well as municipalities and *MRCs* (MIFI, 2021b).

Biles (in Biles and al., 2008) and Germain and Trinh (in Biles et al., 2011) offer a typology to understand what kind of organizations are involved in the delivery of services to newcomers, therefore summarizing what other authors have discussed. Those organizations form a complex network of services dedicated to newcomers.

Germain and Trihn (in Biles et al., 2011) added universities and colleges to the first typology as another type of key actor that helps integrate immigrants. They underline that CÉGEPs (in the province of Québec) and universities are playing a growing role toward newcomers. CÉGEPs, for instance, are of increasing interest to newcomers since they offer professional courses making the integration of the job market easier. Universities have also created courses and services adapted to the reality of both international students and immigrants. Likewise, a study shows that the geographical proximity of a CÉGEP, university or professional school increases significantly the retention of newcomers. The corollary is that families in which a member returns to school have more chance of remaining in the city or regions where they first settled (Centre Metropolis du Québec, 2009).

Lastly, Germain and Trihn (in Biles et al., 2011) report that private businesses also play a role in this very complex framework. Businesses can attract foreign workers to supply their workforce. The authors explain that this raises questions about governance. Businesses can change the local dynamic, replacing collaboration with competition among themselves. Not surprisingly, many authors have underlined the challenge that the coordination of these actors represents (Biles et al., 2008; Biles et al., 2011). Their typology is reproduced below.

²⁸ These terms can be translated as Accompaniment and Support to Integration Program.

²⁹ These terms can be translated as Support Program for Welcoming Communities.

Table 3.2 - Typology of local organizations involved in the settlement and integration of immigrants

Type of organizations	Description or example
Service Provider Organizations (SPOs)	SPOs work in one of the areas that are prioritized by the federal government which provides funding. These organizations can be not-for-profit, non-governmental, community groups, educational institutions, individuals, or other levels of government (provincial or municipal).
Multicultural organizations	The Canadian Ethnocultural Council's Board
Issue-based organizations	The Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF)
Universal organizations	The United Way
Private organizations	Chamber of Commerce of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC)
Universities and colleges	
Private businesses	

Reproduced from Biles et al., 2011,

In sum, a summary of the key stakeholders at play in the settlement and integration of immigrants is presented in Annex III.

3.4 The compelling example of the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement and Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs)

The case of the COIA is particularly relevant here because of its trilateral nature involving municipalities directly. It is the first agreement involving and detailing the roles of municipalities and communities. Therefore, the COIA plans multilevel governance institutional arrangements. This agreement devolves the responsibilities of reception and integration services to the province in exchange for annual funding from the federal government (Seidle, 2010; COIA, 2017). The signature of the COIA includes a significant increase of funding coming from IRCC for the integration immigration settlement (from \$50M in 2005-2006 to \$320M in 2009-2010) (Seidle, 2010) Originally signed in 2017, the agreement was renewed in 2017 (COIA, 2017).

As opposed to Québec, Ontario does not have the responsibility to choose its immigrants. For Seidle (2010), Ontario, like other provinces, has always refused to play such a role, arguing that the federal government should continue to be responsible in the nation-building (Seidle, 2010). However, for Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery (in Tolley and

Young, 2011), this causes a disconnect between the powerful role of the federal government and the realities and needs of the communities of Ontario. Nonetheless, the province has implemented the Provincial and Territorial Nominee Programs (PTNPS) since it exists elsewhere, and has created the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program, under which foreign workers, international students and entrepreneurs can apply (Government of Ontario, 2022). For Seidle (2010), the COIA led to the improvement of programs aiming at integrating immigrants, as well as a “growth and professionalization of the settlement sector” (p. 11), as reported by the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI).

The COIA recognizes and orchestrates the involvement of municipalities in the immigration sector. In fact, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario (AMO) has been a signatory of a Memorandum of Understanding in the COIA since 2005 (see Annex D of the COIA, 2017). In 2006, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was also signed with the City of Toronto, and since then the city represents its own interest (Biles et al., 2008; COIA, 2017). The COIA plans the creation of the Municipal Immigration Committee, involving representatives of all three orders of government (including representatives of AMO and the City of Toronto in order to represent the interests of local governments). The mandate of the committee is to “explore immigration issues and identify opportunities to address these issues.” (COIA, 2017) Moreover, municipalities in this province have further responsibilities in public health and social services (compared to Québec for instance), adding to their importance in the role they often play toward immigrants (Biles et al., 2011).

Local Initiative Partnerships (LIPs)

In addition, the COIA has led to the creation of LIPs, an initiative bringing together representatives of all three orders of government, representatives of ethnocultural minorities, service provider organizations (SPOs), and other local organizations devolved to help immigrants settle in and integrate local communities. In Toronto, the LIPs are organized at the neighborhood level, while outside of the city, they are organized at the municipal level (Biles et al., 2011). They are funded by the federal government and other local sources of funding (Walton-Roberts, 2019). The LIPs aim to provide strategic directions for the integration of immigrants as well as collaboration between local partners.

For Biles et al. (2011), it appears that there is a consensus that LIPs increase both accessibility and efficiency of settlement services.

LIPs were initially implemented in 2008 in Ontario, following the ratification of the COIA in 2005. As of 2021, 85 LIPs were occurring in across Canada (IRCC, 2021b). The idea was initiated by IRCC, according to the principles of multilevel governance. They are led by local organizations and bring together key stakeholders in a community to help attract and integrate newcomers. LIPs foster collaboration, policy innovation, therefore increasing efficiency in the delivery of services to immigrants. Evidence has demonstrated that LIPs enhance outcomes for both newcomers and receiving communities (Bradford and Andrew, 2010; 2011; Burstein et al., 2012; Burstein and Esses, 2012; CIC, 2014). Moreover, they allow Canada to remain a leader in approaching diversity as well as social sustainability on the international level (Bradford and Andrew, 2010; 2011).

The creation of LIPs in the COIA was an answer to increasing evidence that services to newcomers were not meeting their complex needs. Essential services were sometimes not available, sometimes duplicated, or not accessible to newcomers (Andrew and Bradford, 2010; 2011; CIC, 2010b), but many authors have underlined the growing interest from municipalities (Andrew and Bradford, 2010; 2011) and employers (Wiginton, 2011) for immigration. The LIPs were consequently created to enhance collaboration, complementarity of services and organizations, access to information, leadership at the local level as well as place-based policies (Walton-Roberts, 2019).

LIPs are very adaptive to the local context (Bradford and Andrew, 2011; Burstein et al., 2012; CIC, 2014; Walton-Roberts, 2019). For instance, evidence shows that LIPS in Toronto and outside of Toronto have different priorities. LIPs in Toronto tend to focus exclusively on integrating and retaining immigrants, while LIPs outside of Toronto also work to attract them (Kobayashi et al., 2012a; Kobayaski et al., 2012b). They have also been useful to the resettlement of refugees in the past years, such as for the Syrian refugees (Walton-Roberts, 2019). Regarding the resettlement of Syrian refugees, Walton-Roberts et al. (2019) find enabling conditions in different communities under which LIPs have become very effective: ‘‘place and local histories of community mobilization’’, ‘‘local embeddedness and leadership of the LIPs’’, and ‘‘intergovernmental and intersectoral relationships’’ (p. 353).

In addition, the actors that are either hosting the LIPs or taking part in them vary greatly depending on the local leadership and existing resources (CIC, 2014). CIC (2014) reports that LIPs are hosted by municipalities or regional administrations (45%), settlement agencies (29%), mainstream organizations (11%), economic development organizations (8%), or other types of organizations (8%). Other types of actors involved in the LIPs include, for instance, school boards, employer bodies, newcomers, health care providers, police services, francophone organizations, housing services, etc. (CIC, 2014) Evidence also demonstrates that the involvement of municipalities has a significant impact on the success of the LIPs (Burstein et al., 2012; Qayyum and Burstein, 2012).

Burstein et al. (2012) underline that LIPs' objectives have not been clearly stated in the COIA agreement. They, therefore, identify five key goals which they validated with IRCC before publication. In short, they mention that IRCC has an interest in enhancing the social, political, civic, and economic participation of newcomers from a long-term perspective. While this seems like the wider vision, they also recognize several other goals which should rather be associated with means. They state that IRCC seeks to "improv[e] planning and coordination to enhance service relevance and uptake"; "leverage[e] additional support to broaden programming and share costs"; and "promot[e] efficiency and reduc[e] duplication" (pp. 4-5). The authors also identify sub-goals that LIPs can pursue to meet those wider objectives.

To establish a LIP, local organizations must submit a proposal to IRCC which provides funding for the LIP. First, actors involved in the LIP proceed to a strategic evaluation of the resources, stakeholders, and services destined for the settlement and integration of immigrants. They come up with a strategic plan as well as an implementation plan (Wiginton, 2012). These plans are then adopted, and stakeholders work to their implementation (Bradford and Andrew, 2010; CIC, 2014). In that sense, the LIPs act as a steering committee; they leverage local knowledge, mobilize actors in the same direction and develop practices that suit the very local community. The LIP must also report punctually to IRCC. Bradford and Andrew (2010) call these steps a "community-driven strategic planning process" (p. 10) reflecting the place-based and bottom-up character of the LIPs.

The case of Toronto

The City of Toronto is at the forefront for the welcoming and integration of immigrants because of its impressive diversity (Siemiatycki, in Andrew et al., 2012). According to Siemiatycki, this is because 49.9% of Toronto's inhabitants are foreign-born (data from the census of 2006³⁰), and it is simply good politics to promise to take care and to actually take care of newcomers. This has also created leverage for the municipal government to increase its funding and authority from the provincial and federal governments. According to Siemiatycki (in Andrew et al., 2012), diversity has become the signature of Toronto, therefore allowing the city to enhance tourism and economic development.

Siemiatycki (in Andrew et al., 2012) describes the programs and policies put in place directly by the City. The municipal government has implemented a plethora of them in the sectors of education, public health, housing, libraries, policing services, and so on. Non-governmental organizations are also numerous, more than anywhere else in Canada, and work to enhance the experience of newcomers. Toronto has demonstrated leadership and has "championed the cause of immigrant integration." (p. 44.) In December 2021, the City of Toronto has launched its new Toronto Newcomer Strategy. Taking pride in its diversity, the City of Toronto expresses its role toward diversity in those terms: "[t]he City is committed to improving outcomes for newcomers through its role as a policy maker, service provider, employer, and buyer of goods and services. The City is also committed to convene, collaborate and advocate locally, regionally, provincially, federally, and internationally on newcomer issues." (City of Toronto, 2021, p. 7)

The Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) is an inspiring innovation led by the City of Toronto. Since 2002, TRIEC has been addressing employment issues among immigrants, particularly skilled immigrants who arrive in Toronto but ultimately complete low-skilled jobs. To this end, TRIEC works with employers and professionals to create inclusive workplaces for newcomers. Several programs aimed directly at immigrant professionals are also available. TRIEC secures its funding from the federal and provincial governments.

³⁰ In 2017, according to the last census, in the population of the City of Toronto, 52% identified as a visible minority, 47% were first-generation immigrants, 49% were Canadian-born and 3% were non-permanent residents (refugee claimants or temporary residents, for instance) (City of Toronto, 2019).

And other cities across Ontario

Outside of Toronto, many municipalities in Ontario have implemented LIPs to increase the collaboration between key actors in the settlement and integration of immigrants. The literature is rich in this field of research since researchers have documented local arrangements and successes. This section provides an overview of the literature on this matter.

Andrew et al. (2012) draw the portrait of some of these initiatives by revealing different outcomes depending on the city. This book is composed of various chapters all focusing on different cities in Ontario: Toronto, Ottawa, London, Kingston, Waterloo Region, St.-Catharines-Niagara, Peterborough, Windsor, Hamilton, Greater Sudbury, Guelph and Thunder Bay. These chapters review local arrangements in immigration based on a grid of analysis previously developed by other researchers (see next section).

For instance, in the chapter on the City of Ottawa, Andrew, Biles, and Tolley (2012) state that Ottawa has lacked political leadership, which therefore has created a deficit of coordination and gaps in some sectors of services dedicated to immigrants. At the time the chapter was written (2009), the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP) had just been put in place and the authors were hoping this would help meet the challenges faced by the city. As a matter of fact, Veronis (2019) has reviewed the work of OLIP with the settlement of Syrian refugees in 2015-2016. She finds that OLIP was very useful as a tool to ensure collaboration and partnerships benefitting the welcoming and integration of these newcomers. She writes: ‘[t]he case of Ottawa illustrates how, based on pre-existing networks and a culture of collaboration, intersectoral partnerships were built through the LIP as a local strategy to not only improve settlement service provision, but also strengthen the sector and even integrate and embed settlement within other key areas of immigrants’ lives.’ (p. 403) In other words, although it might have taken some time to ensure coordination, the OLIP today has been useful in promoting place-based policies and partnerships at the local level.

Looking at the resettlement of Syrian refugees, Cullen and Walton-Roberts (2019) specifically analyze the Waterloo Region Local Immigration Partnership (WRIP). They found that at that time the WRIP was an important part of the local effort to welcome and

integrate Syrian refugees and that it played a massive role in the positive outcomes that followed. However, local partners decided to create a ‘‘sister structure’’ (p.380) to the LIP, namely the Resettlement Steering Committee. This decision came partly because of the lack of capacity of WRIP to convince significant partners to join in the efforts of the LIP. The Resettlement Steering Committee was therefore a larger structure gathering all the actors directly involved in these specific efforts.

Likewise, Dam and Wayland (2019) looked at the Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council (HIPC), the LIP of Hamilton, and, more specifically, its action during the resettlements of Syrian refugees. The authors conclude that HIPC met with barriers when trying to play its role at that time. These barriers include the ‘‘competing interpretations of the role of LIP’’ (p. 360), reflecting on the role cities and community should play in order to enact place-based policies. The case of Hamilton also highlights its difficulty in gathering significant partners required to discuss the offer of services to refugees. In sum, the authors reiterate the importance of the LIP as a local organization aimed at enhancing policies designed by local stakeholders and for custom solutions and innovations.

Pero’s doctoral thesis (2017) assesses the LIPs in three small and mid-sized cities in Ontario: Guelph-Wellington, Kingston and Peterborough. She makes the argument that LIPs align with a neoliberal strategy, in the sense that it promotes the devolution of power to actors outside of the government. Her analysis leads her to conclude that LIPs have not fully met their promise to devolve more power to local communities, and she reports that the federal government is still very much involved in the decision-making process at the local level.

Cullen (2013) has dedicated his master’s dissertation to the evaluation of the LIP in Durham region. He reports on the important role of the LIP in the community, which has had the effect of both improving the state of governance and relations amongst stakeholders as well as increasing the attention to immigration and diversity issues.

3.5 Trends, policy innovation, and best practices

Institutional arrangements, like communities, are all unique. They also lead to different outcomes. Some innovations and practices are exportable, and this is why it is of

interest to study them. Research shows that immigrants, either in large or smaller cities, do not always access services (Sheilds et al., 2014), either because they are not aware of them (Lo et al., 2010, cited in Sheilds et al., 2014) or because they felt that they did not suit their needs (Lay and Hynie, 2010; cited in Sheilds et al., 2014). Also, immigrants' needs are multiplying and diversifying with time, making it harder for service providers to make their offer always suitable to all (Sheilds et al., 2014). Fortunately, evidence demonstrates that initiatives aiming to enhance collaboration between local key actors have some success. Such initiatives include LIPs initially developed in Ontario following the signature of the COIA in 2005. For Sheilds et al. (2014), 'place-based models for settlement (...) play an integral role in immigrant settlement and integration.' (p. 19)

This section provides an overview of actual considerations related to immigration: trends and best practices. Even though the largest cities, such as Toronto, sometimes seem to have figured out how to maximize immigrants' outcomes, their model is not exportable to smaller municipalities. As reported earlier, one size does not fit all. All governments must still work to find a suitable model for the integration of immigrants in smaller communities. This section therefore concludes this chapter with best practices identified so far, mostly drawing on the experience of large urban cores on which the rest of the thesis relies greatly.

Best practices in local arrangements

Good (2009) explores the role of municipalities in implementing multiculturalism policies. She focuses on the two areas of English-speaking Canada: Toronto and Vancouver. She finds that municipalities are "important sites of multicultural democratic citizenship." (p. 5.) However, there is the variable degree to which municipalities put in place policies to welcome immigrants by adapting their services to their needs and preferences (see Tate and Quesnel, 1995; Wallace and Frisken, 2000; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Poirier, 2003; Good, 2004, 2005, 2006; Graham et al., 2006). Municipal multiculturalism policies tend to follow nine policy types that she summarizes:

Municipalities may establish a separate unit of government to manage diversity and organizational change in response to immigration (...) These units then catalyze change

across all municipal departments by coordinating their efforts and by engaging with the community.

Municipal governments may provide grants to community organizations, offer in-kind support to community organizations (such as space and staff support), and research community needs.

Municipalities may develop employment equity initiatives to address systemic barriers within their organization, and they may also take steps to encourage the fair integration of immigrants and ethnocultural minorities into the private sector.

Municipalities may develop an immigrant settlement policy that explicitly acknowledges their role in managing immigration through their multiculturalism policy initiatives.

Municipalities may increase their political inclusiveness by establishing mechanisms whereby immigrant and ethnocultural-minority preferences enter council deliberations on policy matters. (...)

Municipalities may make efforts to increase their access and equity in service delivery through translation and interpretation, culturally sensitive services, or a communications strategy.

Municipalities may develop anti-racism initiatives, including efforts to improve intercultural relations, combat racism, and eliminate hate activities.

Municipalities may create an inclusive municipal image by establishing inclusive symbols and using inclusive language in key municipal documents.

Municipalities may support multicultural festivals and events. (Good, 2009, p. 53-54)

Accordingly, Biles et al. (2011) highlight the key role municipalities play regarding employment and economic development. For immigrants, municipalities “may provide referral services, training in resumé and interview preparation, or support for internships or direct placement employment services.” (p. 228.) It is also noted that municipalities often bridge with the private sector (such as through chambers of commerce) to support the economic integration of immigrants. Moreover, school boards can also be proactive in integrating immigrants. For instance, many Ontarian schools have hired a multicultural

liaison officer to strengthen the relationship between the school, parents, and students from newcomer families (Biles et al., 2008).

In addition, Good concludes that a municipality with a greater ethnocultural background would be more likely to be more responsive to changes in the ethnocultural composition of its population than a municipality with a more homogenous population. She explains that, first, “the collective action problem is more easily overcome in bifurcated municipalities.” (p. 281). Second, a community backlash is more likely to happen in a homogenous population. In addition, she also argues that “the distribution of resources within the municipality and among ethnic groups” (p. 282) matters for the long-term peace and ethnic configuration of the city. The superior orders of government and their policy decisions also impact the distribution of resources as well as the “incentives for mobilization” (p. 283).

To conclude, Andrew et al. (2012) offer this typology to assess the local effort and outcome to welcome newcomers. This typology bridges findings from previous scholars (see Good, 2009; Agrawal et al., 2009; and Esses et al., 2010), who have all worked to identify the innovative practices that lead to better outcomes for newcomers and communities. The following table is reproduced from Biles et al. (2011) and summarizes the framework that they devise.

Table 3.3 - Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity

Municipal approaches			
	<i>Range of approaches</i>		
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Community responses			
	<i>Range of responses</i>		
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent

Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

Reproduced from Biles et al., 2011, p.322

3.6 Conclusion

Immigration is a research area that has been largely explored in the past decades. After delving into the role of municipalities and other local actors in the settlement and integration of immigration, I noted however that we are far from reaching a point of saturation where additional research would have very little added value. A lot of research has been conducted under the federal funding of the Metropolis project. Since that funding has come to an end, research has decreased. Social, political, economic, and legal conditions related to immigration change quickly and bring new questions into the public sphere. In this last section, I therefore review some of the questions that remain to be investigated. I include some of the questions previously asked by other scholars and add some of my own questions.

One key issue for the success of the settlement and integration system is its coherence (Biles et al., 2011). A multilevel governance framework (see Chapter 2) is indeed very complex. The best way to overcome this challenge is to make sure all actors involved work together. Initiatives such as LIPs do help enhance the coherence between the actors and the services they offer. I also find that municipalities are in a position to become leaders, and some of them are already, which has the effect of increasing the outcomes both for newcomers and for the rest of the community. Best practices remain to be created.

Accountability is another key issue in the current multilevel governance system involving all three orders of government and non-governmental stakeholders. A report from a workshop hosted by CIC (2010a) mentions that the division of power and each stakeholder's responsibilities must be clearly stated. This facilitates accountability, which can become complex in a multilevel governance setting. For some, the share of responsibilities is clear between the federal government and the provinces, but not as much between the provinces and the municipalities (Poirier, in Lacasse and Palard, 2010). For others, all responsibilities as well as accountability principles must be clarified (CIC, 2010a). Moreover, accountability refers to the evaluation of outcomes. The evaluation of programs aimed at newcomers is certainly a challenge due to the long-term effect and the diversity of programs and policies that attempt to support them (Biles et al., 2008; Biles et al., 2011; Germain and Trinh, in Biles et al., 2011). Adding on to that difficulty, the level of financial information made available varies depending on the actors (federal governments, other governments, and non-governmental actors).

Furthermore, Shields et al. (2014) recommend investigating further the settlement needs of all types of immigrants. He mentions that temporary migrants such as international students, foreign workers, but also longer-term migrants including refugees, migrant workers (economic category) and others have different needs. Likewise, Milner (2016) indicates that more research is needed to differentiate between the types of refugees: Government-Assisted Refugees and Privately-Sponsored Refugees. For Duncan (2017), they seem to arrive in very distinct contexts, therefore having different needs and outcomes. Understanding the settlement needs of the different types of migrants has important policy implications. Local institutional arrangements should be able to answer migrants' needs. All types of migrants are not distributed equally on the Canadian territory, suggesting that the offer of services should be customized with the geography, depending on the rural or urban aspect of the communities.

Wiginton (2012) also raises the question of how small rural communities should be supported to welcome immigrants. The bulk of research on the role of municipalities and communities in immigration has focused on urban regions, neglecting rural municipalities. As their interest in immigration is growing, understanding what resources they need and in what capacity is crucial. Wiginton says:

[t]his calls into question the decreasing role of higher orders of government in funding and supporting immigration processes. Though local actors may be best placed to facilitate regionalized immigration, and to craft local settlements and welcoming strategies, the continued financial and institutional support of the other orders of government, as well as of the employers who benefit from these processes, is vital. (p. 94)

Fourot (2015) suggests a few areas of research that have remained unexplored. She writes that some “comparative designs” are missing for suburban cities. She believes too little is known about how local public policies change over time. Lastly, she thinks international comparisons on how immigrants are welcomed at the local level are promising areas for future research.

Moreover, Fourot believes public policies might reflect local context and recommends this should be examined in the future. She writes: “we are still missing research that explores whether local attitudes toward immigration shape local policies. Reciprocally, while we know that geographical, socio-economic, political or demographic factors influence attitudes, we do not know if local public policies shape the attitudes of their inhabitants.” (p. 429) Likewise, Andrew and Abdourhamane Hima (in Tolley and Young, 2011) also mention that it is worth understanding who influences public policies at the federal level or within local communities. They write: [W]ho is influencing the direction of federal policy, who plays a central role, and who has little or no influence over policies is an important social and political question. (...) Or one could look inside immigrant communities and try to understand who within these communities has more influence and why. Another perspective would be to look across Canadian society and ask who influences settlement policies: Is it economic actors, social actors, or political actors? (p. 49)

Several other research areas remain to be investigated, but one that requires much attention is how cities welcome immigrants in the province of Québec in recent years. There have been significant changes in the legal framework recently and more responsibilities have been devolved to municipalities. Fourot (2015) had also underlined the lack of literature in this field. The rest of the thesis will therefore focus on this research gap.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

After detailing the theoretical foundations and presenting the state of the literature allowing a better understanding of the role of cities in terms of immigration, this chapter presents the methodology used in this research. This methodology was designed to answer the research question. It is original for the province of Québec, but inspired by the work of others in neighboring provinces. This methodology was designed to fill certain research gaps that exist in the literature on the case of Québec and to take advantage of the available data, in particular those to which the researcher has privileged access.

This chapter is structured as follows. I first present the research design best adapted to expose the choice of a qualitative research based on the comparison of several cases documented by several sources of data. The choice of employing inductive and exploratory approaches is then justified. This section also discusses the role of the researcher, particularly with regard to the role that I played in the first case study, as well as the Covid-19 pandemic which affected the course of this research. The section that follows then presents the research methods. The research is conducted through two case studies. The first, the case of Gatineau, is carried out in the form of an ethnography, a method less used - in particular because it is demanding - but no less recommended in the field of public policy. The second case study, on Québec City, is conducted using a traditional case study method. Then, the last section of the chapter concerns data collection. It details the nature of the data used, their collection for each case study, including the recruitment of participants, and the recording process. Finally, the last section discusses data analysis. The data processing, including coding, analyzing, interpreting and validating are presented. I conclude on a discussion of confidentiality and storage of data.

4.1 Research design

This research relies on a qualitative methodology as it allows the researcher to gather the information required to answer the research questions pertaining to documenting institutional arrangements on how local communities welcome and integrate newcomers.

Institutional arrangements are here understood as the set of rules and programs, the actors and their powers, as well as the coordination mechanisms between them. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), “qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.” (p.3) Creswell (2013) adds to those criteria. According to him, qualitative methodology is better used in context of exploratory research, where the final objective is to give a say to actors and develop theories that could be partial or inadequate. For him, it typically combines multiple methods, as well as inductive and deductive logic. Qualitative research, he mentions, is also an iterative process of learning, where the researcher follows a movement of back and forth between the problem formulation, the data available and the analysis.

The main focus of this research are the local institutions, understood as rules, policies, organizations, in addition to the mechanisms that bind them together. A qualitative research approach is necessary in order to document the structures, policies and processes at the local level, as well as evaluating them. This research tackles a complex situation and qualitative research is better suited to report the unicity of a situation, actors and the links between them. Besides, qualitative research allows a researcher to define and contrast each of the case studies when focusing on cities. Social, political and historical elements too add to the complexity of the phenomenon by influencing the situation and institutions being observed.

The design of the research needs to reflect the explorative aspect of the research. As very little has been written on this topic in Québec, it is useful to start with a description of local actors, the links between them, and to then voice local realities, challenges and successes. The research accommodates for this complexity while relying on the choices and assumptions made by the researcher in order to interpret and explain the findings. In so doing, the thesis aims to contribute to further knowledge of local communities, and inform better policies for the future. In this sense, a qualitative methodology fits the perspective to identify the changes that can be made to improve the outcomes.

Qualitative research takes place in natural settings (Creswell, 2003). The field of the researcher is where the participants are, either at their home or their office for instance. This allows the researcher to collect more details, which are taken into account in the

analysis. Besides, according to McNabb (2018), the qualitative researcher must often engage with participants by interacting with them. For him, this is a key difference with quantitative researcher that have more distance and objectivity toward participants. For McNabb (2018), in qualitative researcher, “[r]esearcher record not only what they see but also their interpretations of the meaning inherent in the interactions that take place in the groups.” (p.267) For the case study conducted in Québec City, participants are observed in their naturel settings for a small amount of time, namely for the duration of the interview. However, in Gatineau, as I am the researcher as well as an active member, my community involvement and observation lasted for about four years prior to the defense of the thesis.

This research also relies on multiple sources of data in order to better inform the subject and triangulate the data collected. According to Flick (1999, cited in McNabb, 2018) and Creswell and Creswell (2018), qualitative research often implies multiple approach and methods. The methods of data collection are document analysis, interviewing and, in the case of Gatineau, my active participation. By level of intrusion, document analysis has the lower level, then participation, and interviewing has the higher level of intrusion (McNabb, 2018).

This thesis uses an inductive approach to data analysis. This type of approach involves working back and forth between the theory and the data collected in order to create new meanings and knowledge. According to Lee (1999, cited in McNabb, 2018) an inductive approach is also typical of a qualitative research. This approach to data analysis is coherent with the post-positivist approach undertaken in this research that is discussed further down (see Riccucci, 2010, p.47-48).

The research follows an exploratory research design. Exploratory research designs generally focus on a small sample but document each case in depth. As part of the post-positivist tradition, this type of research aims to create meaning from what is observed in a purpose of theory building. According to White (1999, cited in McNabb, 2018): [e]xplanatory research strives to build theories that explain and predict natural and social events. Theory building requires the development of a collection of related and testable law-like statements that express causal relationships among relevant variables. The ultimate goal of explanatory research is the control of natural and social events.” (p.95)

In sum, this qualitative research approach defined above is coherent with the goals of exploring two case studies in order to describe and evaluate local arrangements in immigration. Those cases studies are to be understood in their natural settings with a different implication of the researcher (discussed below in the methods used), but with a certain level of intrusion in those natural arrangements. A movement of back and forth between the existing theories in immigration and multilevel governance as well as the database was to be anticipated in order to complete the analysis. Following this approach, policy recommendations are made to local actors and governments in order to increase outcomes of immigration for both the welcoming communities and newcomers (see Conclusion of the thesis.)

Role of the researcher

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), in qualitative research, researchers are key instrument to data collection and analysis. Because of their own beliefs, experiences, researcher have a certain level of privilege that shapes the way they understand, analyze and communicate certain phenomenon. Qualitative research is interpretative. This section reflects on my past experiences, how they impact my views and analysis and how I mitigated this.

As the main “data collection instrument” (Creswell and Creswell, 2018, p.205), I find myself not having a view free of bias toward the topic, and particularly regarding the first case study conducted in Gatineau. My interest for the role of cities in immigration predates my election as municipal councilor in November 2017. As a matter of fact, since May 2017, I had been a member of the board of directors in the not-for-profit organization, *Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l’Outaouais (AFIO)*,³¹ working for the full integration for women immigrants in my community. Since my election in Fall 2017, because I was showing interest towards this field, both in the academic field and in my personal life, I was granted the responsibility of immigration and integration by the mayor and the municipal council. Because of that, I worked closely with community organizations involved in immigration, public servants from all levels in the administration and the

³¹ These terms can be translated as *Accompaniment of Women Immigrants of Outaouais*.

mayor's cabinet members. I actively participated in the planning and creation of the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*, the *Table of concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* as well as its plan of action. I was also nominated to the advisory committee of the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities from the Canadian Commission of UNESCO, a group documenting, sharing best practices and supporting local communities for the integration of a diversity of people (immigrants, LGBTQ+, women, etc.) across communities in Canada. From time to time, I am also requested to speak on the topic, either in public forums (on *Radio-Canada* or at the Urban Lab of the National Capital Commission, for instance) or during academic events (Metropolis and ACFAS).

The experiences and perspectives I got from these past experiences have greatly broadened my knowledge and awareness to those issues. My first contact with the topic has been through the scientific literature, which has been my main influence in my actions throughout the years. I have frequently referred to the scientific literature in my professional activities, finding myself cycling back and forth between the academic field and professional activities.

But my experience as a practitioner, both as a volunteer on the Board of directors of *AFIO* and a municipal councilor, has offered me the occasion to meet people directly concerned with migration and become empathic to their situations: immigrants and refugees, active members of my community devoted to the well-being of newcomers and deeply concerned with issues of living together, public servants from all orders of governments. I have become familiar with issues faced by immigrants, the path they take when they arrive here, and have put faces on those situations of hardship, which had been initially only theoretical to me. I have witnessed issues of housing, where large immigrant families have no place to live and afford, or live in inadequate units. I have met people striving to find a job and becoming familiar with the job market as well as its challenges. I have met too many women abused by their husbands, and finding themselves not knowing how to raise their kids because the education principles accepted here are different from the ones where they migrated from. I have met so many successful immigrants for which the house in the suburb for their whole family has been made possible with the solidarity of their community. I have become familiar with the Muslim community in my city, from times to times sharing tea and mostly profound affection with its leaders. I have become

empathic of this community sometimes affected by racism and xenophobia, but always reaching out to increase awareness, knowledge of each other and eventually friendship among the community and despite their roots. Those situations have deepened my understanding of the challenges faced by immigrants, the response of the welcoming community, as well as public policies and possible political reactions to them. Even though this perspective has its bias, I believe it is rich and broad. I am convinced that this perspective enhances my contribution to the field and outweighs the limitations of this approach.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations must be addressed because of the role I played in Gatineau, namely as both a researcher and a municipal councilor. Despite my personal connection to the city, this case study is worth being delved into for two main reasons. The first one is that Gatineau has a long history in immigration and is leading by example. The recent initiatives we have put in place only makes it more relevant as many best practices are implemented and other cities in Québec are looking at Gatineau or this reason (see URBA, 2018). The second reason is that because of my position as municipal councilor, I have privileged access to pertinent information and key actors, therefore creating a very rich case study. Besides, this field of research has been very little studied in Québec, making it more relevant to explore this topic.

Connections between the participants and researcher may influence the researcher's analysis. Glesne and Peshkin (1992), discuss “backyard” research as a researcher who studies the organization in which they are directly involved, as well as their workplace and friends. According to these authors, research in that kind of setting may compromise the ability of the researcher to diffuse information. They raise the issue that there might be an “imbalance of power” between the researcher and participants, leading to situation where the information that the participants provide by the researcher might not be accurate. They underline the importance of explaining how the data and the participants (including the researcher) will not be compromised. They encourage validation mechanisms to be used in order to corroborate the accuracy of the findings.

As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) report, there are two kinds of risks inherent to this type of research. The first one concerns the quality of information that I report and the second is the imbalance of power between the researcher and participants. As a municipal councilor, I was in a position of power toward public servants and community organizations. The power I hold was of course limited and depends on whether people who surround me trust me. But there might be a perception by participants that I could have influenced positively or negatively decisions impacting them. Therefore, participants in the study could have been tempted to share information that would shed light mostly on positive aspects, and retain criticisms. They could have emphasized information that serve them well, and limit that information that they would think is not helping them. This could have created a distortion in my perception of the situation, and limit the accuracy of the findings.

To mitigate those risks, a few strategies were used. First, it was important to be upfront with participants and make sure they understood the research purposes. A meeting was initiated upstream with participants to explain to them my role as a researcher (participating researcher), my research questions and protocol, my methods, and to answer all the questions they had (see Creswell, and Creswell, 2018, p.188). This meeting was the occasion to explain the two hats that I had and clarify my intentions toward my research project. I emphasized that I was looking for their views in my research project, in order to document what we were going through, improve its outcomes and report on best practices. I was clear that we could disagree in our views and that the goal was to highlight both positive and negative aspects of the situation. I prepared a short information sheet to be distributed during this meeting with this information as a reminder. Some participants were asked to give an interview, but emphasis has been put that they could refuse to give if I asked them to. Once the participants agreed to be interviewed, they were told they could change their mind and withdraw from the study until a certain date (until October 1st, 2020). If that had been the case, data would have been destroyed and not used in the analysis and diffusion of findings. However, this situation did not arise. The consent form handed to and signed by the participants before the interviews reflect those principles. I have also made sure to remain open-minded to comments, questions and worries that the participants could have during data gathering lasted and to keep participants updated on the research process.

The research project also seeks to map out actors as well as coordination and communication mechanisms. It does not focus on individuals, their opinions, or the actual work carried out by community organizations. The desired level of analysis concerns the institutional arrangements and how they welcome and integrate newcomers. This also reduces the risk of reporting information that could potentially be inaccurate. In addition, in order to validate the accuracy of the information I triangulated the data by using different methods, being observation, document analysis and interviews. Postpositivist researchers value the importance of triangulation by relying on varied methods, sometimes qualitative and quantitative, in order to increase the validity of the findings (Guba, 1990; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Lee, 2006).

Moreover, while this methodology has never been applied to this specific context, many researchers have been involved in the creation and activities of Local immigration partnerships (LIPs) in Ontario, which are the local institutions by which we have been inspired to implement the table of coordination in Gatineau. For example, Caroline Andrew, an active researcher in this field, has chaired the LIP in Ottawa for many years. Many publications have followed the implication of researchers in those settings and no risk or ethical problems have been reported to our knowledge. This type of work, common and valued in my field of research, is often called “pracademic” where researcher are also practitioner (see Posner 2009). Pracademics can serve to bridge the worlds of practice and academia (Volpe and Chandler, 2001).

In addition, it has been noted that researchers studying public administration should report more often what is happening on the field, namely by conducting ethnographies (Grimmelkhuijsen et al., 2017). In public administration, ethnographies have served to investigate three main sub-sectors: policy elites (see for instance Rhodes 2011; Gains 2011), public services management (see Huby et al., 2011) as well as power and politics (see Yanow, 2011) (Cappellaro, 2017). In fact, my research is at the crossroads of those three sectors, making it natural and coherent to select this method to conduct research. Notable scientific contributions have been made in this field of research through ethnographies (see below).

The discipline of public administration presents an array of research ontologies and methods, some of them admitting a perspective “from the inside” and therefore a certain

subjectivity from the researcher. In a book dedicated on the theory of knowledge in public administration, Riccucci (2010) underlines: “the importance of heterogeneity in epistemic traditions, and in general to deepen the field’s understanding and acceptance of its epistemological scope.”(p.3) He adds that: “[t]he field would be more consonant with the recognition that knowledge is derived from impressions on both the intellect and the senses.” (p.3) Likewise, for Dempster (1998), “[p]lural perspectives offer the potential for strong contributions to research” (cited in Riccucci, 2010, p.51).

Besides, ethnography is a method in which the researcher, when gathering the data, is always a participant (McNabb, 2002; Riccucci, 2010). According to McNabb (2018), ethnographers immerse themselves in the group they are observing where they “often live, work and play for a long period of time with the members” (p.274). Thus, according to Kornblum (1996, cited in McNabb, 2013) it is not unusual that researchers develop a loyalty to the people they meet for their research that become more important than their initial connections.

The particularity of this approach is the immersion of the researcher in the day-to-day activities of the group. In this context, the researcher is in a favorable position for direct observation, direct access to all internal and official documents, identification of key participants, conducting interviews, and creating a narrative around this culture-sharing group. Moreover, critical ethnography relies on an “advocacy perspective” where the author seeks to achieve a better emancipation of a marginalized group (Thomas, 1993). For Carspecken and Apple (1992) researchers using this method are “typically (...) politically minded individuals who seek, through their research, to speak out against inequality and domination” (reported in Creswell, 2007, p.70). This perspective is a call for change. According to this approach, the researcher is not external to the research and is biased by their direct involvement in the project. However, this bias is superseded by the value and interest that this perspective represents for research purpose. Furthermore, the approach underling this research assumes that no objective reality exists and aims at providing a better understanding of a situation from one’s perspective (see also Creswell, 2003, p. 9-10).

Regarding the participants of both cases studies, ethical risks related to anonymity and confidentiality are also considered. Because the local networks in which case studies

are conducted are quite small and close-knit, there is a slight, although unlikely, risk that participants could be identified after the diffusion of results. To mitigate this risk, I have protected the anonymity of participants, by referring to three categories of participants: representatives of the provincial government, representative of the city and representative of community organizations. The participants who were interviewed were asked to validate and agree with the quotes that I extracted from the interviews. They could also refuse to be cited. The consent form also reflects these principles. As for data storage, they will be preserved on the researcher personal computer for five years and protected by a password. They can only be accessed by the researcher, as well as by the thesis supervisor and members of the Carleton University board of ethics, which is in conformity with the university's policies regarding confidentiality of data. All data will be destroyed after five years (APA, 2010).

In sum, qualitative research is interpretative and is therefore never free of bias. However, I acknowledge my subjectivity regarding my research object, more specifically in the case study of Gatineau. In fact, as part of my mandate as an advisor, I have worked closely with community stakeholders to set up the Round Table on Living Together and Immigration, as well as helping define and implement action plans. I was as involved in this initiative as the actors around me. Later, ahead of the November 2021 election, I became a political party leader and a candidate for mayor. I have defended the city's record in this area during the municipal electoral campaign.

In the context of my observation in the field, as well as during the interviews, I noticed that the actors whom I met did not hesitate to tell me about the limits of the model and to criticize our initiative. I saw this as a sign of trust on their part. I have therefore tried, within the framework of my thesis, to reflect certain dualities and limits of our actions. Thus, I do not believe that my subjectivity is linked to the influence I may have had on local actors (my being in a position of authority), as much as to the little distance I had from the actions taken by the city during my mandate as well as this research.

In order to mitigate the consequences of this subjectivity, certain measures have been put in place: the data sources are multiple and have been triangulated. In addition, the second case study also makes it possible to identify trends and confirm those observed in the first case study in Gatineau, particularly with regard to the role of the MIFI. The

complete transparency in which this research was conducted (especially vis-à-vis the participants and my pracademic position), as well as in the disclosure of the results obtained, is also another mitigation measure. This research process has been conducted with transparency toward close collaborators, as well as respect of their rights, interests and wishes (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

Nevertheless, the perspective that I bring is very rich as I have access to information and informants easily. This ethnography of Gatineau, the second case study on Québec City, as well as the theory on which this thesis relies will deepen our understanding of how local communities tackle immigration and diversity at the local level in Québec, a topic that remains almost undocumented in that province. As a researcher, I trust that my very unique perspective, providing me with a privileged access to a sub-culture group, leaders, policy-makers and information of all natures, justifies the inclusion in my thesis of a chapter on the specific initiative of Gatineau.

On those grounds, Carleton University Ethic Board A has delivered authorization to gather data through a Certification of institutional ethics clearance for the research project number 112722 on May 15th 2020, which can be found in Annex IV.

Case study research and sample credentials

The mode of inquiry of this research is case study research. To that end, two cases studies are delved in this research, the first one with an ethnographic method, and the second with a case study method³². Multiple case studies about particular communities are selected by the researcher to inform the broader situation that we seek to explore, document and analyze. Choosing multiple case studies allows to increase the chance to conduct better research (Yin, 2018). By doing direct replication, the conclusion is also likely to be more powerful, and less vulnerable to criticism (Yin, 2018). In fact, according to Yin (2018) ‘‘having at least two case studies should be your goal.’’ (p.62) Based on the final results, as well as groundwork developed by previous authors, both empirical findings and theoretical contributions are established. Yin (2018) explains the interest of case studies

³² According to Yin (2018), there has been a need to clarify the two concepts, case study research as a mode of inquiry and case study as a method, as they are the first one is sometimes misinterpreted. Case study research must be understood in a broader sense, and case study method can be used (but not exclusively) to detail case study research (see Yin, 2018, p.xx and following.)

leading to generalization: “[r]ather than thinking about (...) case(s) as a sample, [one] should think of (...) case study as the opportunity to shed empirical light on some theoretical concepts or principles.” (p. 38)

The cities on which the focus is placed on are Québec City and Gatineau. Immigration is typically a phenomenon concentrated in larger cities, but Montréal and its suburbs (including Laval and Longueuil) have been excluded from this research since its reality is unique among the largest cities in Québec and have already been documented. However, other large cities have not been subject to as much (and recent) research in this field. These case studies also better inform the general situation in the province of Québec because Montréal remains a very unique and different case with its own institutions (largest proportions of immigrants by far, own responsibilities granted by law, history and organizations). Québec City and Gatineau are the next largest cities in terms of inhabitants. They all have their own history with immigration. Québec City is known for a population not very diversified and has been the first city to seek out immigration to deal with the labor shortage afflicting its employers. Gatineau has a more diversified population, and longer history engaging with immigration, namely as a founding member of the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities from the Canadian Commission of the UNESCO.

Table 4.1 summarizes and compares elements of the five largest cities in Québec as they relate to the choice of the two cases studies. This table includes the total population (size), the information regarding an agreement with the provincial government in immigration, as well as known mechanisms of coordination at the local level.

Table 4.1 - Most populated cities in Québec and official immigration structures

City	Total population (source: Canadian census of 2016)	Agreement on immigration with the provincial government	Table of coordination or official coordination mechanism
Montréal	1,754,694 inhabitants	Yes (1999) Source: Rimok and Rouzier, in Biles et al., 2008; Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011	Montréal has had few institutions and mechanisms dedicated to immigration through the last 30 years. The <i>Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants (BINAM)</i> now plays a central role in coordination all efforts in immigration.
Québec City	531,902 inhabitants	Yes (2000) Source: Desmarais, in Lacasse et Palard, 2010; Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011	The City leads the <i>Réseau de coordination des services en immigration</i> . There is also the <i>Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale</i> which is community-led.
Laval	422,993 inhabitants	Yes. The last agreement came into force on April 1 st 2021 (<i>MIFI</i> , 2021b).	According to the website of the City of Laval, there are two mechanisms of coordination on their territory: the <i>Table régionale en immigration, diversité Culturelle et inclusion de Laval (TRIDIL)</i> and the <i>Comité terrain pour l'accueil et l'intégration des personnes immigrantes et réfugiées à Laval</i> (Ville de Laval, 2022).
Gatineau	276,245 inhabitants	Yes (2007) Source : Germain and Trihn, in Biles et al., 2011	Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble (official since 2019).
Longueuil	239,700 inhabitants	Information unavailable.	Information unavailable.

Québec City is the second pole of immigration in Québec, while Gatineau is the third. In other words, they receive the most immigrants outside the metropolis of Montréal. Also, Gatineau has a more important proportion of immigrants per capita than Québec City. This might be because Gatineau seems to attract more interregional immigrants. As a matter of fact, data show that between the census of 2011 and 2016, the Outaouais (of

which Gatineau is the largest city) attracted more immigrants than the Capitale-Nationale region (of which Québec City is the largest city). In fact, during those five years, the Outaouais region attracted 1 130 people, while the Capitale-Nationale region attracted 290 (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2020). It is interesting to mention that the Outaouais region is the place outside of Montréal that attracts the most immigrants (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2020).

Table 4.2 shows the total population, total population of immigrants as well as proportion of immigrants in the population. Data has been added regarding the Indigenous population, both in absolute numbers and in proportion, in order to demonstrate the diversity of the population.

Table 4.2 - Population and population of immigrants and Indigenous in the largest cities in Québec

Cities	Total population	Total population of immigrants ³³	Proportion of immigrants in the population (%)	Total population of Indigenous ³⁴³⁵	Proportion of Indigenous in the population (%)
Montréal	4,098,927	936,305	22.84	34,745	0.85
Québec City	705,103	42,365	6.01	11,515	1.63
Gatineau	276,245	33,860	12.26	10,420	3.77
Sherbrooke	139,565	11,885	8.52	2,425	1.74
Trois-Rivières	114,203	4,185	3.66	2,280	2.0

Source: Data from the Canadian census of 2016.

A word about the Covid-19 pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic that started in Canada at the end of winter 2020 and significantly influenced the advancement of the thesis both positively and negatively. The

³³ Source: (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2481017&Geo2=CD&Code2=2481&Data=Count&SearchText=Gatineau&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Immigration%20and%20citizenship&TABID=1>) (page consulted on April 30th 2018))

³⁴ Statistics Canada currently uses the word “Aboriginal” in their data set. In this thesis, the term “Indigenous” has been preferred and is used throughout, even when referring to data from Statistics Canada.

³⁵ Source: (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2481017&Geo2=CD&Code2=2481&Data=Count&SearchText=gatineau&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Aboriginal%20peoples&TABID=1>) (page consulted on April 30th 2018))

main positive aspect of the pandemic on the thesis was to create the occasion to write it down as the political life makes it hard to find the time and the mental readiness. Confined at home, and with the city's activities slowing down, it created the circumstances the advancement of the writing.

More importantly, the pandemic started during the data collection phase of this project and so the approach to it had to be adapted. It limited the occasions to observe on the field and meet in person with participants. In fact, the Carleton University ethic board even prohibited meetings during the pandemic. In Gatineau, the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* pursued its meetings virtually. The observation through this tool can be challenging and seemed, from experience, to limit the interactions between people and how much they talk. Also, observation and discussion through online platforms limit the data that the researcher can collect because it is harder to gather non-verbal information. At that time, I had luckily already been in the field for more than two years. However, all these elements did not prevent the research from continuing. As for interviews, in both Gatineau and Québec City, online interviews might have limited the level of information that was shared with me by interviewees. It might mostly be the case in Québec City where I had no previous relationship with participants that this challenge was probably felt the most: I presume that participants could have shared more if we had met in person. Nevertheless, although more data could have been gathered were it not for the constraints of the Covid-10 pandemic, I have been able to collect enough data to pursue this research and I am confident the quality of the results are not affected by this situation.

In sum, in order to document institutional arrangements in immigration in two mid-sized cities in Québec, the design of the research relies on qualitative methods and two cases studies, one conducted "from the inside" and being an ethnography. Those case studies are meant to be different: cities digging into immigration in two different contexts and for different reasons, with different backgrounds and actors. They have been chosen to inform how cities and communities deal with immigration and living together in Québec more generally. The research design is explorative and combines methods in order to deepen the analysis and triangulate the data collected. Some ethical considerations had to be addressed because of the double-hat the researcher is wearing in Gatineau, but I show

that the value of the research is significant and risks have been mitigated. The next sections document the choice of methods, data collection and data analysis.

4.2 Research methods

The focus of the research is on local communities. Actors and institutions are the units of analysis, mainly provincial and municipal government representatives and community organizations. The goal of this research is to portray the institutional arrangements in immigration of two cities. Research methods are designed to inform in detail how they organize themselves to welcome and integrate newcomers. The research relies on different methods and data collection tools: Gatineau is being analyzed through an ethnography, using document analysis, interviews, and observation in order to collect the data, while Québec City is rather presented as a case study using document analysis and interviews. The next section details the two methods selected, provides background information as well as the explanations of the choice of methods that has been made.

Ethnography

“As all knowledge is local (like all politics), in the sense that knowledge is a particular, ‘locatable’ way of framing reality with the help of a particular set of ideas and concepts, in the field an ethnographer can look for various species of local knowledge.”

-Van Hulst, 2008, p.151

The method used to report on the case of Gatineau is an ethnography. The goal of an ethnography is to “learn about culture-sharing behavior of individuals and groups” (Creswell, 2013, p.183). Furthermore, even though ethnography has initially been used in situations of isolated cultures or in foreign countries, today all realities are being considered through that lens, including those that begin “around the corner” (Flick, 1999, in McNabb, 2013). According to McNabb (2013), “[a]ll facets of urban life are now considered to be legitimate targets of ethnographic research for contributing to the establishment of public policy.” (p.358)

The distinctive feature of this approach is the immersion of the researcher in the day-to-day activities of the group. In this context, the researcher is in a favorable position for direct observation, direct access to all internal and official documents, identification of key participants, conducting interviews, and creating a narrative around this culture-sharing group. An ethnographic research design has the great advantage of creating a very complete portrait of a situation. For Pacheco-Vega (in Peters and Fontaine, 2020), ethnography assures to perform ‘in-depth coverage and analysis of policy issues that are often rendered invisible if we use other methods’ and adds that it is ‘[f]requently the only way to properly uncover thorny issues with public policy implications’ (p.308). According to Fraenkel and Wallen, 1990, cited in Creswell and Creswell, 2018), ‘[t]he ethnographic study includes in-depth interviewing and continual and ongoing participant observation of a situation (Jacob, 1987) and in attempting to capture the whole picture reveals how people describe and structure their world. Ethnographies imply that researchers report ‘thick description’ of how people act, but also including elements of context and an attempt to provide explanations and meanings (Geertz, 1973). In fact, the value of ethnographies also lies in its capacity to produce rich contextual background (Cappellaro, 2017; Pacheco-Vega, 2020). Cappellaro writes: ‘The value of producing local observational data over extended periods of time lies in the ability to systematically explore the subjective construction of meanings and their consequences at organizational and institutional levels.’ (Cappellaro, 2007, p.15, citing the work of Huby et al., 2011)

Ethnographies are the essence of an interpretivist perspective (Rhodes, 2016; Cappellaro, 2017), in which the epistemology assumes that no objective knowledge can be found. Knowledge and truth are relative and depend on individuals and cultures (Riccucci, 2010). For Van Hulst (2008), ethnographies aim to create a sense of a situation, also called ‘sense-making’ (see also Geertz, 1973; Yanow, 2000; Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2006, in Van Hulst, 2008). Interpretivists focusses on the meanings created by individuals, as well as their beliefs and preferences (Rhodes and Tiernan, 2015). The interpretivist philosophy of science challenges the institutionalist perspective according to which institutions shape actors’ behavior and creating understanding of political phenomena (Gains, 2011; cited in Cappellaro, 2017).

However, another perspective can also borrow from ethnographic methods: the naturalist perspective. The naturalist perspective is “concerned with the systematic mapping of phenomena to develop causal explanations” (Rhodes, 2016, p.172, cited in Cappellaro, 2017, p.35). Naturalist ethnographers treat ethnographies as a method to collect data (Bevir and Rhodes, 2015; Rhodes, 2016; Cappellaro, 2017). They rely on systematic data collection and, validation of the data processes, as well as prone a detached perspective from the researcher, including the use of the third person to write (Bevir and Rhodes, 2015; Rhodes and Tiernan, 2015). Both approaches to ethnographies assume that changes are endogenous to a network, that it comes from individuals, rather than from exogenous elements (such as institutions) (Rhodes, 2002).

Ethnographies have become pervasive in public administration because of their capacities to inform some phenomenon in detail (McNabb, 2013). Cappellaro (2017) conducted a systematic review of the literature in public management and observed an increase in the number of ethnographies conducted in the past years, although she related that this number remains relatively low. She noted that most ethnographies aim to analyze local governance situations. Van Hulst (2008) shares her perspective that local governance, and more particularly municipal governments, should be the focus of fieldwork through ethnography. Indeed, in ethnographies, data collection is usually a longer process compared to other methods used in social sciences. According to Cappellaro (2017), ethnographies are based on a six-month to two-year period of time, which could explain why there is still little that has been published currently. Another limitation of ethnographies is the lack of external and internal validity (Cappellaro, 2017; Pacheco-Vega, 2020) as well as difficulties in establishing generalizations (Pacheco-Vega, 2020).

Some authors have also argued that ethnographies are underutilized and should be conducted more often in order to strengthen the state of the discipline, namely because they have the potential to “become influential and remain memorable in the long run” (Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2017, p.9; see also Rhodes, 2002). As a matter of fact, some prominent researchers, including Mintzberg (1973) in *The Nature of Managerial Work*, have used ethnography. Another influential ethnography has been conducted by Festinger in the discipline of social psychology where he has infiltrated a cult. From this work arose the concept of cognitive dissonance (see Festinger, Riecken and Schachter, 1956). Among

others, Rhodes has investigated the governance of the British government (see for instance Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes, 2007; Rhodes, 2011; Rhodes and Tiernan, 2015) and Dahl has asked the question *Who Governs?* in his eponymous book surveying the distribution of real power in New Haven, (Connecticut, United States) through an ethnography (see Dahl, 2005). In addition, Renedo et al. (2015) have researched the United Kingdom healthcare system to show how organizations and patients can collaborate for a better quality of services. Poncelet (2011) has examined the impact of multistakeholder process of collaboration in the environmental sector. Moreover, ethnographies have enhanced the theorization of the work of street-level bureaucrats (Sandfort, 2000, cited in Cappellaro, 2017). According to Van Hulst (2008) and Pacheco-Vega (2020), ethnographies can be conducted at the national or sub-national levels, but are often conducted to understand local realities whether being at the municipal or community-led, as well as ‘‘cross-scalar’’ situations (Pacheco-Vega, 2020, p.316).

The purpose of an ethnography to illustrate the case of Gatineau

Conducting an ethnography in Gatineau was the most suitable data collection methodology for various reasons. First, this method allowed me to treat the collected information that I had in hand: as an insider, I had access to a lot of information, documents, and stakeholders, and I could also uncover the culture and internal elements allowing me to explain the policies and programs in place. As a matter of fact, because ethnographies are always conducted with researcher being an insider and even sometimes a participating element of the portrait, it also suited my position of municipal councilor and of researcher. This method was ideal to detail institutional arrangements. In that sense, although the researcher is not only an observer in the situation studied – but also a participant - this ethnography adopts an interpretivist perspective as explained in the previous section. According to McNabb, ‘‘ethnographic studies are carried out in the inner cities of modern societies, in suburban and rural settings in cross-cultural communities, and in large and small organizations; the purpose is to investigate the many ways that the social forces of culture and subculture impact people.’’ (2002, cited in Riccucci, 2010, p.70). Like other studies in this tradition, mine seeks to contribute to theory building in public policy.

Therefore, the focus of the research is explaining how Gatineau has come to the point of creating a *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* despite the lack external elements supporting those institutions. The research then seeks to define how this has impacted the delivery of services in the community, both for newcomers and for the welcoming community. In that sense, the approach undertaken in this ethnography is rather a naturalist one where I seek to reveal a phenomenon and find causal explanations to it. An ethnography highlights and values the approach undertaken by the City of Gatineau. It also allows me to share its experience as an inspiring one to foster other similar initiatives in communities across Québec, thus seeking to increase the services to immigrants and value diversity.

According to Wolcott (1994, in Creswell, 2007, p.193), there are three steps to follow when conducting an ethnography. The first one is description. The site of this description would be the City of Gatineau, its historical engagement toward immigration and diversity, and the ecosystem that exists and that is now coordinated by public officials. As an elected official directly involvement in this ecosystem, I was able to observe the work done by participants, to achieve a better welcoming community. At this stage in the research, a chronological list of events, identification of key events, and a story-telling through varied perspectives was undertaken. The second step, according to Wolcott (1994), is the analysis, including highlighting procedures and findings, identifying patterns, comparing the experience with a known case, contextualizing, etc. The third and final step is the interpretation of the culture-sharing group which is an extent of the analysis, where the researcher makes inferences, turns to theory, and connects their with other similar experiences.

To my knowledge, it is the first time that this type of research, with this grid of analysis as conducted through the use of an ethnography. Other researchers have documented the institutional arrangements in local communities, but with other research methods. Ethnographies have the advantage of revealing a lot of invaluable information for the researcher, including some that is not easily accessible. These elements include some that can be understood as elements of culture, which ethnographies are known to disclose. Conducting this case study with the ethnography method has permitted the research to understand the role that public officials, either public servants or elected

officials, play in the potential success of the initiative to enhance coordination among local stakeholders. In municipalities, elected officials, including the mayor, have little power over the public function compared to provincial or federal bureaucracies. The different reasons for this reality are explained in the Chapter 5 on Gatineau, and again in the Conclusion. Nevertheless, the concerted efforts of both elected officials and public servants are necessary to achieve successful institutional arrangements. This finding has allowed to expand the grid of analysis developed by previous authors to evaluate local arrangements related to immigration, and allows future researchers to better understand other case studies. Using ethnography for this type of research work is therefore advantageous because it discloses information that is otherwise hard to find.

Case study

The research method used for the case report of Québec City is a case study. Case studies are widely used method in public administration, first in the discipline of psychology and administrative sciences (McNabb, 2018), but is also used in sociology, business, social work, education, and many other disciplines (Yin, 2018). Case studies serve the purpose of research whose research questions start with “how” and “why” and therefore can either be exploratory, explanatory or simply descriptive. Case studies have the immense advantages of allowing to combine different data collection tools in order to develop a profound understanding of a situation. According to Yin (2018), “[t]he more that [...] questions seek to explain some contemporary circumstances (e.g. “how” or “why” some social phenomenon works), the more the case study research will be relevant. Case studies also are relevant the more that [...] questions require an extensive and “in-depth” description of some social phenomenon.” (p.4)

According to Creswell (2013), case studies seek to: “explore processes, activities, and events” (p.183). To that list, Yin (2018) adds that case studies seek to understand “individuals”, “organizations”, “programs”, “neighborhoods” and “institutions” (p. 14). For Schramm, case studies rather focus on “decisions”: “[t]he essence of case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result.” (1971, cited in Yin, 2018, p.14) For Yin (2018), case studies seek to understand a “real-world case” and relies on the assumptions that “such an understanding is likely to

involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case.” (p.15) To that end, case studies rely on theoretical grounds, and on multiple sources of data, often collected through different methods. This data is then triangulated in order to offer reliable findings (Yin, 2018). Case studies are often conducted in order to evaluate a situation (see Cronbach et al., 1980; Patton, 2015; Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007; U.S. Government Accountability Office, Yin, 2013, cited in Yin, 2018).

As for the epistemic tradition, case studies can be conducted through different perspectives related to the understanding of science and the creation of knowledge. According to Yin (2018), case studies can be situated under varied epistemological orientations, either relativist, interpretivist or realist. Therefore, this case study method is also coherent with the general approach to this research and its epistemological stance. Case studies are a common method used by interpretativists and contribute to theory-building in the public administration discipline (Ricucci, 2010).

Why is case study suitable for Québec City?

Case study is a suitable method for the unit of inquiry of a city as it answers research questions and uses data made available to that end. The goal of this research is to draw a full portrait of institutional arrangements, including the actors at play and their mechanisms of coordination. This information must be qualitative, and is not easily accessible. This information is detained by stakeholders who will therefore be directly involved in the data collection. This in-depth portrait leads to an evaluation of public policy as well as recommendations. The research is grounded in theories drawn from the literature in public policy and administration. The research has shown that multiple methods are useful to complete a case study, in this case document analysis and interviews, as both are complementary. Also, the interest of analyzing more than a case allows me to reach more solid conclusions and expand theory (Yin, 2018).

The variables examined in this case study are the different institutional actors involved in immigration in this city: community organizations delivering different services to newcomers (to facilitate their arrival and their integration in the workforce, to support entrepreneurs, woman and families, etc.), city representatives and provincial government representatives. I study these units of analysis in order to understand their work, how they

communicate and collaborate together. Even though they are the units of analysis, the purpose of this research is not to describe them in length and evaluate their work individually, but rather to provide a portrait of the local situation. The analysis and the findings seek to better understand how local actors of a community manage to collaborate in order to enhance outcomes for immigrants, as well as the welcoming community. Therefore, the data collection seeks to document the situation, focusing on the institutional arrangements between them the stakeholders, such as the information they share, the mechanisms they use to do so, how they plan and evaluate the advancement of the work they do. All the institutional actors involved in the welcoming and integration of newcomers could take part in the data collection process. Data was collected until a point of saturation was reached.

4.3 Data collection

The strategy of inquiry relied on data collected through an analysis of documents, on interviews with governments and community leaders, and finally on direct observation in the case of Gatineau. This multiple-method research made it possible to map all actors and coordination mechanisms between them (understood here as institutional arrangements), which inform the data analysis and conclusions of this thesis. As explained earlier, this study assumes that institutions are understood broadly. In order to grasp all their complexity, it becomes necessary to employ more than one data collection method to report historical, social, and institutional elements, as well as more formal and informal knowledge. In addition, multiple-method research makes possible the triangulation of the data.

First, an analysis of documents is conducted using websites of official organizations (governmental and NGO's) involved in immigration, grey literature, and other documentation that could be found. After the interviews, some participants shared internal or public documentation, some of which could not have been accessed otherwise. Because documentation can provide incomplete results (Creswell and Creswell, 2018), the data collection has been completed with additional methods.

Interviews have been conducted with the main stakeholders in the community. The case study conducted in Québec City represent most of the data collected, while in

Gatineau, for the ethnography, data collection was completed through interviews, but observation was the most powerful source of data collection. Participants to the research are divided into three groups:

- City representatives (public servants from different levels and elected officials), some of whom are public personalities who have accepted to be named;
- Provincial government representatives (public servants from different levels) and;
- Community representatives (managers) of local organizations directly involved with immigrants;
- Researchers in a related field of expertise.

In Québec City, some interviewees were identified through the website of the City listing services for immigrants. To recruit governments officials (provincial and municipal), I used the contact I had to reach out to people who are assigned to immigration. From there, I asked participants if they knew other people or organizations with whom I should speak. Snowballing was the appropriate process for this research because this network is not official, nor public, but rather informal. By being referred to other participant, I could map the network of relationships and partners. In Gatineau, I identified participants while conducting the observation on the field. In total, I conducted nine interviews in Québec City, nine in Gatineau, as well as with one researcher who is expert in this field. The list of interviews is presented in Annex VI.

In planning the interviews, I aimed to interview all the stakeholders available, that is, all the representatives of organizations and governments involved in the reception and integration of newcomers. Not everyone accepted my request, but I interviewed everyone who agreed to meet with me.

Guest et al. (2006) point out that it is difficult to assess the saturation point when conducting a study based on interviews. According to Romney, et al. (1986), small samples may be sufficient in a particular cultural context if the participants have expertise in the domain that is the subject of study. This idea is based on the consensus theory according to which experts tend to agree with each other. Similarly, Romney, et al. (1986) emphasize that the degree of saturation is reached more quickly when the sample is composed of

relatively similar individuals. Finally, what supports the fact that the saturation point was encountered in this research is the idea that the sample can be smaller when the analysis is done around "overarching themes" (Guest et al., 2006, p. 78), rather than, for example, when the themes of the analysis are more finely defined. These situations correspond to the case studies presented in this study insofar as the participants are all professionals, living in similar regions (two regions), working in their community, in favor of the reception and integration of newcomers. The analysis of the institutional arrangements is also conducted according to a precise analysis grid for which global themes are identified. In short, the depth and breadth of the perspectives of the participants was enough to reach saturation of the data after the interviews were conducted.

Unstructured interviews have been conducted like a conversation because more detailed information was likely to be shared (McNabb, 2013). Because both formal and informal knowledge is required to define institutional arrangements, this type of interview was more susceptible to lead to elements of interest. The questions targeted the role of the organization in the community, how the organizations were created and how they had grown. The interviews were designed to identify communication and coordination mechanisms between actors, namely on what basis they meet and exchange information, if they share information regarding gaps of services, if and how they organize to meet them, if they evaluate their offer of services as organizations, or their capacity to work together. Interviews were also designed to understand how this portrait had evolved over time, if there had been events that had modified the situation.

Interviews were conducted one-on-one by web-based platforms (also called "voice-to-voice interviews" by McNabb, 2013) except for two interviews who were written³⁶. Due to the pandemic, all interviews had to be conducted online. Conversations followed an interview protocol designed to engage into unstructured interviews, but also guide the researcher through the process (Creswell and Creswell, 2018) (see Annex V). All interviews were recorded using audiotaping to which the interviewees agreed prior to starting the interview. This has been helpful because the researcher was able to come back

³⁶ It should be noted that the two interviews conducted in writing have less depth given their format. The interview questionnaire seeks to set the stage for discussion, however, the written interviews made it possible to answer the questions strictly. As the written interviews are those of Québec government officials, their point of view may be underrepresented in this thesis.

to its content as needed to assure reliability. Some notes were also taken during the interviews, but no full transcriptions of the interviews have been made. Recording and notes will be kept for five years. To ensure privacy and security of the data, specific measures were taken. Recordings were kept on my computer, which is protected by a password. The notes were scanned and also securely kept in a folder on my computer. The original notes were destroyed.

Finally, in Gatineau, direct observation has been an additional data collection tool. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), observations can take place when the researcher is a known participant (as it was my case in Gatineau) There are many advantages to it, namely that information can be noted *in situ*, and the researcher can identify elements of information that could otherwise be uncomfortable for participants to report. Observations have been conducted mainly during events held in the building of the City of Gatineau, namely during the discussion with the *Comité de pilotage* leading to the *Sommet sur le vivre-ensemble* in April 2018. This group of people have continued to meet few times after the event, until the creation of the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* in the fall 2019. Most of these meetings have been hold at the mayor's cabinet, in the conference room, and then conducted online because of the sanitary measures associated with the Covid-19 pandemic. Among the people taking part in this process, there are mostly community organization representatives, elected officials from the city, provincial government representatives, federal government representatives and public servants. The people in these meetings were not always the same during the period of observation, for instance because some had changed position inside their organization or moved to another one, or because public servants in charge had switched departments or jobs. The definition of participants was understood broadly, i.e. individuals taking part in one way or another in the project, for the purpose of this research, and have all been included in the data collection process. In addition to the official meetings, observation was conducted during specific events, such as the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*, or organization event. Fieldnotes have been taken and analysis have been conducted along the process (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

In sum, data from the literature, interviews and direct observations have been collected concurrently as well as the analysis of the case studies (defined as ‘simultaneous

procedures'', see Creswell and Creswell, 2018.) Data were collected until saturation (see above). Most of the data used were collected through interviews and direct observation. The grey literature and any other document I could have access to were complementary as they allow to dig a bit further in certain aspect of the research. For instance, some documents compiling the activities funded by public monies were shared by public administration after the interviews. It is clear that this written information was largely insufficient to understand the institutional arrangements promoting the reception and integration of immigrants. The data collection method adopted in this thesis provided a better understanding of the sought elements.

4.4 Data analysis

Data analysis was divided into five additional steps: coding, analyzing, interpreting, validating and reporting the data. This method of treating the data provides a more systematic analysis of the data collected. Functional notes have been taken during the observation and interviews, as well as when coding and analyzing the data. Throughout the process, I went back and forth between raw data and the analysis to ensure reliability of the coding.

Coding the data

The coding of the data consists in organizing the data collected in order to analyze and interpret it. Both case reports have been "hand coded", namely no specialized software was used in the organization of the data. The data have been organized into themes in order to facilitate the analysis. Creswell and Creswell (2018) recommend using coding to generate five to seven themes: "[t]hese themes are the ones that appear as major findings in qualitative studies and are often used as headings in the findings sections of studies (...) They should display multiple perspectives from individuals and be supported by diverse quotations and specific evidence." (p.194)

The coding of the data was carried out so as to permit the use of a grid of analysis developed by previous researchers in the field of immigration (Good, 2009; Agrawal, Andrew, and Biles, 2009; Esses et al. 2010; Andrew et al., 2014) (see Annex I). This grid was developed to assess the local efforts and outcomes to welcome newcomers and has

been tested in many communities within Canada, but outside of Québec. The use of this grid is useful to find references and make comparisons, as well as to assess local capacities to answer the needs of immigrants. This framework was adapted here to the province of Québec and is expanded thanks to the findings of this thesis. Referring to this working theory certainly influence my lecture of the data, although I was able to go further and developed new theoretical aspects based on the data collected.

Analyzing the data

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), “[c]ase study and ethnographic research involve a detailed description of the setting or individuals, followed by analysis of the data for themes or issues” (p.198). For each of the case studies, municipal and community services are described based on the framework developed by the many authors who have studied the local responses to immigration outside of Québec. Connections between the themes are sought in order to enrich the findings of the research.

The single-case study and a single ethnography are compared with each other, and also with other case studies conducted in other contexts. The comparisons permit identification and evaluation of institutional arrangements, in both local communities and in larger trends in Québec. According to Geva-May et al. (2018) very little comparative policy analysis has been conducted with ethnographies in the past decades. However, Pacheco-Vega (2020) argues that this method is completely legitimate when conducting comparative policy analysis, and is useful to report on situations concerning more marginalized and vulnerable populations. Wolf and Baehler (2018) offer a template on how to conduct comparative policy analysis with single-case study in order to make effective policy transfers based on experiments by practitioners.

The type of analysis conducted in this research relies on grounded theory approach, which means that the analysis relies on moving back and forth between the data and the literature and theories. According to Waring et al., 2013, the examination of data through grounded theory “involves an iterative process of close reading the data, coding, constant comparison, elaboration of emergent themes, and reengagement with the wider literature” This approach is also quite current in ethnographies in public administration and is used mostly to confirm and substantiate existing theories (Cappellaro, 2017). This approach is

also coherent with the naturalist approach undertaken in this ethnographic research (Cappellaro, 2017.)

Interpretation the data

The interpretation is the final step of the analysis of data. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), “[i]nterpretation in qualitative research involves several procedures: summarizing the overall findings, comparing the findings to the literature, discussing a personal view of the findings, and stating limitations and future research.” (p.198) In this research, the grid of analysis (presented in Annex I) is used as a reference for analysis. The literature review also presents many other case reports of cities across Canada in which institutional arrangements have been described and evaluate in order to better understand how the responsibility of immigration unfold at the local level. In regard of this rich body of literature, I analyze the data collected on the field and conclude with some findings.

After conducting the two case reports – in Québec City and Gatineau – I offer some insights about how the province of Québec supports municipalities in welcoming and integrating of immigrants. With two case studies, some trends can be identified for the larger municipalities in Québec. I conclude the research with policy recommendations, and questions (Wolcott (1994) suggests that ethnographers can end with further questions) for further research or for policy professionals wishing to improve local and national arrangements regarding immigration.

Validating data and results

One limitation of case study and ethnography research is the limited internal and external validity of the findings. To increase accuracy of the results multiple procedures are used as recommended by Creswell and Creswell (2018): triangulation of the data, using rich and thick description, prolonged time spent in the field, identifying biases toward the research subject and member-checking.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, triangulation of the data is used with qualitative studies and, more precisely, ethnographies as researcher are embedded in the group they study. Van Hulst stated that: “When it comes to the three ways of generating data, the ethnographer can connect the various kinds of data – those from observing, those from

talking and those from artefacts – and the different kinds of knowledge they contain. This act, the methodology called ‘triangulation’, gives ethnographers the chance to see the consistencies and inconsistencies of the field.’ (2008, p.152) By contrasting my observation, field notes (in Gatineau), the interviews and written information I have obtained from internal and official documentation, I made sure that the data used for analysis was consistent.

Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest writing thick and rich descriptions of the themes researched in order to increase validity of the data. They write: ‘[w]hen qualitative researchers provide detailed descriptions of the setting, for example, or offer many perspectives about a theme, the results become more realistic and richer.’ (p.200) In both case studies, the approach undertaken is to provide rich descriptions of what I have observed in the field or what has been shared by participants. Direct citations are also useful at that stage. This approach also allows to carry on nuanced situations, or, on the opposite, to emphasize some phenomena or findings that appear very clearly within the research process.

This strategy is also related to another: spending prolonged time in the field (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). By doing so, the researcher can deepen their understanding of the situation, the people and the details. Those elements add to the narrative and the strength of the findings. For Creswell and Creswell, ‘[t]he more experience that a researcher has with participants in their settings, the more accurate or valid will be findings.’ (p.201) In Gatineau, my four-years fieldwork increased my understanding of the observed circumstances, created relationships of trust with participants, and allowed access to invaluable information. Because I was a participating researcher there, I undertook to clarify my biases toward the object of research (see section on reflexivity of the researcher in this chapter.) This reflection has allowed me to be aware of my biases, as well as being upfront with readers.

The field experience in Québec City was different, as all data collection was conducted through electronic devices. Although the quality of the data was not affected, the first contact with participants was harder to establish. Reaching out by e-mail and not being able to meet with the person created a certain distance and fostered less personal relations. For that reason, it was harder for people to accept to be interviewed, though once

they had accepted to participate, they trusted the researcher as they generously share information. The data collected in Québec City is comparable to the ones collected in Gatineau in terms of quality and richness. This situation was due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the sanitary conditions.

Confidentiality in the treatment of the data and publications

The goal of the research is to report how institutions work together and collaborate. The focus of this study is on their coordination and communication mechanisms. Therefore, the analysis and conclusions do not focus on individuals, making it easier to remove identifying details. The data was never intended to be analyzed at the personal level.

Confidentiality of participants was protected in this research. Participants could also withdraw further down the research process. In Gatineau, participants were informed that I was conducting an ethnography and only a few were asked to give an interview. However, although unlikely, there is a risk that participants might be identified in the research. I validated every citation first with the person who had said it. The consent form that interviewees were asked to sign also reflected this slight risk and the options that were given to them. Participants are only identified by their role: government representatives, city representatives and local organizations representatives, except for public personalities who accepted to be identified. These safeguards are intended to protect the anonymity of participants.

Chapter 5 - Ethnography on Gatineau

"The city plays a role one might call territorial leadership. When there is a problem or issue, we make sure people sit down to discuss it. This role is played by the city because we are much closer to the people than the other levels of government. When there is a problem, we know it first, well before the deputy. So we make sure that organizations, institutions and people will work together to resolve it. If we don't play this role, nobody is playing it."³⁷

- Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, Mayor of the City of Gatineau 2013 – 2021

"The living environment is the entity closest to the citizen and it is an ideal place for intercultural rapprochement and the development of a feeling of belonging."

- *Politique de la diversité culturelle, Ville de Gatineau, 2008, p.25*

5.1 Introduction

The City of Gatineau has a long history of being engaged in the diversity that flourishes on its territory. For many years, the city has demonstrated its leadership in this field and has developed a network of partnerships with community organizations. More recently, the city held a *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*³⁸ on April 20th 2018 bringing together individuals and groups having an interest in peaceful cohabitation between people of all origins and a welcoming environment for immigrants. Among the people present that day were religious groups, community organizations such as those welcoming and supporting newcomers, the *Chambre de commerce de Gatineau*³⁹, elected officials from all levels of governments, public administration, and many others. This *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* emanates from a political will of the Mayor of Gatineau, Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, also supported by the public function, elected officials from the municipal council as well as citizens. Aware of the increasing role of cities in living together and immigration, Gatineau

³⁷ All citations from interviews and official documents originally written in French have been freely translated by the author.

³⁸ These terms can be translated as *Summit of living together*.

³⁹ These terms can be translated as *Chamber of commerce of Gatineau*.

wishes to continue to act as a leader on those sensitive topics. The goal of the summit was to start a public discussion on the diversity of its community, their successful – or at the very least peaceful – model, and how to improve it. The idea was also to prevent any racist or xenophobic events like in Québec City in 2017 the year before or in Ottawa – just across the river – in 2014. The *Sommet* has led to the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*⁴⁰ inspired by best practices across Canada, as well as a community-based plan of action.

This chapter therefore seeks to answer the following research questions: What can cities do to better tackle their role regarding the diversity of their population and create welcoming and peaceful communities? The case study of the City of Gatineau is interesting because of its long commitment toward diversity, its proactiveness, as well as best practices that have inspired their current institutional arrangements. The case study details the background of the city, its *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* which has led to the creation of the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* which is then analyzed. This case study is examined under the methodology of an ethnography carried out over four years, between 2017 and 2021. As a municipal councilor, I was able to access information and informants easily, therefore being able to document the institutional arrangements at play in depth. In this chapter, some background information on Gatineau, as well as more the current situation are detailed. The collected information is based on observation, interviews, and document analysis. The case study of Gatineau is then analyzed using the grid of analysis developed by other authors to assess local immigration arrangements.

5.2 Background information

Portrait of the diversity

The City of Gatineau is an interesting laboratory because of its diversity. First, the City of Gatineau is situated on the ancestral lands of Indigenous communities (Ouimet, in Quesnel, 2008). As of today, Gatineau is still the home of an important population of Indigenous people (First Nations, Inuit, and Metis) with a total of 10,420 people identifying as belonging to one of these communities (Statistics Canada, 2016c). This makes Gatineau

⁴⁰ These terms can be translated as *Roundtable on living together and immigration*.

the city with the highest proportion of Indigenous people *per capita* and the second in absolute numbers (behind Montréal).

Second, the history of Gatineau is also one of cohabitation between Anglophones and Francophones (Ouimet, dans Quesnel, 2008). In fact, according to the Canadian census of 2016, 205,335 people had French as their mother tongue, while 30,660 had English, and 29,275 had neither of the two official languages as their mother tongue. An important proportion of people living in Gatineau are bilingual with 174,885 people speaking both languages (77,415 people only speak French and 19,180 people only speak English) (Statistics Canada, 2016a). The following table exposes the diversity of Gatineau, including its total population, the population of immigrants in absolute numbers and percentages, as well as the total Indigenous population in absolute numbers and percentage for the five largest CMAs in the province of Québec.

Table 5.1 - Diversity in the population in the City of Gatineau

Origins and status	Total number	% of total population
Population	271,850	100
Immigrants	33,860	12.5
First generation	37,280	13.7 ⁴¹
Second generation	25,770	9.5
Non-permanent residents	1 975	0.73
Indigenou identity	10,420	3.8%

Source: Data come from the Canadian census of 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016a; 2016c)

The City of Gatineau has a reputation for being inclusive toward all. For instance, a representative of a community organization revealed that Gatineau was among the first to support the settlement of immigrants leaving Montréal for other regions (called regionalization):

⁴¹ The variation between the number of immigrants and first generations can be explained by two phenomena. The first one is the difference in their definition. Immigrants are defined as “persons who are, or who have ever been, landed immigrants or permanent residents. Such persons have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship by naturalization are included in this category.” First generations, however, are defined as “persons who were born outside Canada. For the most part, these are people who are now, or once were, immigrants to Canada.” Second, the variation can be explained by the random rounding of the data. (Statistics Canada, 2016a; personal communication, employee of Statistics Canada, September 2020).

The Outaouais was a pioneer in the regionalization of immigrants, that is to say, encouraging immigrants settled in Montréal to come and settle here. So, when the regionalization measure was put in place by the Ministry of Immigration several years ago, the Outaouais was one of the first regions to take advantage of it. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

One document from the *Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais (CRÉO)* also attests of a concerted approach by stakeholders for the regionalization of immigrants (Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais, 2012). The regionalization of immigrants appears to be a practice that has been developed across time, which probably explains why the region attracts and retains immigrants.

As a matter of fact, the Outaouais is, to date, the region that has a more important migratory balance of immigrants outside the metropolis (Montréal, including its direct suburbs). In other words, the Outaouais is the region where immigrants tend to migrate the most when they leave the metropolis. In 2016, the number of immigrants leaving the metropolis of Montréal toward the Outaouais was of 1,130 people, followed by 290 for the Capitale-Nationale, 380 for Chaudière-Appalaches, and 20 for the Mauricie. In addition, between 2011 and 2016, the only reason why the Outaouais has a positive migratory balance is immigration, since the region has a negative migratory balance for non-immigrants (-395 people) (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2020).

Governance of immigration in Outaouais

The sector of immigration has been characterized for the past decades by multiple changes in the structures and responsibilities among stakeholders, therefore creating a certain confusion and instabilities. In Outaouais, as in many regions, the *CRÉO*⁴² had a mandate in immigration from 2003 until its abolition in November 2014 (*Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais*, 2012). Specifically, the *CRÉO* allowed the funding of certain initiatives and took part in the coordination mechanism put in place by the *MIFI*. The regional management of the *MIFI* played a role at this time, namely by coordinating

⁴² For more information about the *Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais* : <https://www.oregand.ca/veille/creo.html> (page consulted on November 30th 2020)

stakeholders and their actions on their territory until its abolition in October 2014 (City representative, personal communication, November 2020). With the disappearance of those regional structures in Outaouais in 2014, the sector of immigration lost its locus of concerted action.

As part of its policy of regionalization of immigration, the Ministry of Immigration had set up a coordination table bringing together community organizations from the Outaouais, representatives of the private sector, the public service, and several local stakeholders. The city was also there. In 2014, the Government of Québec abolished several regional structures, including the Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais. The regional office of the Ministry of Immigration has been repatriated to Montréal; in the process, the roundtable was dissolved. It's too bad because it met a need and worked very well. (Mireille Apollon, municipal councilor from 2009-2017, personal communication, July 2020)

After 2014, and until about 2017, there was no formal structure for coordination and coordination in immigration. Nevertheless, the core community organizations dedicated to the welcoming and integration of newcomers kept coordinating their actions. They created *CASA*⁴³, a more informal roundtable only bringing together community organizations whose missions are the welcoming and integration of immigrants.

After the regional office closed, community organizations whose primary mission is to welcome and integrate newcomers created what has been called 'CASA'. This allowed us to resume our collaboration. We work well together. (Community representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Leadership

Slowly, the City of Gatineau started assuming more roles in immigration. According to multiple interviewees, community partners and organizations naturally turned toward the city to take leadership in this field.

⁴³ *CASA* stands for the name of four organizations directly involved in the welcoming and integration of newcomers: *Carrefour Jeunesse-Emploi de l'Outaouais (CJEO)*, *Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l'Outaouais (AFIO)*, *Service intégration-travail Outaouais (SITO)* et *Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais (APO)*.

The City had to take over responsibilities from the provincial government when Québec withdrew because there was a great need for coordination on immigration. (Mireille Apollon, municipal councilor from 2009-2017, personal communication, July 2020)

The city first assumed leadership in this sector with the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016. The city took the lead to coordinate the actions to welcome and integrate properly this population of refugees in need. These coordination efforts were initiated with the help of political leaders, and the community stakeholders reacted positively and with engagement by this call for action. At this time, Mayor Pedneaud-Jobin requested from the provincial government a greater number of Syrian refugees (City representatives, personal communication, July 2020). This also positioned Gatineau as a welcoming community. According to some stakeholders, the actions of the City of Gatineau toward the Syrian refugees was a turning point in the coordination of the sector.

The City of Gatineau had accumulated, since the 1960s, a significant experience with the arrival in successive waves of a large number of refugees from Portugal, Vietnam, Kosovo, etc. When welcoming Syrian refugees, it was the city that took charge, at the request of community partners, of coordinating services for these new arrivals on its territory. This was made possible thanks to a very strong political will and remarkable actions of solidarity from the population. There has been a major investment from the city; unparalleled logistics have been put in place for the collection and storage of various goods to facilitate the settlement of refugees. (Mireille Apollon, municipal councilor from 2009-2017, personal communication, July 2020)

When the Syrian refugees arrived, we got everyone together. We were 40 people from organizations, institutions, the health system, schools, to discuss it. In Gatineau, we were organized, structured, our economy is doing well, we have lots of jobs. I told the Government of Québec that we were ready to welcome them. We had the infrastructure to accommodate Syrian refugees, which is not the case for all cities in my opinion. We have a welcoming capacity, it's not just a good feeling. It's not fair to say we are open, we are closed, it's more complicated than that. Welcoming refugees is real work on the ground with people, it takes tools to welcome them. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

Regional management of the MIFI

In 2014, the closure of regional management of the *Ministère de l'Immigration* across the province, including the abolition of all *Conférence régionale des élus*, was justified by budget measures aiming to reduce public expenditures (*Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomiques*, 2016). The election of a new government formed by the political party *Coalition Avenir Québec*, a nationalist coalition of right and left forces, at the *Assemblée nationale* in 2018 was the occasion to revise some policies, including regional development. From 2017 to 2019, the Québec government started to redeploy regional management of the new *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration*⁴⁴ (*MIFI*) (MIFI, 2019; City representative, personal communication, July 2020).

As of today, the organizational structure of the *MIFI* counts nine regional management across Québec, including the *Direction régionale du Nord et de l'Ouest du Québec*⁴⁵ in charge of the Outaouais region (MIFI, 2021a) and additional offices across the territory, including one in Gatineau (MIFI, 2022). When the regional management was redeployed again in Gatineau, the city officially invited their representatives to join the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*. They collaborated closely with community organizations working with newcomers, a service that most of them use and certainly appreciate.

The regional management is a precious link in the area because it understands what we experience in Gatineau. Having regional management is an asset to our organization. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The relationship with the MIFI is complicated because of the closure of the regional office. There was no one here anymore. Everything was centralized in Montréal. The closure of the regional office of the MIFI caused several challenges to be overcome because everything should be dealt with in Montréal and it caused disruptions in certain collaborations. Namely, there was not a single officer there who was assigned to our files or our programs, so there

⁴⁴ The Québec government decided to rename this Department, formerly named *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion*, to reflect their political views as it is often the case with the creation of a new government. Namely, the terms “françisation” and “intégration” give an idea of their priorities regarding immigration.

⁴⁵ These terms can be translated as *Regional Office of North and West of Québec*.

were inconsistencies in the answers we were given. It is then difficult to create a relationship of trust because there were often changes in the persons assigned to the file, and there was no continuity over time. Since their return, we have seen the difference. The counselor is always there. We have a question, he's here. Certainly, there is better continuity in the treatment of our programs and situations. The fact that the regional office of the MIFI has been reopened allows us to have more flexibility although several files are still being processed in Montréal. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The MIFI has expressed its intention to support the organizations and we appreciate this intention. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

However, despite the opening of a regional management and a local office in Gatineau, some community organizations keep having strong ties with the management in Montréal rather than with local employees:

Contacts are made more with Montréal, rather than with the regional management. Our organization does not have much contact with the person in the Outaouais responsible for monitoring our organization. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

When we meet with people from the Ministry in Montréal, it is an opportunity to share good practices. The exchanges are regular. During the spring 2020 lock-down, because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Ministry had organized exchanges with several other organizations, every two weeks. During the summer, these meetings took place once a month. It's an open space, we tell each other everything. We talk about challenges, problems, solutions. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The commitment of the City of Gatineau to create welcoming and peaceful communities

The commitment of Gatineau toward its diversity dates back to several decades. In fact, in 1974, the ex-City of Hull⁴⁶ had created a work position dedicated to intercultural

⁴⁶ The City of Gatineau was amalgamated in 2002 from five smaller cities: Aylmer, Hull, Gatineau, Masson-Angers and Buckingham.

relations. Following the amalgamation in 2002, the new City of Gatineau continued to dedicate a resource in this function at the *Service des arts, de la culture et des lettres* (Politique sur la diversité culturelle, City of Gatineau, 2008). In 2008, the *Politique sur la diversité culturelle*⁴⁷ was adopted after roughly two years of public consultation and elaboration. In this policy, the City identifies principles dictating its actions such as the recognition of diversity as an asset in communities, openness to diversity, respect and equality, reconciliation through dialogue, fight against prejudice, racism, and discrimination, as well as French as a common language. The commitment of the City of Gatineau toward diversity has also led to the signature of agreements in immigration with the provincial government since 2003, and since 2008 the City is a founding member of the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities (previously the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination) from the Canadian Commission of UNESCO.

If the commitment of the City of Gatineau toward its diversity seems to have been built on years of actions and partnerships with the community, recent events have created the opportunity to go further. Two episodes of violence in recent years have afflicted closed communities and also marked the commitment of the City of Gatineau. The first event happened at the Ottawa War Memorial and in the Canadian Parliament on October 22nd 2014 where a shooter had been moved by extremist motives. That morning, a shooter showed up on Parliament Hill. He shot and killed a soldier who was mounting guard near the War Memorial. Then, he headed inside Parliament where he was quickly shot dead by security forces (Radio-Canada, 2014). In Gatineau, because of its extreme geographical proximity, this event created some sense of worry or insecurities. But the event that probably had more impact took place in Québec City on January 29th 2017 at the *Centre culturel islamique de Québec*⁴⁸: a young man entered the mosque and shot the men present, among whom six died and eight were injured. This crime was considered xenophobic (Radio-Canada, 2019b). Those events raised awareness that discrimination, lack of tolerance, and even racism and xenophobia were ongoing threats in our communities, and

⁴⁷ These terms can be translated as *Policy on Cultural Diversity*.

⁴⁸ These terms can be translated as *Islamic Center of Québec*.

in the opinion of many, including Gatineau Mayor Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, Gatineau was not free from extremist, radical, and intolerant people.

In Gatineau, the political context allows for the emergence of an inclusive public discourse surrounding the welcoming and integration of newcomers. Political leaders, as well as the public function, and members of the civil society created an open and inclusive space to discuss the topic. As well, local groups are mobilized in the same direction, since the xenophobic crime in Québec City in January 2017. At the forefront of this reflection is the Muslim community who, the day after the killing in the mosque in Québec City, decided to open its doors to the rest of the community. Since then, they have been actively taking part in the discussion regarding the “vivre-ensemble”. The Muslim community, namely represented by the *Centre islamique de l'Outaouais*, has organized activities where their members are invited as well as the rest of civil society. The Gatineau Mayor testifies:

A year after the attack in Québec, I asked Régis Labeaume (the Mayor of Québec): What happened in Québec, what's the problem? He said to me, “It's simple, people don't talk to each other.” I am convinced that if they spoke to each other they would know that we have differences, but that we can deal with them other than by hating each other. Living together emanates from the understanding of the others, and friendship. What that tells me is that it's easier to become friends and then bring up the subject of the veil. If we talk about the veil first, we won't become friends. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020).

The Sommet du vivre-ensemble and the creation of the Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration

Conscious that it is one of the most diversified city in Québec and aware of the challenges that this might eventually cause, the City of Gatineau decided to hold its first *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*. The *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* tackles the question of diversity not only from the immigration point of view but from a general inclusive one (Indigenous people, the historical population of Anglophones on its territory, the LGBTQ+ community). Identities and discussions about inclusivity were meant to be understood

broadly.⁴⁹ And Gatineau, among the largest cities in Québec, seems to have had a long tradition of being welcoming to all.

With events like this, it's like the city is taking a leadership role and making people comfortable discussing these sensitive issues. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The event had three global goals. The first one was to consolidate the model of integration for newcomers developed after years of engagement of work of community actors across the city. According to Mayor Pedneaud-Jobin, Gatineau has developed a model of integration and inclusion of all people that seem to be working quite well. In fact, as a proof of this, there is no existing indicator that seems to point out to some problems in the *vivre-ensemble* among the city. For instance, there are no hate crimes identified nor individual or groups that are propagating hate speech, newcomers seem to integrate quite well according to economic statistics, etc. Even if this model of the community can certainly be improved – for instance by creating more opportunities for Indigenous and immigrants or any marginalized groups to take part actively in the social, cultural, and community life – it appears to be working (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020).

The second goal of the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* is to formalize the dialogue around the welcoming and integration of newcomers. The stated goal of the initiative is also to establish a permanent structure after the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* to discuss all those questions with stakeholders. Third and last, the other goal is to prevent radicalization. (*Plan d'action, Sommet de la diversité et du vivre-ensemble*, 2018). The *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* gathers all people and groups taking interest in those questions and overall seems like a success.

The *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* is an interesting triggering event. It was a spark in the community, but also in the city itself - it was the result of a great collaboration, and it was a great success internally. There were several municipal services represented, including the police. We have created a greater sensitivity and also it makes it easy to talk about certain

⁴⁹ Even if the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* had a larger definition of diversity than only one related to immigration, the focus of this thesis, however, is only to look at the latter dimension. Nevertheless, the steps undertaken by the City of Gatineau are interesting because they aim to openly discuss diversity among the population and how the outcomes can be beneficial for all.

issues of cultural diversity, to tackle taboos. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

In the fall of 2019, the City of Gatineau officially created the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*. This roundtable Table was mostly the formalization of the *Comité de pilotage*⁵⁰ and comprised of many community partners involved in the planning of the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*. Since then, the *Comité de pilotage* has worked together to submit a plan of action. The creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, as well as its plan of action, was adopted unanimously by the municipal council. The roundtable has since met a few times a year and has followed the progress of its plan of action. The creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* was voted by the municipal council at the same time as the adoption of its plan of action in October 2019.

The creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* established the City as the leader in this field. Until then, its leadership had been mostly punctual, for example with the Syrian refugee situation, as well as a dialogue with community actors. During those discussions came the idea of a permanent structure on the questions of living together and immigration. This was mentioned during the meetings of the *Comité de pilotage*. Then, it became clear during the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* that a permanent structure should emerge from these steps. The leadership of the city came as natural evidence for many participants. One interviewee mentioned, for instance, that the lead of this roundtable had to be institutional, rather than depending on a community organization because otherwise it would be incompatible with its mission (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020).

The City is an appropriate place for coordination for Gatineau. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Another person mentioned the fact that the city acts in many fields made it a logical choice:

⁵⁰ These terms can be translated as Steering committee.

The city has a role to play because this is its territory. The city can act transversally, and that, for us, is interesting. For housing issues, for example, the city has leverage that we can activate to solve the problems we see on the ground. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

As observed in the literature, as municipalities take on more and more responsibilities, their direct impact is often to make sure the community partners work together to tackle an issue. It is the case in immigration where the municipalities increasingly play this role. As observed in the case of Gatineau, the city becomes the reference and stakeholders naturally turn toward it when there is an issue, even if it does not concern its direct responsibilities:

The community expects the city to set the tone because the city is always given as an example. So a change that takes place in the city will have repercussions in the community. This is why as an employer we have a role to play. For example, we must encourage representativeness. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

It is far from impossible that the coordination mechanisms are led by other actors, but the cities are often key actors to that end (see for instance Tolley and Young, 2011; Andrew et al., 2012). One advantage of municipal government is probably that when there is a problem, a lack of resources, or inconsistencies in a governmental policy for instance, the municipal leaders can easily voice the problem and challenge other levels of government. The experience of Gatineau reveals that this position is easily played because of the great mediatic visibility of municipal leaders, as well as their close links with leaders of other levels of government (particularly the Québec government in this case). For the Mayor of the City of Gatineau, the city often plays this role that he calls “territorial leadership”.

The city plays a role one might call territorial leadership. When there is a problem or issue, we make sure people sit down to discuss it. This role is played by the city because we are much closer to the people than the other levels of government. When there is a problem, we know it first, well before the deputy. So we make sure that organizations, institutions, and people will work together to resolve it. If we don't play this role, nobody is playing it. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

One employee of the City also portrays the role that the City is increasingly playing:

The city has a coordination role to ensure that everyone works together and complete the offer to newcomers. It's a role that has grown in importance in recent years and is still under construction. At one time, the CRÉO played a regional coordinating role. In recent years, with marked changes to the mode of local governance, cities have been called upon to take up more space in the management of cultural diversity. In Gatineau, we saw this with the arrival of Syrian refugees, and around the organization of the Sommet du vivre-ensemble. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Finally, as recalled by Mayor Pedneaud-Jobin, the integration of newcomers happens at the local level. The actions aiming to welcome them are brought by local actors who know the existing resources on the ground, the needs and challenges that immigrants will face. This is why the arrival of newcomers must be planned following the principle of subsidiarity.

An immigrant doesn't arrive in Québec or Canada. He arrives in a neighborhood. The challenges they experience are at the micro-local level. Does he have good relationships with his neighbors? Is he able to find a job and have someone helping him to that end? (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

The plan of action of the Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration and the next steps

This plan of action was inspired by the discussion held during the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*, followed by the coordination of all partners, as well as best practices, namely those identified by the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities of the Canadian Commission of UNESCO. It includes actions to be put in place by the city but also community partners. It is also based on this plan of action that the *MIFI* renewed its agreement with the city and offered greater funding for the realization of its plan of action. The plan of action of the City and its partners is divided into two levels of action.

This plan of action lists the various actions that would allow the City of Gatineau to consolidate its status as a welcoming city where it feels good to live in and do more to better welcome and integrate newcomers. This action plan is also intended as a way of making Gatineau more resilient in the global context marked in particular by migratory movements and climate change. (Action plan following the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*, Ville de Gatineau, 2019).

In other words, the first level of action aimed to preserve the *vivre-ensemble*. Cognizant of the historic but also increasing diversity on its territory, Gatineau aims to remain welcoming to all and identify specific actions to prevent phenomena such as racism, discrimination, xenophobia, and even violent extremism that had been observed in closed communities (Ottawa and Québec City). Related to the *vivre-ensemble*, the plan of action envisioned actions such as local community activities aiming to reinforce social fabric, including neighborhood parties, welcoming committees for immigrants, but also what has been called active-listening workshops. These active-listening workshops have been held by a non-profit organization *Le Dépanneur Sylvestre* whose mission is the inclusivity of all in the community. These workshops have been the occasion to debunk myths about people from other cultures. In a safe and respectful environment, people could express their questions, preoccupations, and even fears about differences and cultures in order to increase mutual comprehension. For instance, a woman wearing the hijab explained she once discussed with a man who expressed being uncomfortable about the headscarf worn by Muslim women, which created the occasion for her to debunk some myths about it. Besides, the plan of action includes the implementation of an anti-rumours strategy inspired by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe defines the strategy as a mean to target “prejudices, rumors and stereotypes by using viral information techniques to provide evidence-based answers to common misconceptions.” (Conseil de l’Europe, 2022)

The second level of action is targeted to better welcome and integrate immigrants, and particularly newcomers. The plan of action charts that there would be meetings of a more restricted committee for organizations directly involved in immigration. There was already a group of limited organizations whose mission was the welcoming and integration of immigrants, called *CASA*, who met occasionally to discuss and coordinate the offer of

services. During the interviews, representatives of community organizations reveal however that they were pleased about the city taking the lead to coordinate those meetings, namely suggesting it would support greater coordination between them and hoping that this would provide additional tools to the realization of varied actions.

I support the initiative of the city wishing to take charge of the coordination. I am optimistic that we will work well together. One of the main short-term goals would be to get to know each other better. That would already be a big goal achieved, in my opinion. Then it's up to us to organize and do better. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The actions targeted in the plan aim to include immigrants in the different facets of their life: economic, educational, health, gender equality, cultural expression, social rights as well as public and civic participation. Among the actions in the plan, some aim to support initiatives that facilitate access to the job market, recognition and actualization of diplomas as well as entrepreneurship. The plan of action also aimed to facilitate access to French language classes *in situ*, in other words, directly into a place of employment, to put in place partnerships between educational institutions (such as *CÉGEPs* and universities) in order to facilitate the educational success of young immigrants, to provide better access to psychological health care and dental health care, as well as information on parental competencies for newcomers with children, etc. All these actions were identified by community partners, through dialogue, as well as best practices.

Before, the city's mandate seemed to focus primarily on promoting diversity. We participated in the *Festival interculturel* organized by the city. But when it comes to immigration, there is more to it. There are more and more housing issues for newcomers for example. Also, the discussion on these issues was not so present before in the city. Now it's getting better. The action plan shows promise for the future. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The city provides services to organizations, and they provide direct services to immigrants. Organizations are specialists. We are there to support them. The city raises awareness among its employees and in the community. For example, it offers its front-line employees and also community workers training on intercultural communication. The city contributes to the celebration of thematic celebrations that encourages the fight against discrimination and

promotes rapprochement between people of all origins. It also offers city tours by bus to newcomers, and we work with francization schools. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Since fall 2019, the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble* has worked on the prioritization of these actions as well as their implementation. The *Table* has been designed to facilitate the creation of partnerships among community partners as well as an open dialogue to address questions and issues that could come to the attention of members. Some community organizations can join the *Table* for a particular issue, and the functioning of the *Table* is designed to be open and easy to participate in. In sum, the institutional arrangements put in place by the City of Gatineau are inspired by best practices in the hope that this will help ensure that Gatineau remains a welcoming and inclusive city for all.

The return of the MIFI

Parallel to the creation and the development of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, the *MIFI* announced its intention to create a regional roundtable aimed at coordinating local services in immigration in Outaouais for the territory.

The MIFI had abolished the regional management and the civil servants were centralized in Québec or Montréal. In recent months, officials have been back in the region. But in the meantime, the city was the only one to try to ensure some consistency in local action. The departure of the MIFI was not without impact on the environment. The perverse effect of relocation was to lose the link with local organizations and contact with the local reality. Then, a few years later, the Government of Québec came back saying that they were going to create a new roundtable as if to say “we take care of everything!” We told them we now occupy the space left empty, and we invited them to work with us. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

Despite the growing role of the city toward immigration, and the request of the city not to create a new place of coordination, the *MIFI* put in place a regional coordination

mechanism in March 2020, called the *Table régionale immigration Outaouais (TRIO)*⁵¹.

The *MIFI* explains the context of this roundtable and its actions:

In general, we maintain good relations with community stakeholders. The Department maintains close ties and works in collaboration with many partners. In pursuit of its mission, it enters into partnership agreements with certain departments and bodies, educational institutions, economic development organizations, municipalities, professional orders and other regulatory bodies, groups of employers and workers, community organizations that work in the field of intercultural relations, as well as with organizations that offer reception and integration services to immigrants. Since 2018, with the deployment of local services, the Department has demonstrated its concern for developing a new partnership approach with municipalities and community stakeholders in order to provide personalized support to immigrants, organizations and businesses. (Government representatives, personal communication, September 2021)

The regional roundtable about immigration, *TRIO*, gathers seven regional directions of provincial departments as well as other institutional actors, including the *Centre intégré de santé et de services sociaux de l'Outaouais*, the *Office d'habitation de l'Outaouais*, the *Université de Québec en Outaouais (UQO)*, the *CÉGEP de l'Outaouais*, the *Service régional de la formation professionnelle en Outaouais*⁵², as well as city and *MRC* representatives (provincial government representatives, personal communication, September 2021). From this roundtable ensues an operational committee gathering community organizations representatives from organizations directly involved in immigration (Provincial government representatives, personal communication, September 2021). The mandate of both places of coordination are defined like this:

The operational committee is a body that allows partners to work together with the aim of discussing and finding solutions to problems relating to *Accompagnement Québec* or any other regional issue related to reception and integration services at the attention of immigrants.

⁵¹ These terms can be translated as the *Outaouais Regional Immigration Table*.

⁵² The names of those institutional partners can be translated as: Outaouais Integrated Health and Social Services Center, Outaouais Housing Office, University of Québec in Outaouais, Outaouais Cégep and Outaouais Regional Vocational Training Service.

As far as the TRIO is concerned, it is intended to be both a space for networking, exchanges (of information, resources, and tools), sharing (of good practices and inspiring initiatives) and a framework for development of partnerships and structuring projects on collective issues relating to immigration, the management of ethnocultural diversity and living together in the Outaouais. (Provincial government representatives, personal communication, September 2021)

Thus, this new coordination body created by the regional office of the Government of Québec brings together in part the same actors of the coordination table set up by the city. According to those interviewed, it partly shares the same mandate, although one is at the scale of a city, and the other at the scale of a region. Since Gatineau welcomes the majority of immigrants in the region, it is very likely that the majority of resources will be dedicated to its territory. The newly created *TRIO* has not adopted a plan of actions for the region, although Regional management of the *MIFI* has done so.

Putting in place another coordination mechanism occurs when the representatives of the *Ministère* know and frequent the place of coordination of the city, and do so despite the request of the city leaders not to duplicate a body but rather to collaborate in it. Obviously, this situation is sub-optimal and necessarily creates inconsistencies. This situation could also mean that the financial resources are not managed in an optimal way.⁵³

5.3 Evaluation of municipal approach and community responses

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the approach undertaken by the City of Gatineau. This analysis is based on a grid developed by previous authors (see Agrawal, Andrew and Biles, 2009; Good, 2009; Esses et al., 2010; Biles et al., 2011). This grid has already been used to analyze institutional arrangements in immigration in other communities across Canada but is here used for the first time to study a community in the Province of Québec. According to Biles et al. (2011), this grid is meant to be used in many

⁵³ By the time the Department officially created *TRIO*, my interviews with local stakeholders in Gatineau had been completed. Written comments from Ministry officials arrived several months later. This situation explains why the interviews of the other participants do not mention this place of coordination. However, observation by the researcher revealed that, during meetings of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, a statutory item was added to the agenda so that the *MIFI* official summarizes the steps undertaken at each of the meetings of the other coordination table in order to keep the members informed of their approach.

case studies to help identify practices and policies that have the most positive effects on communities. This present analysis is also conducted in the light of the analyses previously carried out in other cities and the comments then made by the researchers (see for instance Biles et al., 2011). This grid first overlooks the municipal intervention and the range of approaches (from limited to comprehensive). Second, community responses are analyzed. Justifications are provided based on observations, analysis of documents, as well as interviews. Lastly, this analysis seeks to identify patterns, gaps, and limitations to better understand the Gatineau model of integration and inclusion.

Table 5.2 - Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity

Municipal approaches			
	<i>Range of approaches</i>		
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Community responses			
	<i>Range of responses</i>		
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent
Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

Reproduced from Biles et al., 2011, p. 322

Evaluation of municipal approach

As presented in the previous section of this chapter, the City of Gatineau has shown a long-lasting commitment toward diversity, especially given that the City is not the largest and is not attracting as many immigrants as Montréal or Ottawa. Recently, the engagement of Gatineau has been pushed further, and interest toward diversity and *vivre-ensemble* has

increased significantly. The *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* and the creation of the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble*, as well as its plan of action exemplify this growing interest.

Breadth and depth

The breadth and depth of the municipal approach go from being limited to being more comprehensive. Gatineau has had a long engagement toward cultural diversity as presented earlier, but its actions had until recently been limited to specific activity sectors. The best evidence for this is the fact that, until 2019, the cultural diversity sector (including the employees that are in charge of it) was under the *Service des arts, de la culture et des lettres*. Under this municipal service, cultural diversity was understood mostly as promoting cultural differences. According to a few city representatives, this was a way to relay cultural diversity matters to something almost “folkloric”. As mentioned by a city representative, cultural diversity should not be about “exchanging recipes!”. With the more recent discussions surrounding the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* and what has followed, the discussion reverted back to the importance of building more inclusive communities, but also of taking into account the economic aspect in the full integration of newcomers. For that reason, the administration of the City recommended that the cultural diversity sector moved under the auspices of the *Service des sports, des loisirs et du développement des communautés*⁵⁴.

The City of Gatineau and its partners have succeeded in putting in place conditions facilitating the cultural and social integration of newcomers. To this end, remarkable work has been carried out by the Service des arts, de la culture des lettres. The migration of the management of the file of cultural diversity and living together to the service in charge of “community development” should allow the City to strengthen its capacity to better respond to efforts to integrate and include newcomers whose ambitions are largely oriented towards improving their quality of life, professional recognition, and economic success. (Mireille Apollon, municipal councilor from 2009-2017, personal communication, July 2020)

⁵⁴ These terms can be translated as *Department of Sports, Recreation and Community Development*.

Policy intervention

In addition, the plan of action covers many fronts: educational, economic, social, policing, and so on, thus showing the breadth of actions expected to expand over the next years. The steps leading to the plan of action also include many actors: economic actors, police representatives, citizens, community organization representatives, representatives from all levels of government (from municipal to federal), representatives of the cultural sector, etc. The plan of action is community-driven as the process has allowed identifying priorities, actors, and potential partnerships in the achievement of each of these actions. The implementation of this plan of action also follows this principle. In that sense, the fact that the city is leading the *Table* makes sense for community organizations:

The city has a role to play, because this is its territory. The city can act transversally, and that, for us, is interesting. For housing issues, for example, the city has leverage that we can activate to solve the problems we see on the ground. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Policy style

Besides, the more recent actions of the City of Gatineau were driven by the willingness of Mayor Pedneaud-Jobin to make sure its community would remain safe and welcoming to all. After the two attacks in Ottawa and Québec City, the Gatineau Mayor attended an event in Washington, in the United States, where he had the occasion to exchange with other municipal representatives. He explained having been told that it would be much easier for a mayor to engage in this matter if its community has not been through a dramatic event as the ones in Ottawa and Québec City. He came back with the idea that he should rather engage now rather than wait until it would be too late. In that sense, the engagement he has led in its city policy style was proactive.

I took a trip to Washington in the winter of 2016, shortly after the Québec City killing at the mosque. I was among roughly 15 mayors and representatives of towns where massacres had taken place. When I spoke, I said that I was embarrassed because at home everything was going relatively well, that we had not experienced dramas, horror like them. A researcher told me that it was easier to start working on issues of living together when the community had not experienced a crisis. She told me it's harder to do it when people are bruised. There

may then be a loss of confidence in institutions and a desire for revenge. It made me feel like we had a greater responsibility then. When you look at what is happening in other cities, killings acts of great hatred This is where we started to bring people together and what led to the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*. Then after the Québec attack, it confirmed that it could be happening here, that the threat did not come so much from the outside (from Muslim terrorism, for example), but rather from the far right. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020).

The results of the engagement of the City of Gatineau can most clearly be seen with the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, as well as its plan of action involving community partners. These milestones deepened the action of Gatineau toward immigration.

Evaluation of community response

The grid of evaluation contains seven criteria related to community response related to immigration because the engagement of the community is required to create a welcoming and inclusive place where to live.

Attitudes

For the case studies in Ontario, researchers have often used data from a survey of opinion leaders across municipalities (see Tossutti and Esses, 2011). That survey asks questions such as willingness to support additional immigration and visible minorities. Those data are not available in Québec. However, observation on the field can reveal the attitude of stakeholders of Gatineau regarding immigration.

First, there has been no opposition to the action lead by the City of Gatineau. The municipal council has adopted unanimously the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, its plan of action, as well as its funding. Also, no negative comments have been heard either from public figures, public functions, community members, and citizens during all meetings, either private or public, including the *Sommet sur le vivre-ensemble* who gathers a significant number of people. According to police authorities, there are also no organized groups of people who have been publicly

vocal about the topics of immigration and diversity in Gatineau. For those reasons, community attitude toward immigration can be understood as positive.

Leadership

The second criterion is leadership, which was assumed by the city at the time the research was conducted. Nevertheless, the leadership of the city was possible only thanks to the engagement of community partners, themselves showing leadership in this field for many years. As Biles et al. (2011) report, community engagement as well as political and bureaucratic champions are both required for the success of a comprehensive and targeted plan.

In Gatineau, there were pre-existing conditions of success for partnership such as the one developed officially with the *Table de concertation sur l'immigration et le vivre-ensemble*. First, there is a culture of collaboration between community partners in immigration. There are a few organizations dedicated to immigration, and they play a major role toward newcomers.

I think we recognize the expertise of other local players. I don't see them as competitors. I see them as partners. (Community organization representatives, personal communication, July 2020)

There is no competition among organizations that work with newcomers. On the contrary. And we must strengthen our partnerships. (Community organization representatives, personal communication, July 2020)

With the other organizations, we are in the search for complementarity. We want to identify service gaps for immigrants and make sure they are filled. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

There are very good cooperation and complicity between the community organizations. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Some community organizations work closely together to the point where they have given themselves the name of *CASA*, an acronym formed with the first letter of each organization. Through *CASA*, but also through informal discussions, these organizations

at the forefront make sure their offer of services is complimentary, rather than being competitive. *CASA* was also meant to create partnerships and identify gaps of services that they could fill for their clientele (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020).

The collaboration is also true among other organizations. For instance, some community organization representatives who were both working to promote and support entrepreneurship with immigrants explain that they would not hesitate to recommend some people to other organizations if they felt they would be better served by them.

Coordination is done as much as in the development of projects, or to refer to each other “clients”. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

This culture of collaboration combined with the active role played by community organizations created a great foundation for the creation of a more formal structure.

Besides, the need to do coordination is well identified and voiced by community organizations, thus making the leadership of the city’s roundtable easier. Community organizations have the experience of different leadership and coordination mechanisms in the field of immigration as explained in the previous section. They unanimously recognize the importance of coordination. Community organizations also recognize that the city can be the natural leader to this end.

We work in partnership with other organizations; and we work well. We are constantly looking for complementarity. But there are times when we worked even harder together. For example, there was the era of the Partners’ Table managed by the regional office of the Québec Immigration Ministry. Unfortunately, the activities of this table ended with the closure of the regional office of the Ministry. This structure and activities made us work harder together. (Community representative, personal communication, July 2020)

They also share the idea that this role is still in construction and will need to adapt to community needs.

More coordination would be desirable, especially between organizations directly targeting new immigrants. Cooperation between organizations aimed directly or indirectly at new

immigrants contributes to the process of integrating immigrants into the host society. It must be done for the good of the customers and not duplicate efforts. The MIFI could play an important role in promoting this coordination. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Although they consider the city as their natural ally, certain stakeholders believe that the partnership must be strengthened. Most of the funding comes from the *MIFI*, and the city is a small financial contributor to their activities. The support of the city often translates into natural contributions, such as the free renting of rooms for special events. Therefore, for some organizations, the partnership with the city needs to be reinforced based on the development of common projects.

Community organizations have often come to support the city. For example, we found them volunteers for certain events. Or, we do refer them for small contracts. We are always ready to help. I would like to have a stronger partnership with the city, however, with more concrete projects and programs. I haven't always felt their support in projects I asked for. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

An employee representative also mentioned the importance of the city's presence for community organizations:

It is important for organizations that they feel the city supports them not only financially but also morally. We go to their events, which municipal councilors also attend. The presence on the ground is important. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

In sum, the leadership of the City of Gatineau has been made possible not only because of an environment that was asking and ready for it, but also because of political leadership. The role given to the city is still in progress, as it is a new one for the municipality.

The only remaining problem, or what could weaken the coordination that is led by the city, could be the round table set up by representatives of the *Ministère*, as well as the resulting operational committee. At the time the study was conducted, and despite the more recent intentions expressed by the *MIFI*, it was evident that the leadership in

terms of immigration was exercised by the city and that it was recognized by the actors present on the territory. However, the Ministry's initiative, which coexists as of recently with that of the city, could result in creating confusion and weaken the power of the coordination bodies and the decisions taken there. From the perspective of the researcher, it is difficult to understand why the *MIFI* made this decision, which gives the impression of weakening the leadership of the city when the literature tends to show that it should be supported instead.

Plan

The plan of action of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* has been developed following the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble* and has been enriched by best practices and actions identified by the community stakeholders. The plan of action has been adopted by the municipal council and its foreseen implementation has also been funded by the *MIFI*. Its scope is quite broad and its actions are comprehensive as well as targeted. The actions are prioritized by the stakeholders. Leaders and collaborators are identified for the accomplishment of each of them. As the plan of actions is still quite recent, this might be a situation where only time will tell. But, at first glance, even though the plan of action is ambitious, it is also comprehensive and targeted.

Institutional engagement

Third, institutional engagement has been strong in a few organizations for many years. As Biles et al. (2011) explain, “leaders cannot act alone” (p. 325) and the commitment of partners is a determining fact in the success of local initiatives. In Gatineau, institutions from a wide range of sectors have been preoccupied with the inclusion of all community members. As an example, in addition to the organizations that are dedicated to newcomers, many others had put in place activities with the same end. The Regional Association of West Québécois offers free French courses, a service also used by newcomers. Moreover, the library of the City of Gatineau put in place services for newcomers, such as coffee-conversation and language partnering programs. Both programs were made possible thanks

to the participation of volunteers across the city. The library also dedicated a full webpage listing all their services dedicated to newcomers⁵⁵. The activities of the *Dépanneur Sylvestre* and the *Centre islamique de l'Outaouais* mentioned earlier are other examples showing the participation of organizations to create an open dialogue in the community in order to better understand cultural differences. Of course, among the participants of the *Table de concertation*, a high level of engagement in those topics can be observed. However, other community partners seem more or less absent from the discussion, at least in their collaboration with community partners.

In addition, the political leadership of the City increased awareness among other community organizations. It was the end goal of the *Sommet du vivre-ensemble*. In the meetings preceding the *Sommet*, one of the challenges that was identified and named by the participants of the *Comité de pilotage* was “not to talk among ourselves”. In other words, the goal was to have an open dialogue and bring in people who were not used to discuss those matters. For instance, the plan of action allows political leaders to have some discussions with the directors of the Police service, namely about solutions on how to be more representative of the city population (*Ville de Gatineau*, 2019). Therefore, institutional engagement has, so far, been increasingly bringing together partners over time.

However, one partner that is not actively engaged in those discussions is the *MIFI*. Even though their representatives have taken part in many meetings, they remain silent most of the time, except more recently to discuss the new program *Accompagnement Québec*⁵⁶ or to summarize the regional coordination meetings. They do not tend to engage in discussions, and no executives have taken part in those discussions since the beginning. The recent creation of *TRIO* tends to show that they do not recognize the leadership assumed by the city. Their limited engagement in the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* restricts the local capacity of all stakeholders to act in coordination.

⁵⁵ See:

https://www.gatineau.ca/portail/default.aspx?p=guichet_municipal/bibliotheque/nouveaux_arrivants&ref=navigation-secondaire (page consulted on October 14th 2020)

⁵⁶ The program *Accompagnement Québec* is discussed more in the next chapter, as it was not implemented in Gatineau at the time the research was conducted.

This situation is quite particular because most of the funding of community organizations and for service to newcomers are coming from the *Ministère*. Regarding the role of the *MIFI* toward community organizations, even though most of them report dealing with regional management and having great relationships with their representative, they also say that decisions are mostly taken in Montréal. The interviews revealed that the local office does not appear to have much flexibility to deal with local partners. The interviews conducted with provincial government representatives tend to show that their engagement with the community is also defined as a top-down approach, leaving little room for place-based policies.

The *MIFI* also funds several activities led by the city through an agreement. In 2019, this agreement was renewed for one more year. This short-term engagement has the effect of limiting the vision and actions that can be developed in the long term.

The fact that the agreement with the *MIFI* is for a year only, does not allow us to develop in the long term and build. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

In sum, the institutional commitment of local actors varies but has certainly increased over time. The *MIFI*, an inevitable partner in the sector of immigration, appears to have a limited capacity to engage with community partners, as local employees do not have the flexibility to engage deeply with them because they need to refer to the regional management based in Montréal for most decisions. This limited engagement cannot be without impact as it limits the capacity to act in coordination at the local level.

Partnerships

This aspect of the analysis touches on the theoretical framework of the thesis, i.e. multilevel governance. Partnerships between community organizations are important, but so is collaboration across different levels of government. The example of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) is interesting because they bring together the three levels of government in order to create a common understanding of the needs and priorities of the community, and then to align their strategies. These institutional arrangements allow for a more coherent and effective approach. However, the example of Gatineau shows a minimal

level of integration between the efforts of all three orders of government (or the two orders of government taking into account M-30):

We have a very good relationship with the City of Gatineau, although for us it is not a significant funder. Only a tiny fraction of the organization's budget comes from the city. We also have in-kind contributions from the city such as rooms that can be occupied for special occasions. I see the city as a partner, more than a funder. Our good collaboration allows us to provide more services and to be even more welcoming to all newcomers. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

As for the federal government, one Member of the Parliament has been dutifully attending meetings of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, and, before, that the *Comité de pilotage*. His commitment reveals a personal interest in the topic. He takes part in the discussions, has been a unifying leader, and certainly contributes to the progress of the goals. His presence brings seriousness to the initiative even though the federal government has no leverage. The action of the federal government is limited in Québec by virtue of the Canada-Québec agreement on immigration.

With the federal government, we do not have a formal agreement with the provincial government because the City cannot deal directly with the federal government. However, there is a very strong informal relationship with members of the federal government. For example, several federal deputies are always present in our activities and those of the communities, they also participate in our meetings and discussion spaces such as the Table on living together and immigration. The Members of Parliament (MPs) are very connected to the reality on the ground and support organizations in their search for funding at the federal level. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Concerning the provincial government, its engagement toward the community has some limits. The *MIFI* has a local office with a few employees in Outaouais, however the executive heads cover a number of regions and are based in Montréal. Those people have not actively taken part in the roundtable activities although they have contributed to the funding of the initiative. During the process, some political presence has been noted, including the regional Minister and local deputies, namely at the *Sommet du vivre-*

ensemble. Their presence has revealed an interest in the model developed in Gatineau and a willingness to support the next steps. Despite the participation of the *MIFI* at the local level, it reveals little capacity to engage, support, and fund programs and policies that arise from community needs.

In addition, even though there is a regional management in Outaouais, it rather appears that most decisions are centralized elsewhere. Community organizations reveal that they have positive relationships with the *MIFI*, some deal directly with local employees while others deal with the employees or directors in Montréal. They find the public servants helpful and appreciate their relationship. Those who deal with local employees say they believe they have little power and must turn to their supervisors in Montréal quite often. This situation tends to confirm the observation that the employees based in the regional management in Outaouais have little decisional power as decisions are taken outside the community.

The strategic planning from the *MIFI* seems to come mostly from the Québec government, supporting the assumption that policies are made following a top-down approach. Local employees in regional directions have little power to engage in strategic direction or partnerships at the local level. This position does not lead to efficient multilevel governance, and the engagement of the provincial government representatives, who hold most of the financial leverage, would be necessary to accomplish local priorities.

The city and local organizations mostly conceive themselves as *partners*, where there is a sort of co-dependence. However, the relationship is different with the *MIFI*. In fact, local organizations see the public servant as being allied and foster good relationships with them. However, they see a relation of power. As the *MIFI* is distributing most of the monies, this understanding is comprehensible.

We have always maintained good relations with the people from the Ministry. They organize regular meetings in Montréal with organizations like ours. Most of the time, we feel like we are treated as partners, but not always. You know, me too as a father, when I give money to my children, I want to know exactly how it will be spent. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

MIFI's support is primarily financial. Organizations apply for programs, we fill out forms. We submit that to regional management. I understand that it manages a certain budget for

organizations and projects in the Outaouais. It therefore has some leeway at the local level. The budget must be separated between the organizations. On the other hand, many decisions are centralized in Montréal, and therefore the agents drawn to our files must go back and forth before rendering decisions. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

In the situation currently described, the Québec state seems to view itself as a facilitator, more than a partner. In this case, it is conflicting with the vision of the City of Gatineau, which sees itself as a territorial leader, in different sectors, including immigration. The quote from the Policy on Cultural Diversity expresses it eloquently:

The municipal administration is the level of government closest to citizens and it must therefore provide direction on actions and decisions in matters of cultural diversity on its territory. (Ville de Gatineau, Politique sur la diversité culturelle, 2008, p.25)

As a consequence, there is a lack of integration in engagement of the two levels of governments. The multilevel governance is weak, as there is a lack of engagement with local organizations and leaders by the provincial government. Although Québec has been a leader as a province by engaging actively with immigration, it appears that its practices have not evolved much over the last decades, given the best practices identified in the scientific literature. While the federal government and some provincial governments (with formal agreements and the PNP program) have increasingly recognized the role played by municipalities in the welcoming and integration of immigrants, the province of Québec seems to fall behind. Indeed, there has been an agreement with municipalities, but only a few seem to have reached that milestone. Also, the agreement, or the institutional arrangements, does not seem to reflect community needs or to have the flexibility to tackle day-to-day challenges. For instance, the accompaniment of the *MIFI* toward municipalities is low. Knowing the importance of their engagement, the role of the *MIFI* could be to support local empowerment and governance. This would be more effective than their current approach of promoting top-down policies to make sure to fulfill community needs, despite the institutional arrangements existing in the region.

Besides, in order to reach an agreement with the *MIFI*, municipalities must fill out an application form, which is the same as for community organizations (see *MIFI*, 2021c). This situation reveals that the *MIFI* does not act toward municipalities like its partners or

equals. This lack of recognition of the importance of subsidiarity in the decision-making process is also identified by community organizations:

I have said often that MIFI has to talk to organizations and people on the field when they make their policies and programs. It is important to take into consideration the expertise of organizations because it can facilitate the planning and implementation of programs, policies, and coordination roundtables. Because, otherwise, they are not necessarily adapted to the reality on the ground. It's not necessarily going to work. And so along the way, they have to change or make changes. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

This lack of partnership negatively impacts policies and programs locally. For instance, during the interviews, one community organization representative revealed that they asked the city for monies for a certain project, but the answer was negative. When informed of this decision, the *MIFI* mentioned being surprised the monies were refused because this was the type of program that was meant to be funded by the agreement between the *MIFI* and Gatineau (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020). This type of situation could have been avoided by greater communication between the *MIFI* and the city. But it also shows that the lack of communication could eventually compromise some programs as well as appropriate funding for community organizations and the city.

In sum, multilevel governance implies active collaboration from all levels of government within their responsibilities, in addition to the active participation of community organizations. The ethnography reveals that the pitfall of the model of coordination developed by Gatineau is the lack of engagement of the provincial government through the Ministry responsible for immigration. The delegation of powers following the principle of subsidiarity appears to be behind their lack of engagement toward this multilevel governance model. This problem is, of course, not due to the people that currently occupy these positions, but rather to the institutional arrangements that do not allow full support of the local stakeholders in the creation of a welcoming community.

Evidence base

The next point of evaluation is the evidence-based criterion. Unlike LIPs, there is no seat dedicated to a researcher as such in the *Table de concertation*. However, the creation of the *Table de concertation* as well as its plan of action has been informed by best practices. As a matter of fact, the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* is largely inspired by LIPs put in place initially in Ontario and then across Canada. The plan of action is also inspired by best practices, namely through the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities from the Canadian Commission of UNESCO, of which Gatineau is a member. Thus, being one of the main initiators of the project and also conducting doctoral research on the role of cities in immigration has also given me a privileged place to witness evidence-based practices and inspired me some ideas. This research has been the occasion for participants to engage and reflect on their practices, as well as the institutional arrangements put in place. Moreover, some academic experts are also contributing to the implementation of some actions, such as the anti-rumors strategy. Finally, the City of Gatineau maintains relations, both through its employees and its elected officials, with networks of municipalities affiliated with researchers, in particular the *Laboratoire de recherche sur les relations interculturelles (LABRRI)*⁵⁷.

The city participates in networks of experts to share knowledge in this area. Gatineau is well regarded in terms of the reception of immigrants and the programs available to newcomers.

(City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

Evaluation and reporting

As for evaluation and reporting, it is still a bit early to say how things will unfold. However, the plan of action is designed with a five-year perspective. Results and assessment should be presented to the municipal council every two years, which could be considered as moderate evaluation and reporting. The City of Gatineau is also liable for their results to the *MIFI* because of their financial agreement.

⁵⁷ These terms can be translated as *Intercultural Relations Research Laboratory*.

5.4 Beyond the grid

The grid of analysis developed by previous researchers offers an occasion to better deconstruct and understand the model put in place by the City of Gatineau. One strength of this approach is the focus on the multitude of partners and their engagement toward a common goal. In fact, this grid allows us to understand immigration through the lens of multilevel governance. Nevertheless, the grid could be strengthened to better highlight some situations which are also winning conditions for the success of the model. The case of Gatineau pinpoints new aspects, which are developed below. It is perhaps because of the methodological approach with an ethnography that the case study of Gatineau allows us to dig further into the role of each stakeholder. Nevertheless, it is possible to establish a bridge with the public administration and public policy theory to reflect on conditions of success, risks, or best practices of local institutional arrangements in immigration at the local level.

The engagement of the political versus the administrative side of the city

Even though Gatineau is now engaged on this path, which could lead the city to expand its actions toward newcomers and inclusion more generally, the continuation remains dependent on political willingness from a few levels of government. Biles et al. (2011), identify two reasons why municipal engagement in immigration is limited based on their observations of Ontario municipalities. While the legal framework for municipalities in Québec is different, some comparisons can still apply. First is the idea that the mayor has limited power, often requiring the majority of the municipal council to participate in these interventions. Biles et al. (2011) explain that:

[T]he 'weak' mayor system means that the formal powers of mayors are minimal; they hold no more power than do individual councilors. This leaves less space for mayoralty leadership and requires the often unlikely support of the majority of the council for immigration integration. As a result, engagement is frequently more personal than institutional with specific municipal officials advocating on behalf of newcomers and minorities in lieu of more formal programs or policies. (p.323)

In Gatineau, the municipal council adopted unanimously the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* as well as its plan of action. Since then, the public function has been prompted to work with the *Table* toward the implementation of its plan of action. However, the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* remains vulnerable. On the one hand, the political turnover could bring down this initiative through insufficient political will. On the other hand, the other risk identified is the absence of a leader in the organization, on the administrative side, to continue what has been initiated. In short, neither political will nor administrative will are sufficient. In the regime in which cities currently operate, both conditions must be present to guarantee the success of the initiative.

In Gatineau, the recent steps were initiated by the political side. The leadership of the Mayor and his political party aimed toward the *vivre-ensemble* and immigration was clearly stated during his electoral campaign in 2017. His cabinet initiated the first meetings with the *Comité de pilotage*, and until the creation of the *Table* the initiative mostly come from the political side, with minimal participation from the public function. However, after the formal adoption by the municipal council of the motion creating the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* as well as its plan of action, the administration took over the management of the *Table* and the implementation of the plan of action. The public servants have since then shown their commitment toward it. However, it could not have been the case. The commitment of the public function toward the policy could have been lower, and namely because of the limited political power of municipal leaders in charge and the limited resources in the public function. Nonetheless, the whole city administration seems to be committed to the success of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* and its plan of action.

This is due to the fact that municipal politicians have more limited power than provincial or federal politicians when they are given a particular responsibility. For instance, a Minister at l'*Assemblée nationale* has concrete power over their Ministry. They are liable for the application of the law. They can directly choose its executive head, influence priorities and expenditures (Assemblée nationale, 2013). The Mayor has more limited power. The *Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation (MAMH)* defines the power of a mayor as follows:

The person elected mayor represents the entire population of the municipality. She presides over council meetings and works collegially with the other members of the council. She also has the right to monitor, investigate and control the operation of municipal services, thus ensuring the transparency of the municipal council for the community. In addition, the mayor forwards the mandates entrusted by the council to the municipal administrative apparatus, supervises the application of by-laws and resolutions and communicates any information deemed to be of public interest. (...) The mayor must take special care that the revenues of the municipality are collected and spent according to the law⁵⁸. (MAMH, 2010)

As for municipal councilors, they only exercise power when they meet as a municipal council. The *MAMH* also specifies that they can be in charge of a committee or a commission which aims to enlist the council on some specific matters. (MAMH, 2010)

As a consequence, the municipal government and its elected members have less power over the advance of what they judge to be priorities. They need to convince the municipal council, but they also have less leverage on what can be done by the public function. This is particularly true when the field of action is not a traditional responsibility of municipalities (for instance, road maintenance or snow removal). In this case, the foundations on which local decision-makers can rely are shakier, especially in the absence of regulations, laws, or any framework from the province. It is therefore only based on the will of the individuals who are present in specific circumstances. As the field of action of cities tend to increase, mainly because the decisions they can take lead to interesting results, support from the province could be necessary to ensure that the fields of competence are invested and remain so. In the absence of such support, where newer city responsibilities are concerned (and they tend to expand following the principle of glocalization discussed earlier in Chapter 2), the participation of both the political and the administrative sides could be even more necessary to ensure the tackling of this priority.

Therefore, this argument highlights the fact that the original grid does not take into account the political *versus* administrative engagements. However, both entities must be committed in order to ensure success. For instance, if the public service had initiated these

⁵⁸ This excerpt has been freely translated by the author and is taken from the *Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation (MAMH)*.

actions, and if the political side had not followed through, the outcome could not have been as successful. The reverse is also true: the political power needs the public service in order to follow through with its decisions. The last case might seem less probable, however experience shows that sometimes the municipal council can vote in favor of a certain direction but the municipal public administration does not provide all required resources or does not prioritize the full implementation of the policy.

The sufficiency of financial resources

The second limit to municipal commitment regarding immigration identified by Biles et al. (2011) is limited financial means. As new expenditures are engaged when a new field of competence is invested by a city, choices must be made because resources are insufficient to meet all the community needs. The literature shows that the engagement of Gatineau in immigration and toward inclusion more generally is, like other cities, also at risk of being modified with political changeovers, both at the municipal and provincial level. The plan of action has been made possible by the significant contribution of the provincial government.

(...) The fiscal constraints faced by municipalities have limited municipal engagement given that such activities almost inevitably imply some expenditure. This is hard to come by an era when all municipal councils face too many priorities, and fiscal resources are narrowly defined and insufficient to meet community needs. (Biles et al., in Andrew et al., 2021, p.323-324)

As the Government of Québec delegates more responsibilities to cities, it does not always transfer the appropriate resources to ensure local governments can achieve the results they should aim for. Consequently, municipalities often find themselves using the fiscal resources they have (historically dedicated for the services to property (including essentially aqueduct, sewers, asphalt) to fund actions related to responsibilities traditionally reserved to the federal and provincial government. Immigration is a good example of that, and this case study demonstrates it. Municipal politicians report on this frustrating situation:

A few years ago, in Bill 122 (Loi visant à reconnaître que les municipalités sont des gouvernements de proximité et à augmenter à ce titre leur autonomie et leurs pouvoirs), the

Government of Québec officially recognized cities as local governments. But the real powers and tools are slow to make themselves felt for the cities. Cities are investing in new areas of jurisdiction traditionally reserved for the provincial and even federal governments, such as immigration. The problem is, we don't have the funds for it. We pay all this from the property tax which is, fiscally, an absurdity! (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

Since the city claims to be a government of proximity, it must be make sure that all citizens have access to the services they need. It is forced to invest in new areas of expertise, for example in homelessness, social housing, immigration; therefore, the issue of municipal taxation arises quickly. It is illogical that these services are paid for by the property tax on which Gatineau is heavily dependent. (Mireille Apollon, municipal councilor from 2009-2017, personal communication, July 2020)

Moreover, another problem related to financial resources is the unpredictability of the monies transferred to local governments. The Québec government has signed agreements with few cities, and the number of monies transferred remains variable between them and across time. Cities remain dependent on the money transferred by the provincial government, but the amount to be received is only foreseeable for a maximum of three years⁵⁹. For instance, the agreement signed in 2019 with Gatineau was only valid for one year since the provincial government intended to revise its programs funding municipal initiatives in immigration. In other words, the action of cities remains highly dependent on the provincial government in Québec since funding can vary greatly with time and remain unpredictable on the long run.

Finally, the City lacks financial leverage to make sure the priorities that are identified by the *Table* are addressed. Most of the funding of local organizations, the most important service providers, comes directly from the *MIFI*. However, this funding is not related to the achievement of the goals identified in the plan of action. The City is also investing monies, half of which are transferred by the provincial government. But the amount of this funding is less than what the *MIFI* distributes locally. As a consequence, if a local partner is responsible for a task and does not accomplish it, neither the City nor the

⁵⁹ According to the *Programme Mobilisation-Diversité* of the *MIFI*, conventions with municipalities can be established for a maximum of three years (MIFI, 2021.)

Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration has the power to ensure its completion. This can result in the lack of coherence in the actions undertaken at the local level as well as the low leverage on the completion of the plan of actions.

Related to that last aspect, two solutions come to mind. First, the *MIFI* should align funding with local priorities and enforce certain forms of compliance at the local level to make sure local partners engage with the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* (or any recognized mechanism of coordination in a community) and its plan of action. Second, the money should be transferred to the city, which can then assure that local organizations get the proper funding for tackling local priorities. In sum, the grid also misses the opportunity to discuss appropriate funding and financial leverages available to leaders although they are determining factors in the success of local actions related to immigration.

5.5 Limitations

The model toward living together and immigration developed in Gatineau is certainly interesting in regard to the literature and best practices. The model of Gatineau could be exported and adapted to other Québec municipalities that could eventually be organizing debates and events related to living together and immigration.

Several cities our size could imitate us. Tensions exist, be they cultural, social, religious. A roundtable like ours also makes it possible to be vigilant on the real problems and to avoid unthinking actions or expenses. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

However, the commitment of the City as well as that of its partners toward the welcoming and immigration does have some limits. First of all, the model of Gatineau is still in progress. This fact has been very clearly stated during the interviews: community partners were not yet meeting all their needs and were hoping for the coordination to be reinforced. Nevertheless, their attitudes were very positive and they appeared engaged in the same direction. Community members were hoping that that this roundtable would allow them to work in closer coordination with other community partners. To that end, leaders

from the city, both elected officials and employees of the public function, must remain watchful to the needs that are voiced by members around the table. This argument naturally leads to the resources required to meet all expectations of community partners.

What has emerged from the interviews is that community partners, and mostly those whose missions are directly aimed at newcomers, must play a role at the regional level, rather than solely at the municipal level. Gatineau is the largest city of Outaouais and welcomes most of the immigration in the region. Nevertheless, community organizations accomplish their mission outside the limit of the city. One limitation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration* is therefore the fact that it is constrained to the borders of the City of Gatineau, while community organizations would need to accomplish their mission on a larger territory (the Outaouais region). They also wish to include municipal leaders of the region in this reflection as well. One community organization representative explains this situation as follows:

It is appropriate that the city be responsible for the dialogue on immigration, except that the city must think bigger. We need to involve more people. The Outaouais territory is larger than Gatineau. Of course, most immigrants come to settle in cities, but there are still some who settle in more rural areas. There are a few towns nearby that should get involved in some aspect. For Syrian refugees, for example, some families have settled in Chelsea, Wakefield and Saint-André-Avelin. Our mandate is regional, and we sponsored these families. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

The creation of the *TRIO* was certainly to ensure coordination at the regional level. This is a need that was hard to fulfill by the city, although coordination for the territory of Gatineau should not be split into two coordination mechanisms. A better definition of the roles and a better alignment of the work of these coordination forums is therefore desirable.

One significant and preoccupying limit of the model developed in Gatineau is its potential ephemerality. During the interviews, this risk appears clearly, and participants shared their fear to see the municipal leadership and its plan disappear.

The city's initiative should not be lost. There have been attempts, or structures put in place in the past, and unfortunately that is what happened. In these cases, we make efforts and that

does not produce results. (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020)

In addition, the fact that there have been several attempts to structure the discussion around immigration (but also in other fields, and the reader can recall the abolition of the *CRÉO* after only a decade of activity) has created the feeling that structures are often changing, thus deterring some stakeholders to get involved (Community organization representative, personal communication, July 2020). Time is required for coordination mechanisms to be fully effective, but their usefulness is never doubted.

Building takes time. We need to build relationships with the community, but also internally, with teams other than the cultural diversity team. (City representative, personal communication, July 2020)

For Gatineau Mayor Pedneaud-Jobin, it is clear that our political legacy becomes threatened because living together and immigration is not a clear responsibility devolved to municipalities. Therefore, the efforts put in place by Gatineau could come to an end with a political turnover.

It is a political legacy to say that we have invested in this area of jurisdiction there. A successor could say that we prefer to put more money to redo the asphalt. This would be the first place where to cut. Living together and immigration are not strict municipal responsibilities. Then, we are not Montréal. There is therefore a risk that Gatineau will stop being proactive in this area. (Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, personal communication, July 2020)

5.6 Conclusion

The *Politique de la diversité culturelle* adopted in 2008 by the City of Gatineau states precisely the situation in which the city evolves in that specific field:

The lack of a provincial frame of reference and the complexity of the responsibilities of the different levels of government poses a major challenge for municipal action in this area. For example, although immigration is an area of shared jurisdiction between provincial and

federal governments, the fact remains that cities have for many years exercised important functions regarding cultural diversity. (...) This phenomenon falls within the more general framework of the political importance acquired in recent years by municipalities in Canada, but also in Québec. The broadening of their fields of jurisdiction is eloquent proof of this: from housing to public transport, including the economy, culture, and community life, cities now act as partners in sectors that were once associated exclusively with other levels of government. Besides, cities are now perceived, within the framework of the importance acquired by local governance, as the actors closest to the needs of their population. The issues associated with cultural diversity now lie at the crossroads of these developments and the City of Gatineau intends to play a leading role. (Ville de Gatineau, 2008, p.16-17)

This argument is at the heart of this thesis. Cities play a role in immigration, but this is little known and therefore not sufficiently supervised by the Government of Québec. The case study of the City of Gatineau demonstrates this well.

The situation would be more efficient, both for the host community and the newcomers, if the provincial government recognized the essential contribution and the strategic role of cities in this regard. To ensure that they adequately fulfill their role in this area of jurisdiction, the Government of Québec should provide them with guidance and support in this process. The *MIFI* is in an interesting position to ensure knowledge sharing between cities, particularly in the light of good practices. These institutional arrangements would be part of a situation of efficient multilevel governance that allows the emergence of place-based policies that are more conducive to better outcomes for communities.

In Ontario, an agreement devolving clear responsibilities for all levels of government was reached between all three levels of government in 2005. This agreement was ratified by all three levels of governments through a *Memorandum* of understanding, including Toronto and a cities' alliance. This agreement detailed the responsibilities between the federal government, the Ontario provincial government and cities and considered the structures, or institutional arrangements, through which they can work together to align strategies and resources. The current agreement with the Québec government and the federal government was signed in 1991. The content of this agreement

is not questioned in this thesis as it does not impede multilevel governance situation. However, the partnerships with the cities have not evolved as much as they could have in Québec since then (despite the fact that Québec was the first province to assume more responsibilities in immigration). Even though the literature, in addition to comparable legislature policies, tends to show the importance of cities and the increasing role they are playing in immigration, Québec has not progressed as much in its relationship with its local governments. The Québec government could, within the current agreement with the Canadian government, devolve more power and share responsibilities with cities in order to reflect principle of multilevel governance.

Chapter 6 - Case study on Québec City

6.1 Introduction

The commitment of Québec City toward immigration was initiated by labor shortage. Since 2005 or thereabouts, immigration has been seen as a solution to meet labor force needs (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021). Therefore, the first steps of the city related to immigration were taken by its International Relations Office who works with local and international partners in order to attract workforce from abroad and see to their installation in Québec City (City representative, personal communication, January 2021). In addition, international recruiting of workforce from abroad remains to date an important component of local activities in Québec City, and this affects their engagement toward immigration. Moreover, Québec City can now count on an important and unique partner to that end, *Québec International*.

Even though the initial commitment of the municipal administration was essentially to address workforce and international recruitment issues, the *Conférence régionale des élus (CRÉ) de la Capitale-Nationale* was the first body to establish a coordination table about immigration. One interesting aspect of the case study of Québec City is the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*⁶⁰ which was created and hosted by the CRÉ, but despite the abolition of the supra-regional structure in 2014, the roundtable has survived and pursues its activities only on a community-based level. In other words, despite the fact that this roundtable is not overseen by any regional or local authority, community organizations have pursued their goal to discuss immigration issues and ensure cohesion in their actions without any financial or governmental support since then. When the Government of Québec transferred responsibilities in immigration to the municipal administration, this municipal administration has also created a place of coordination. Since then, two parallel places of coordination co-exist.

⁶⁰ These terms can be translated as Roundtable in immigration of the National Capital.

On January 29th 2017, a young man entered the Islamic cultural centre in the Sainte-Foy area and fired his gun on the faithful during prayer. Six people died and eight were injured, some severely. The author of the crime surrendered to the police a few hours later. This crime was considered xenophobic, and the perpetrator confessed having been inspired by radical and intolerant ideas regarding Islam. The Québec Mayor Régis Labeaume and his administration quickly sought some solutions to preserve the living together in the city. The effect of this attack aimed at the Muslim community was a growing sense of awareness regarding living together and of the risks of ignoring intolerance and racism.

This chapter discusses the model of Québec City for the welcoming and integration of newcomers, as well as living together. Based on multiple interviews conducted with local actors (including government officials from the city, community organization representatives as well as researchers) and document analysis of the grey and scientific literature, a description of the institutional arrangements is established. An analysis is then conducted based on the grid developed and used previously in Chapter 5. The next chapter will provide conclusions for both the city and the province regarding greater effectiveness of structures and public monies.

6.2 Background information

Portrait of the diversity

Québec City's population is predominantly white and francophone. An analysis of data confirms that the city is not very diversified when it comes to the origins of its inhabitants. Québec City's population is among the oldest population in the province of Québec with an average age of 43.8 years old in 2021 (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2021). This is certainly one of the reasons why the community and the municipal administration have invested efforts in the recruitment of international workforce for the past two decades (City representative, personal communication, December 2021). These efforts appear to have led to tangible and positive results in the diversification of the population. The following table presents the diversity of the population in Québec City.

Table 6.1 - Diversity in the population in Québec City

Origins and status	Number	% of total population
Population	531,902	100
Immigrants	37,340	7.02
First generation	44,255	8.32 ⁶¹
Second generation	24,135	4.54
Non-permanent residents	4,940	0.93
Indigenous identity	7,290	1.37

Source: Data from the Canadian census of 2016 (see Statistics Canada, 2016b)

Those data reveal that, compared to Gatineau, Québec City is less diversified and counts less immigrants and Indigenous per capita. As for immigration, although Québec City is almost twice as large as Gatineau, they both welcome a similar number of immigrants. One significant difference is perhaps the number of non-permanent residents in Québec City, more important both in absolute numbers and proportionally. Non-permanent residents can be students or workers as well as their family members⁶². This could be explained by the efforts deployed by the city and its partners to attract international workers. In that sense, this high number might prove that their strong engagement toward increasing their workforce has been successful.

History of the commitment of Québec City toward immigration and diversity

The first interest of the Québec City municipal administration toward immigration seems to have started with the international recruitment to ensure some stability in the workforce. This quote illustrates it:

Before the abolition of the *CRÉ* and the transfer of responsibility for immigration to the city, the International Relations Office of the City dealt with this subject. Immigration was treated under the lens of international recruiting. The rest, in particular the whole reception and integration component of newcomers, was taken care of by the *CRÉ*. When the unit was abolished within the International Relations Office, the immigration file was transferred to the recreational division. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

⁶¹ See footnote 5 in Chapter 5.

⁶² Statistics Canada describes non-permanent residents as: “persons from another country who have a work or study permit or who are refugee claimants, and their family members sharing the same permit and living in Canada with them.” (Statistics Canada, 2016b)

A community organization representative also explains the interest of the community, including city officials, toward immigration:

Employment has long been seen as a solution to the integration of immigrants. In this context, the immigrant is seen as someone vulnerable, who arrives with problems, often a bit like the refugee profile. In a context of full employment and an aging population, there has been a sort of paradigm shift. For about 10 or 15 years, we've started to want to attract immigrants to meet our economic needs, in terms of labor. In this context, the way in which we attract immigrants is different. It is no longer about individuals with problems, but people ready to work, to invest. They arrive with children in 75% of cases, and we must ensure the reception and integration of the whole family. So we put in place a coordination and reception services structure. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

To date, international recruiting to ensure workforce stability remains an important component of Québec City administration priorities:

The angle from which we deal with immigration issues is very much about recruiting and filling labor needs. The labor shortage has been a priority in recent years given the historically low unemployment rate. We have an action plan linked to the “*Rendez-vous des gens d'affaires*” which was organized thanks to the collaboration of Québec International. There is a lot of administrative and political work being done on this front. (City representative, personal communication, December 2021)

Workforce recruitment is at the heart of Québec's immigration strategy. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The Conférence régionale des élus de la Capitale Nationale: A First place of coordination

The first place of coordination in immigration among community organizations and different orders of government has been created by the CRÉ, the *Table régionale de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, gathered about 30 members from various organizations, both public and community-led, and ensured the coordination of stakeholders across the region, including Québec City and its suburbs (Conférence régionale des élus de la Capitale-Nationale, 2014). In its last annual report, the *CRÉ de la*

Capitale-Nationale reports a five-year agreement with the *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation, et de l'Intégration (MIFI)* to conduct coordination and activities in immigration of \$2,765,000. The mandate associated to this budget is described as: “aiming to implement a global intervention strategy, concerted with the community, with a view to promoting attraction, reception, integration, the sustainable settlement and contribution of immigrants to the region⁶³.” (*Rapport annuel 2013-2014, Conférence régionale des élus de la Capitale-Nationale*, p.13) The interviews unanimously revealed that the actors recognize the important role conferred to this place of coordination because of the benefit of coordinating services aimed at newcomers. A community organization representative explains the *raison-d'être* of this first roundtable on immigration:

The coordination in immigration reception and integration services began with the *CRÉ*. We wanted to make sure there was not too much overlap, and fluidity when referring from one service to another. During this period, we established the coordination of actors in immigration. Who does what? How do we refer people? How do we position the region? In short, through this coordination, we wanted to ensure that winning conditions were put in place for newcomers. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

There were multiple advantages of the place of coordination put in place by the *CRÉ*. Among them was the fact that this governmental organization assumes the cost related to a permanent employee in charge of coordinating meetings and activities. Also, there was some funding available to make sure actors would work together in the same direction. This funding could come from different departments (ex. Immigration, Education, Health, etc.) (City representative, personal communication, January 2021) and because the *CRÉ* was overseen by the Québec Government, it ensured a certain coherence in the actions at the regional level. In other words, all actors were gathered at the same place, gaining financial advantage by collaborating together.

A first place of coordination in immigration was born with the *CRÉ*. There was a permanence ensured by an employee of the *CRÉ*. She oversees the organization of meetings and coordination activities. When the *CRÉ* was abolished, we wondered if we would still have a

⁶³ The citations have been freely translated by the author from French.

round table. It seemed more difficult without an organization to oversee it. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

When the *CRÉ* existed, the advantage of being there was access to funding for initiatives. We could even have access to several sources of funding, and we had to work with partners to gain access. Now, with the end of the *CRÉ*, there is no longer that advantage. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Nevertheless, with the abolition of the *CRÉ* in 2014, the roundtable on immigration had to stop its activities in the way they were conducted in the past years. This left a void and unanswered needs in the community. Therefore, how could the roundtable pursue its activities? Despite the exceptional will and engagement of community leaders, the conditions in which the coordination is being conducted have degraded since the abolition of the *CRÉ*.

The community was shaken and weakened following the abolition of the *CRÉ*. There was a disappearance of funding, then the city's withdrawal from the *Table de concertation*. Without being an expert in coordination, it seems to me that the conditions were more favorable at the time of the *CRÉ*. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

An Independent place of coordination

Despite the abolition of the *CRÉ*, the need to conduct coordination in immigration was not questioned. The community quickly gathered to see what would be the next steps to ensure coordination between local actors. They decided to pursue the work with the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*.

When the *CRÉ* closed shop in 2014, there was still money. All the partners working on the reception and integration of newcomers have decided to continue the meetings in order, on the one hand, to keep abreast of our activities. On the other hand, the partners wanted to ensure that there is a continuum of services for immigrants through the most comprehensive service offer. This is how the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* was born. The organizations themselves finance the activities with a contribution of \$300 per year. There are approximately 6 meetings per year, at which two representatives per

organization are present. This roundtable continues to respond to needs in the community today. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

To date, the activities of the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* pursue their activities still with a large participation from community organization.

The table is organized on a voluntary basis and more than twenty partners take part. The organizations directly overseeing the reception and integration of immigrants sit on it, as well as institutional representatives, particularly from the health sector and the education community. Researchers are also taking part. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

An important role of the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* is to ensure a detailed knowledge of the organizations. It is always to be renewed, because people change, and organisms change too. We often tend to do business with the same partners. So it's an ongoing job to keep abreast of the service ribbon. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

At the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, there are two sessions each year that aim to get to know each other better. These are mostly speed dating activities. We learn about each other's services and what's new. People change so it's essential to start over often, or sometimes it's reminders. This activity is essential to be able to reference individuals. You have to know each other well. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

The other important role of *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* is to stay abreast of service gaps and identify how to fill them with the help of our partners. We have seen this, for example, with the arrival of asylum seekers. We were able to develop a service offering, knowing where to refer individuals. As a manager, these discussions informed my decisions, especially because we don't like to refuse clients even when our services are not covered by our funders. Thanks to the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, I was able to understand the strategies developed by other organizations, the number of asylum seekers, etc. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

However, one particularity of this table is that it is community-led. City representatives as well as government (*MIFI*) representatives are invited from time to time, depending on the topics discussed.

The *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* is completely independent from funders, such as the city and the Government of Québec. An interest in this is that if there is a change in public policies, the creation of a new organization or a transfer of responsibility as we have seen in the past in this sector of activity, the table and the coordination persists over time. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Transfer of leadership toward the city

With the abolition of the *CRÉ*, the Government of Québec transferred the responsibilities in immigration to cities.

When the *CRÉ* was abolished, along with the regional office of the Ministry of Immigration, the Ministry contacted us to say that it wanted to strengthen the role of cities. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

To achieve this new mandate in immigration, the Québec City administration decided to create a network of partners. It decided not to take over the work done by the *CRÉ* with the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, but rather to create a new roundtable called le *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*⁶⁴. The people interviewed that held office at the time of that decision explained that the City was not comfortable being part of a coordination roundtable that they were not chairing.

In early 2015, shortly after the abolition of the *CRÉs*, we held a big event to discuss immigration. The organizations then expressed the wish to continue the dialogue as they could within the *CRÉ*. On the other hand, for the city, we were not comfortable with the fact of participating in a round table only as a member, or a place of dialogue that arose from a community organization. As part of this event, the organizations asked that the city host this coordination round table. We were not at ease with the formula the organizations wanted, nor did the Ministry. Discussions stumbled and the organizations set up their coordination

⁶⁴ These terms can be translated as *Network of coordination of partners in immigration*.

mechanisms, based on a principle of paid membership. We were prepared to offer them rooms for meetings, I don't understand why they decided to go with this formula, or what they are doing exactly. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The interviews have revealed that the organizations wish that the city would have pursued and overseen the activities of the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*. As the City then had the responsibility in immigration, the organization representatives felt that that choice was logical.

At the same time, Québec City found itself with an agreement with the *MIFI* for the coordination of local immigration services. At that point, we said to ourselves, it's wonderful, as they find themselves with an agreement with the *MIFI* to coordinate immigration services, it is very likely that they will want to continue this table there. It seemed fair to use this round table to draw up the action plans requested of the city by the *MIFI*. However, the city did not want to bring this table there, nor even to become a member and be part of this coordination. As the table was already formed, people were mobilized, it was surprising. It was like on a silver platter. We were surprised that the municipal administration refused. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

With the end of the *CRÉ*, the members of the table wanted to continue the coordination. After the refusal of the Québec City to take over the table, we wanted to continue it anyway. The executive committee becomes a facilitator, but the members bring up the issues they wish to discuss. We invite the city or the *MIFI* according to the opportunities, or when members have questions, as recently with the “integration path” put in place by the *MIFI*. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

To date, some organization representatives do not understand why this choice was made and are still confused by the fact that two separate roundtables gather essentially the same organizations:

The city is not actively engaged in this initiative, but I don't know why. Sometimes there are representatives there. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

With the abolition of the *CRÉ*, the round table was transferred to the city, which now inherited powers in this area. The city took over and put in place a kind of stakeholder network. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Moreover, in parallel to the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, the City implemented the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*.

The city has set up the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*. This is not a roundtable. The objective is to see, while respecting our respective missions, how we can create a continuum of services for immigrants. Work began with a dozen organizations. Over time, we've added more of them, today there are about 35 of us around the table. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* has been created in order to allow the creation of partnerships, especially when there are gaps in services. It allows for better agility between organizations. For example, we make sure that those who offer French courses, employability services, or the refugees clinic work together as needed. We also want to create bridges for immigrants, so that they do not have to tell their story to everyone involved, so that it is more supportive as a process. For me, this is not coordination, it goes further. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

For example, one year, we welcomed a group of refugees during the holidays. Normally, this is not the time when they arrive, and therefore the necessary services were closed. Thanks to the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* we have set up a crisis unit with a few partner organizations during the holiday season. The *Centre multiethnique de Québec* had challenges because the people who made the meals were on vacation, and there was no housing available either. We had to make sure that welfare checks were made available quickly as well. We fixed it all! The Wilbrod-Bhérier training center provided kitchens for preparing and storing meals, ensuring families had a home, and welfare checks were issued promptly. The city has put together a program of activities to allow children and families to stretch their legs. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Although city's employees say that the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* does not involve coordination between stakeholders, they do describe

activities of coordination during the interviews. This situation has certainly contributed to feed the confusion among local actors.

The city has set up a regional immigration table. Almost the same actors are found there as at the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, with some exceptions. The two tables have somewhat the same mandate. We are doing the same thing at the same time. But the meetings of the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* take place about 6 times a year, while the last meeting in the city dates back to early fall 2019. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

The goal of the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* set up by the city was to consult partners in developing an action plan. It makes sense to involve partners, such as community organizations, because we have the expertise. We did not understand why they did not use the existing round table to do this, when the immigration actors were already there. (Community representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We do not necessarily find ourselves between the mandate of the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, and the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*. There is some confusion among the partners about the different mandates of these bodies. We're not sure who does what. We're not sure why there isn't a single table. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

In the end, we end up with two forums of discussions, which often bring together the same people. As an actor involved in the reception and integration of newcomers, we do not have much choice to be there in both cases. I wonder whether it is efficient to have two places of coordination. But the municipal administration said that the city's network was not about coordination. Yet, that's what I think. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The mandate of the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* is tightly linked to the new responsibility in immigration transferred to the city. The administration gather community organizations with whom they developed an action plan funded by the *MIFI*.

Since the end of the *CRÉ*, the city now has an agreement with the *MIFI* to ensure leadership in immigration. The *MIFI* transfers an envelope to the city to make come projects happen. The city is developing an action plan in collaboration with organizations to do this. Then

there is a call for projects intended for organizations to carry out this action plan. (Community representative, personal communication, January 2021)

What is important is that the *Table de concertation* allows us to stay abreast of what the different organizations are doing and initiating. The *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*, for its part, is more in line with the agreement with *MIFI*. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The money transferred by the *MIFI* is distributed to local organizations through, among other things, the *Programme collectivités accueillantes* that the city has set up. Each year, there is a call for projects and organizations can submit their projects to secure funding. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The Recognition of responsibilities in immigration by the Québec Government

On June 8th 2016, the Québec government has introduced and adopted a legislative piece *Act to grant Ville de Québec national capital status and increase its autonomy and powers* at the National Assembly. To that end, a Québec-Québec City table was created to discuss the responsibilities and powers that had to be devolved to the city in order to be able to assume its status of National Capital. An agreement was also detailed and signed the same day to define more clearly which responsibilities and how they should be exerted. The signatories of this agreement are Régis Labeaume, Mayor of Québec City, and Martin Coiteaux, *Ministre des Affaires municipales et de l'Occupation du territoire*⁶⁵. Among the responsibilities that were given to the city are some measures regarding the welcoming and integration of newcomers:

1.1.3 Measures regarding homelessness and the integration of immigrants and refugees into Québec society

The government recognizes the city's concrete contribution to homelessness and the integration of immigrants and refugees. Whether through the direct action of its representatives (police, street workers, etc.), its assistance programs, its policies or its

⁶⁵ These terms can be translated as *Minister of Municipal Affairs and Land Occupancy*.

regulations, the City ensures the delivery of significant local services and plays a crucial role to support the homeless and to promote the integration of immigrants and refugees.

The government undertakes that the Minister examine, in collaboration with the City and the Minister of Health and Social Services and the Minister of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion, the way in which the actions of all of the stakeholders, including third parties, could be better coordinated and tied together. This exercise will also aim to study ways to better support the City both financially and in terms of the organization and efficiency of public and municipal services in these areas. (Agreement on the commitments of the government and the City of Québec for the recognition of the special status of the National Capital, June 8th 2016)⁶⁶.

In this agreement, the Québec Government recognizes a few important facts regarding the role of the City toward immigration. First, it recognizes the direct role the City of Québec in the delivery of services to newcomers, including municipal policies and programs such as the ones offered by the police and community workers. Second, the Government acknowledges the importance of collaboration between community organizations, the City and the Department of Immigration in order for the actions of all the stakeholders to be better coordinated. Third, the Government offers to discuss financial support for the City to honor its responsibility.

Indeed, this agreement has been received with enthusiasm by community representatives. However, even though this agreement concerns some domains of activities

⁶⁶ This text has been freely translated by the author. The original text can be found below:

1.1.3 Mesures en matière d'itinérance et d'intégration à la société québécoise des immigrants et des réfugiés

Le gouvernement reconnaît la contribution concrète de la Ville en matière d'itinérance et d'intégration des immigrants et des réfugiés. Que ce soit par l'action directe de ses représentants (policiers, intervenants de rue, etc.), ses programmes d'aide, ses politiques ou sa réglementation, la Ville assure une prestation de services de proximité importante et joue un rôle crucial tant pour soutenir les itinérants que pour favoriser l'intégration des immigrants et des réfugiés.

Le gouvernement s'engage à ce que le ministre examine, en collaboration avec la Ville et le ministre de la Santé et des Services sociaux et le ministre de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, la manière dont les actions de l'ensemble des intervenants, incluant les tiers, pourraient être mieux coordonnées et arrimées entre elles. Cet exercice aura également pour but d'étudier les moyens de mieux soutenir la Ville tant financièrement qu'en ce qui a trait à l'organisation et à l'efficacité des services publics et municipaux dans ces domaines. (*Entente sur les engagements du gouvernement et la Ville de Québec pour la reconnaissance du statut particulier de la Capitale Nationale*, June 8th 2016).

of the city, including immigration, few years later very little progress has been made in this domain, according to a city representative:

An agreement was signed between the City of Québec and the Government of Québec in parallel with the *Act to grant Ville de Québec national capital status and increase its autonomy and powers*. This agreement was signed in the summer of 2016. The purpose of this agreement was to extend the powers of the city in two specific sectors, namely homelessness and immigration. We had to review responsibilities, funding and practices. In the first case, there were indeed discussions between the city and the government of Québec, fueled in particular by issues that we experienced. Québec City has made gains in this regard. In matters of immigration, this commitment of the Government of Québec has remained a dead letter until now. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The role of the MIFI

At the same time as the abolition of the *CRÉ*, another administrative change impacted the local ecosystem in immigration: the abolition of the regional management of the *MIFI*. Local actors in immigration now had to deal with the regional management in Montréal. As a consequence, the support from the department toward local organizations was reduced.

For organizations, the departure of regional office was not good news. There is a sort of trauma with organizations about this. I understand the perspective of the organizations because the fact that the head of the Department was in Montréal, the link was less easy, it was more difficult to get answers. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

This administrative change was also accompanied by significant cuts in the budget allotted to local organizations and activities. In fact, the funding appears to have greatly diminished after the end of the *CRÉ*, the regional management of the *MIFI*, and the transfer of the responsibility of immigration to the city. According to a City employee at that time, the amount of monies received for the first agreement was around \$280,000 for a year (City representative, personal communication, January 2021). As a mean of comparison, the *CRÉ* had a five-year agreement with the *MIFI* of \$2,765,000 signed in 2013-2014 (Annual

report 2013-2014, *Conférence régionale des élus de la Capitale-Nationale*.) Indeed, the scope of the agreement was slightly different because the agreement of the *CRÉ* included smaller municipalities outside Québec City. Nevertheless, for local actors, these changes were accompanied by significant cuts in their budget.

At the time of the transfer of powers from the *CRÉ* to the city, there was a period of uncertainty. It also corresponds to the period when the regional office of the Ministry of Immigration closed. There were cuts then which put the expertise on the ground at risk. Because of the cuts, people could lose their jobs. The organizations were a tightrope. Some have been endangered, some have disappeared. I would say there was a period of a few years when the environment was in danger. It was the period of government cuts, restructuring, negotiations between the city and the Ministry. There was also a period when the city did not have an agreement with the MIFI, so no funding. There was a lot of uncertainty. It was a hazy period for immigration services in the National Capital region. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

A City representative explained that when the responsibilities in immigration were transferred to the city, the funding that used to be spent on local projects decreased and the city had to compensate.

However, when the monies were transferred from the *CRÉ* to the cities, the sums to finance immigration decreased. One of the reasons for this is that the *CRÉ* assumed 50% of the costs linked to an action, and the rest came from partners, such as other ministries. By transferring the money to the cities, the contributions of the partners were lost. They took their tokens out of the game. So the same activities received less funding. The city had to compensate and this situation persists today. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

As well, during a year, the *MIFI* and Québec City were unable to reach an agreement so no funding was allotted to the city and its organization. As a consequence, the City administration decided to fund some activities directly from its operating budget because they were deemed necessary.

For almost a year, the city was unable to benefit from an agreement with the Ministry. The negotiations stalled. The *MIFI* wanted to sign a one-year agreement only, while we were asking for a five-year agreement. The Mayor got involved. Finally, we were able to sign a

three-year agreement, which is acceptable. This is the advantage of having a strong political team: significant progression can be achieved. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

In 2019, the city failed to sign an agreement with the *MIFI*. The funding therefore ended for one year. Some projects were losing funding and some were deemed absolutely essential. It took political intervention for that to be resolved. The Mayor intervened directly with the Minister. In the meantime, the city has funded certain projects, with 100% of its own funds. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The reason why an agreement could hardly be reached lies on the level of accountability that was expected from the city *versus* the *MIFI*. The city expected a certain level of freedom in the allocation of the monies, while the department was hoping to have more control over the amounts spent. In the end, it appears that a compromise was reached, though it did not entirely satisfy each party.

Lately, the *MIFI* wanted to approve every project supported by the community, rather than knowing our action plan, our objectives, and evaluation criteria. For example, the *MIFI* wanted to know the details of the *RAMI* project who are community agents at the *Office municipal d'habitation* in order to know how they were working towards a healthy cohabitation. It was too precise! There were negotiations because we wanted our autonomy. Now we have a tighter accountability with the *MIFI*. We had to compromise. (City representative, personal communication, December 2020)

This agreement was signed during the winter 2020 for a period of 3 years. The Ministry has both hands in it. They wanted to set up a monitoring committee for the progress of this agreement. He gives us the money, but tells us what to do with it. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

As a matter of fact, the interviews reveal that the involvement of the *MIFI* fluctuates over time. The most important symptom of this is the presence of regional management of the *MIFI*, a situation that has been influenced by the provincial political power. Their presence in the regions has been unstable, sometimes ensuring services from Montréal, otherwise from regional offices. For the local ecosystem in immigration, the presence of

the *MIFI* – or its absence – is a game changer. When regional management was abolished, the ecosystem was weakened, and that void was filled otherwise. More recently, following a political turnover, regional management was reintroduced. Even though this situation was good news at first, it quickly led to issues for both community organizations and the municipal administration. This bears resemblance to the Gatineau, and this will be addressed later in the analysis in the Conclusion chapter.

From the point of view of the city, the return of the *MIFI* raised questions about its own role, as well as its relationship with community organizations:

Since the return of the regional office of the *MIFI*, the city and the Ministry are piling on their feet in fulfilling their responsibilities. Before, Ministry employees worked on larger, more strategic issues. Now they are doing fieldwork. Their work duplicates that of city employees and creates confusion among organizations. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Working with organizations was more efficient when there was no *MIFI* regional office. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

There is a duplication of services between the city and the regional office of the Ministry. Once, a *MIFI* official organized a citizens' event in a part of the city. I picked up the phone and called regional management to say that it couldn't work like that, that the Ministry was encroaching on our jurisdiction. This is just one example among many. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

For community organizations, the return of the *MIFI* also impacted their activities and, at times, even their *raison-d'être*:

We've worked for several years to promote coordination and ensure a continuum of services in the territory. We had no choice but to do so when the Ministry completely disengaged from the regions. We then took over. When the will of the Government of Québec was to redeploy at the local level, it is as if it had not taken into account the ecosystem that we had worked hard to develop. The Ministry develops and deploys expertise in parallel to that of the community. I support the idea of regional redeployment, but we should have had a better understanding of regional dynamics. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The changes that this imposes on us are enormous. In some cases, organizations need to change their mission. It is a necessary restructuring that is disturbing because when the Ministry withdrew its pawns, the local community had to reorganize itself, restructure itself, and it was not easy. Then, the Ministry comes back, and tells us in a way that we must not compete with it anymore. We don't know if it has the expertise, but it has the big end of the stick because it provides the majority of the funding. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The most striking example is the introduction of the *Parcours d'intégration*⁶⁷, more recently called *Accompagnement Québec*, a new policy led by the *MIFI* in all regions. Québec City was among the first region to see it introduced. Since the end of 2020, the *MIFI* has created new positions called *agents d'aide à l'intégration*⁶⁸. Among other things, these agents are responsible for reaching out to all newcomers and making sure they can access all the services that they need to ease their integration.

The regional offices are responsible for coordinating the Department's service offer in each region, including the implementation of *Accompagnement Québec*. Since April 2021, the nine regional offices play a leadership role at the regional level. Through their actions, they monitor issues and assume an advisory role with ministerial authorities. This territorial presence ensures personalized support:

- immigrants whom they welcome, guide, accompany and support throughout their integration process;
- the communities they lead, support and equip to consolidate their welcoming and inclusion practices;
- to the partners, the organizations, which they support to promote modern service delivery centered and adapted to the needs of immigrants;
- businesses to which they offer local support, to enable them to develop thanks to the talent of the immigrant labor force and ethnocultural minorities. (Provincial government representatives, personal communication, June 2021)

⁶⁷ These terms can be translated as *Integration Path*.

⁶⁸ These terms can be translated as *Integration support officers*.

However, this new position duplicates the work of community organizations, who have responded with concern to this new policy.

The integration support officers would meet the newcomers within 48 hours of their arrival. It seems more like the role of organizations to do this, for which we also receive funding ... For the moment, there are two of those officers in the territory of Québec City. It seems unrealistic to think that they are going to meet everyone in such a short time. So these officers who will meet them may come from other regions. But the officers coming from the Îles-de-la-Madeleine know nothing about the organizations on the ground in Québec. He will only trust what he has read! And for the newcomer, that does not guarantee him the best help... (Community organizations representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The implementation of this program titillates certain sensitivities. I don't know what the community's acceptance will be, but it's also essential to the success of this program. (Community organization representative, January 2021)

In our organization, the implementation of the Personalized Integration Path leads us to analyze our services so that they become an added value to what is offered by the *MIFI*. So we want to create activities that make it possible to improve what will be undertaken by the *MIFI*. Moreover, the projects will no longer be funded on the duplicate project, which will be newly done by the *MIFI*. Our organizations have no choice. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We do not know if the Personalized Integration Path will be successful or not. Québec City is the first one to put it in place. The changes are significant. The effect on the ecosystem is difficult to say at this time. What is clear is that it will take a lot of tweaking. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Shouldn't we have supported further the development of existing agents in the field, or otherwise defined the role of *MIFI* officers? Should the role of officers be limited to awareness raising and promotion? The implementation of the Personalized Integration Path raises questions. These officers are coming to do something that others are accustomed to doing. Additionally, hiring resources has the potential of stealing employees from organizations. These people are already doing the work in local organizations. So there is a risk of weakening and even killing organizations. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The return of *MIFI* to the regions is recent. They came to the coordination bodies to present the Personalized Integration Path. It raised a lot of questions. Maybe even a little mistrust. It creates concern and uncertainty among organizations. Some have wondered whether there was an appropriation of the work that we are doing or that we are going to do anyway? It may have been misunderstood. Currently, there is a space of confusion, and a lack of clarity surrounding this program. It may be a matter of time. It is, I think, a good thing that the *MIFI* people are approaching the regions, the withdrawal was poorly received at the time. It's as if people were saying to each other '*MIFI* equals Montréal'. They are not aware of the regional reality. There had also been negative effects in the community. Perhaps it is the pandemic that is contributing to the current difficulties in linking *MIFI* to the local immigration ecosystem. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

For now, this program is new and the integration support officers are still in training. A few representatives of community organizations have reported that these agents refer to them for a great deal of information. While the agents are supposed to refer newcomers to community organizations, for the moment these agents appear to be dependent on the expertise of employees of community organizations.

Integration support officers have all never done that. While organizations know the field, we have been developing expertise for years. (Community organizations representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We have very good communications with the *MIFI* agents. We have several communications every week with them. Counselors are not always helpful, as they are sometimes inexperienced. We teach them things, more than the opposite sometimes. But we have confidence in the *MIFI* management, so at worst we will refer to this person. (Community organizations representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The officers who are currently hired in the territory to support and refer immigrants under the Personalized Integration Pathway program will have the challenge of getting to know the environment, services and organizations. The learning curve of these individuals is significant. There has to be regional ownership, and that's going to take some time. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The introduction of the integration support officers calls for a realignment of power relationships in the ecosystem. Some community organization representatives would use the agents to influence *MIFI* policies, as others that were interviewed make sure that they get recognized by the agents in order to make sure newcomers are referred to their organization. In fact, some organizations can have similar missions and offers of services, therefore creating a sense of competition for newcomers and therefore funding. In this context, for some community organizations representatives, it has become necessary to lobby the employees of the *MIFI*:

Until now, in organizations like mine, we have been using integration support officers more when faced with a difficult situation administratively, such as when there is a new administrative standard which comes from *MIFI* which causes problems in the application. For instance, I have been referring to them when we meet a customer with an implicit status (expired permits), etc. We refer to Integration support officers when there is a situation to argue with the *MIFI*. For example, when asylum seekers come to see us, I have referred them to an integration support officer. So when there is a service gap, I send the affected individuals to the *MIFI* officers. Since the services that we offer to them are not reimbursed, it is embarrassing for the *MIFI* employees to refer them to us without funding the organizations. Between community organizations, this is a strategy that we are trying to adopt. This then allows us to have a dialogue with the *MIFI*, as they become very aware of the problem we are facing. Then we are in observation to see what they're doing and hope that makes a difference. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We have a representation job to do with the integration support agents so that they like us, find us good, refer clients to us. It's not that much different from the dynamic where we want *MIFI* and others to refer customers to us. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Similar to Gatineau, among the new offer of services of the *MIFI* features the creation of an operational committee gathering organizations involved in the welcoming and integration of immigrants. For Québec City, eight community organizations take part

in those meetings (Provincial government representatives, personal communication, June 2021)⁶⁹.

To better support immigrants and follow their integration process, in 2019 the Department has launched a new service called Personalized Support Path, which later became *Accompagnement Québec*. With the launch of this new service, *Accompagnement Québec*, the need for coordination between all local players has emerged in order to share experiences, ways of doing things and inspiring practices, but also to find solutions together to problems related to customer reception and integration. These operational committees were set up in the fall of 2019. (Provincial government representative, personal communication, June 2021)

Therefore, the *Accompagnement Québec* policy could impact the role of the city:

In the context of the *Accompagnement Québec*, the role of the city becomes to support the *MIFI*. The city will be able to help bridge the gap, finance or help identify new projects to fuel the continuum of services. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

During my fieldwork in Québec City, the new provincial program *Accompagnement Québec* was quite new and still being implemented. Nevertheless, this policy does not prove that it takes into account the existing mechanisms of coordination on the territory, including those that public servants attended and that the *MIFI* funded through the agreement with the city.

Current situation

The short history begets a certain number of remarks on the current situation. At first glance, there is a clear necessity for local actors to conduct coordination activities to fulfill all newcomers' needs but also to avoid duplication of services. Throughout the fieldwork, interviewees, mostly community organization actors, were vocal about this need.

⁶⁹ When the interviews were conducted in Québec City, the interviewees did not mention the existence of that operational committee, but it might be because it was very new.

We do a lot of referrals to other partners who work on welcoming and integrating immigrants. We try to limit the duplication of services and we are constantly looking for complementarity between us. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

The idea is to help each other help newcomers. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

I frequently refer newcomers to other organizations, whether for French courses, or for help in finding employment. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We try to be as complementary as possible with the other partners. Sometimes we do joint projects with other organizations or institutions. So we share resources in order to benefit from the experiences and expertise of each of the partners. Immigrants contribute to our societies, but for their integration, we must be several to meet all their needs. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Consultation and coordination are key to ensure that the needs of all immigrants are met. The immigrant has a responsibility for their integration, as does the hiring company, but the community and the region must play a role in facilitating the full integration of immigrants, especially for the integration of the whole family. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

A service gap is first identified by people on the ground. So we help each other to fill it. When there are service gaps, the issues are often cross-cutting. One example is that of asylum seekers. There are issues for work, for school, the *Direction de la Protection de la Jeunesse (DPJ)*, learning French, etc. So necessarily, it affects several organizations. We are sounding the alarm of public decision-makers. It took 6 months to change the rules and adapt public policies in the case of asylum seekers. Unfortunately, during that time, people go through tough situations that they shouldn't have experienced. Sometimes the situations unblock, sometimes not. But there is always a proactivity from the people in the field. These are complex situations that affect a multiplicity of stakeholders. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The best example of the recognition of the need to conduct coordination activities is that, after the abolition of the *CRÉ*, local actors wanted to pursue the activities started at the *Table de concertation régionale en immigration de la Capitale Nationale* despite the City's low interest to take it over. To date, this roundtable still meets regularly and answers the needs of many.

A few years ago, the partners asked the city to take over the table. It also implied that the city provides funding. The response was negative. So we continue with our activities which are deemed too important to end. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

That the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* has managed to survive and equip itself with working mechanisms is a sign of a very strong desire to maintain a space for dialogue and exchange. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

Some, however, recognize that this situation is not perfect and that there are some overlaps in the offer of services dedicated to newcomers:

The truth is that in our field there are many organizations. We share the customers. We try to be the best, and to have the partners refer us. Aligning our actions with other community organizations is not always possible, but when it is, it's a continuous job. (...) It's not easy, if not unimaginable, to have just one route for newcomers. Immigrants have many choices when it comes to finding support. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

For about 15 years, the *Équipe de recherche en partenariat sur la diversité Culturelle et l'immigration dans la région de Québec (ÉDIQ)* researchers have observed immigration coordination activities in the Capitale-Nationale territory. There are ups and downs. The scarcity of funding is a major issue for facilitating an effective coordination. Organizations must fight to maintain their grants, which are very often insufficient. This sometimes has more the effect of creating a climate of competition for the population to be served, rather than collaboration. (...) There is referencing that is done between organizations. There are also situations of aversion between organisms too. Some don't cooperate at all. Collaboration between organizations is very variable. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

As for the institutional arrangements at the local level, the current situation reveals, on the one hand, the duplication of a few places of coordination among local actors. During the existence of the *CRÉ*, a first coordination place was created, and after its abolition, most of local actors have pursued their commitment through the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale Nationale*. The city then created the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*. Both roundtables now evolve in parallel: they bring together mostly the same actors and, according to most of these, have similar objectives. In addition, according to provincial government representatives, a new committee was created with, again, the same actors and the mandate to ensure the coordination of local action in immigration (personal communication, June 2021.) The duplication of those places of coordination is a sub-optimal situation.

On the other hand, the role of each of these roundtables is misunderstood and not commonly shared by local actors. Their perception regarding each of these places varies greatly.

Currently, there are two immigration roundtables. The first is a table in the continuity of what the *CRÉ* was doing. It is more informal, there is no funding associated with this body, but meetings remain regular. The second is the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration* set up by the city. This table is more official. There is funding available for certain regional structuring projects. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The *raison-d'être* of these two entities is confusing. They sometimes act quite similarly. In both cases, it is a space for exchanging information. The places are similar in the mandate they have given themselves. A difference between the two could be a claim of power over the *Table de concertation* which is larger, as it is not under the sway of political powers. But what is its real impact? It's hard to say. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

From the City's perspective, there seems to be a misunderstanding of the role given to the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*. Their perception does not correspond to the perception held by most community organizations. This situation could be linked to their underestimation of the importance of coordination when it comes to local services in immigration.

The *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* is less active. I haven't heard from it in years. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

As for local arrangements, in addition to the two roundtables described earlier, in some neighborhoods, there are other roundtables where the needs of specific population are discussed more deeply. For instance, the *Table Évasion Pie X* gathers local actors to better answer the needs in a community where immigrants are overrepresented.

There are many places for coordination. The main ones are the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, which emerged from the CRÉ, and the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*. There are also other places of coordination on more specific subjects such as for early childhood or the *Table Évasion Pie X* for a real estate complex where there is a high concentration of newcomers. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Local authorities such as the Sainte-Foy immigration committee are hosted by the city. As an organization, we have to be there. However, this is often not very useful. The projects are marginal, are not structuring. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

There is a certain multiplication of places of coordination. We cannot miss them, because we want to be seen as a key player in the reception and integration of newcomers. But often, we waste our time, and we work on too small initiatives. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

As a consequence, the current situation is also characterized by a certain role confusion by many local actors. The role of each and every one, as well as where the leadership should be is not commonly shared among local actors. This is even the case of roundtables at the local level where the perception varies depending on the actor.

The City's action is perhaps more linked to neighborhoods, for example in areas where there is more immigration like St-Roch. The fragmentation of actions is effective because they are so targeted. But other sectors are less covered, even when there are a significant number of immigrants. One of the shortcomings is the lack of a more global vision of the objectives of social development on the territory of the city which could then be broken down into a more

equal offer of services in each sector of the city. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

At the neighborhood level, there are also roundtables for issues related to immigration and diversity. The City tries not to coordinate these tables but we want to be involved and be present. We prefer that a community organization coordinate them. I don't think it's desirable for the City to do it, especially because it would be demanding in terms of resources. In addition, it puts us in a delicate situation when these neighborhood tables take part in the *Réseau de coordination* and make requests. We are the manager of public funds, and we are looking for a more neutral role in this situation. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

This confusion is general. The roles are not clearly defined, in particular when it comes to who should take the lead. In addition, the responsibilities of each stakeholders fluctuate over time, possibly depending on the presence or absence of the *MIFI* directly in the region through a regional management office.

We never took the time to consider the roles of each and every one: the organizations, the City, and the Ministry. Everyone tries to define their role, to take their place, then as a result, the situation is not optimal. There is no logic in the way we organize work and the division of tasks between actors. It's not clear who should take what responsibilities. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The role of the city is not clearly defined when it comes to immigration. There would be an interest in doing it, because we are in the dark, and we improvise every day. The city is just half playing its role when it comes to immigration. Having said that, I believe in the principle of subsidiarity. I think we should give them the tools and the resources because they are the ones who know the field. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Finally, the funding situation also appears to be slightly chaotic. For community organizations, both the *MIFI* and the City can fund their activities and projects, and the scope of the funding depends on the organization and its mission. For instance, for many of them, much of the funding comes from the *MIFI* although there are some exceptions. Also, the City provides certain financial advantages to community organizations, such as

the renting of rooms and equipment free of charge (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020).

Funding for organizations now comes from *MIFI* and the City. The City's funding is minimal compared to what we receive from the Government of Québec. The projects funded by the City are limited, because they generally have to be start-ups, and we have to show how the project will find its own sources of funding over time, and become autonomous. It is not obvious that this is not the case given the nature of the services we offer. In addition, submitting projects to the City is a bit of a tedious process, with significant accountability. It's not necessarily always beneficial for our organizations to apply for this source of funding. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

We work very closely with the *MIFI*. We have follow-up meetings every week with them. Our funding comes directly from the Ministry and it is our main funder. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

For several years, the City has funded about 50% of our welcome and integration activities for newcomers, both employee salaries and our activities. This funding stems from the fact that our activities are part of the action plan that the City has with the *MIFI*. (Community organization representative, personal communication, December 2020)

As well, the implementation of *Accompagnement Québec* has led some organizations representatives to believe that their organizations will have to review their activities as well as their funding because the agents of the *MIFI* would now be doing what staff of community organizations have been doing for years (Community organization representative, personal communication, June 2021).

Lastly, for community initiatives the sources of funding are multiple (the City and the *MIFI*), but the logic of which entity should spend monies for which initiative is not always obvious. A city representative gives an example of this confusing situation:

Regarding the funding of local initiatives, the formula is not clear. For example, the City pays *RAMI* agents who are field agents to facilitate integration. The *MIFI* also pays a portion of the budget. When this became known, the City requested the *MIFI* to transfer the equivalent money to the City for administration, but the Ministry refused. It is not clear why part of the funding goes through the City, the other part directly from the *MIFI* to

organizations. (...) We don't know why the money doesn't just flow all through the City. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

A researcher also emphasized the lack of funding for community organizations. The person interviewed reports a fragmentation of funding⁷⁰, which illustrates a complex landscape of funding opportunities.

The funding organizations are not sufficient for the demands that they receive from the community. (...) There is a situation of precarious funding. The programs are often to be renewed annually, sometimes even every 6 months, which is absurd. Organizations spend an enormous amount of time making requests, often for small amounts of money. In addition, many turn to different organizations to meet their funding needs. For example, it is not uncommon for an organization with 2 or 3 paid staff to rely on funding from 12 to 15 funding sources. There is a situation of fragmented funding, especially for small organizations. The reality for many is also to devote 50% of working time to being accountable and seeking the next funding. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

6.3 Evaluation based on the grid

The rest of this chapter will now be dedicated to the analysis of the Québec City situation, of both the municipal and community responses regarding the welcoming and integration of immigrants, similarly to the previous chapter on Gatineau. This analysis is based on a grid developed by previous researchers and used in Chapter 5. This grid provides insights about institutional arrangements at the local level which are deemed to have impacts on the full integration of newcomers. The first section looks at the municipal approach, while the second one looks at the community responses. This analysis grid has been reproduced below.

⁷⁰ The United Kingdom Local Government Association published in 2020 a report called “Fragmented Funding – A Report into the Nature of Central Government Funding for Local Government”. Although this report looks specifically at the funding made available to local governments, some parallels are interesting to establish with the object of our research. Fragmented funding impacts local governments in the United Kingdom by undermining the capacity to plan for long-term and see services as a whole with all its impacts, by limiting capacity to assess the impact of funding, as well as by redirecting prevention monies toward crisis-oriented funding. In sum, fragmented funding puts at risk the coherence of actions (Local Government Association, 2020).

Table 6.2 - Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity

Municipal approaches			
	<i>Range of approaches</i>		
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Community responses			
	<i>Range of responses</i>		
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent
Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

Reproduced from Biles et al., 2011, p.322

Evaluation of municipal approach

For the past decades, Québec City has been concerned with immigration, particularly as relating to labor shortages. The initial engagement in this domain of activity had been driven by the municipal administration will to attract a greater labor force from outside Canada. Related to this, the City seems to have built strong partnerships with community organizations, namely *Québec International*, as well as the private sector. With the abolition of the *CRÉ* as well as the regional management of the Department of Immigration in 2014, more responsibilities in immigration, as well as some funding, have been transferred to Québec City. The City's commitment toward immigration has been increasingly growing since then, and especially after the attack at the mosque in January

2017. Since then, there has been a growing political interest in the issue of living together. Efforts have been made by the city's administration to create stronger connections between community members, namely through the creation of large inclusive and festive events. Nevertheless, the City administration could sometimes underestimate the importance of coordination mechanisms between community organizations and public partners. These actors use the coordination mechanisms to know each other and to be able to refer immigrants to the organization that better suits their needs. But this way, they are also able to provide a full range of services to newcomers so they have access to the opportunities to ensure their full integration.

Breadth and depth

The breadth and depth of the intervention of Québec City is increasingly comprehensive. The commitment of the city concerns the welcoming and integration of immigrants, the attraction of workers on the international level, fighting racism as well as a number of actions to increase the living together. Although the institutional arrangements to deliver those policies and services should be clarified, the city collaborates in many sectors with its partners.

The participation of the city has progressed quite organically in order to meet the needs of the community. First, in order to ensure labor availability, the city built a network of partners, here and abroad, to meet labor needs across the city. Next, at the local level, coordination mechanisms have been put in place to ensure that immigrants can access the opportunities for which they come here. Although this field of action has been "forced" on the city with the transfer of responsibility in immigration after the abolition of the *CRÉ*, there were already some forms of partnerships, at the administrative level, with local communities to ensure local needs. Finally, as for living together, policies have been crisis-driven with local and national news (the attack of a mosque, the death of Joyce Echaquan).

In 2020, in the wake of the events surrounding the death of Joyce Echaquan, an indigenous woman who died in hospital after receiving unfair, racist, and abusive treatment from healthcare workers, and of the strong negative reaction of the public,⁷¹ the then-

⁷¹ For additional details concerning the death of Joyce Echaquan, see, for instance, Elkouri, 2021.

Mayor of Québec City, Régis Labeaume, publicly recognized the existence of systemic racism made evident by this tragedy (Radio-Canada, 2020). In May 2021, the municipal council announced his diversity, equity and inclusion strategy including a three-year strategy for social cohesion funded with \$10.5 million (Ville de Québec, 2021).

In sum, it might be possible that the intervention of the city is more efficient when the needs are understood by decision-makers and when appropriate solutions are implemented. In other words, the case study of Québec City reveals that the city's intervention is more effective when it responds first to needs expressed by the community and to which the decision makers are trying to respond. The fact that the City has a less exemplary commitment to welcoming and integrating newcomers (the institutional arrangements being less effective) and that this responsibility is the one imposed, at least in part, by the Government of Québec, tends to demonstrate this. In contrast, the needs that were expressed by the community and to which the city wanted to respond endogenously, being the attraction of an international workforce and living together, tend to confirm this hypothesis. This would be coherent with the principle of subsidiarity and would call for the respect of solutions designed by local authorities.

Policy style

The policy intervention of the city has been more reactive than proactive. Decisions have been made following needs (international attraction) or even crisis (attack of the mosque). The measures related to systemic racism have been motivated by a crisis happening outside the territory of the city but could, however, be considered as proactive. Compared to Gatineau, the actions of the city are not as community-driven. The decisions are taken centrally, at the administrative or political levels. This certainly shows some limitations since the community is not fully engaged in the actions undertaken by the city and it might be because there are multiple places of coordination.

Policy interventions

The plan of action submitted by the City to the *MIFI* shows policy interventions that are quite broad. All aspects of the full integration of newcomers are touched upon, including housing, employment, education, etc. Québec City receives funding from the

MIFI to achieve this plan of action, although the City has also been using its own budget to assume some responsibility. This is the case, for instance, for actions such as international attraction, which the City had been managing before the *MIFI* transferred some monies. Another example of Québec City using its monies for immigration is when the agreement with the department could not be reached and some services were deemed too essential to be cut. This is, in fact, a good example of the action of the city in immigration that is deemed essential.

Québec City is assuming leadership in the fight against systemic racism, and in the area of labor shortages, but more generally in matters of immigration. The funding that we get from the *MIFI* is essential to that end. (City representative, personal communication, December 2020)

Community responses

Attitudes

The attitude of the community is hard to evaluate because public data regarding this variable is not available (see Chapter 5). As a consequence, general observations are used to evaluate the general attitude of the community toward immigration in Québec City.

The history of the commitment of the community, mostly community organizations, toward welcoming and integrating newcomers demonstrates the will of the community to devote efforts, including coordination mechanisms, in order to maximize the full integration of newcomers. Of course, the sample of people met during the interviews is biased as these participants all mostly dedicate their professional life to the full integration of immigrants. However, their attitude shows a great open-mindedness to diversity as well as the required collaboration necessary to ensure their success.

As to the community more generally, the attack at the mosque in 2017 offers of glimpse of the kindness and solidarity toward immigration and diversity among the population. Although the general impact is hard to assess, the public reaction at that time attested of the positive attitude of the community and their will to make sure the city remained safe and welcoming for all. A city representative attests of the awareness and of the efforts made toward living together since the attack:

Following the killing of the Mosque, we saw the emergence of solidarity between religious organizations that have forged links. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

For a long time, I would say that there was a lack of vision in the way we approached the subject of living together. We worked with researchers, and this is also their conclusion. This is no longer true... We now have a diversity, equity and inclusion plan that allows us to take concrete action on living together and not just saying the words *vivre-ensemble* in terms of the challenges related to cultural diversity. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

In sum, the municipal leaders have assumed leadership in recent years by creating a welcoming and inclusive society for all which certainly consolidates the positive attitude of the community toward immigration.

Leadership

In Québec City, the leadership regarding the welcoming and integration of immigrants is diffused and isolated. This might be the greatest immigration challenge they face as a community. This is due to the fact that their respective roles and responsibilities are not well-defined. This is true for the two orders of government (municipal and provincial) who step on each other's toes, but also for places of coordination, namely the two main ones: the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale*, where community organizations have assumed the lead, and the *Réseau de coordination des partenaires*, led by the City. This creates a situation where the coordination is not efficient, and many efforts are necessary to make sure their actions are comprehensive (with the risk of not attaining their objectives.)

It is not easy to know who should take the leadership in immigration on the territory. The city seems in a position to do it, but could it be the regional office of *MIFI*? It is not always easy to distinguish the role of the city, versus that of the Ministry. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

In Biles et al. (2011) some aspects of the leadership aspect are underlined: “the need for political and bureaucratic champions”, a “comprehensive broad-based approach”, a “comprehensive settlement and inclusion strategy”, as well as many leaders who can bring those actions to their completion (p.325).

One particularity of the Québec City model is that the different aspects of immigration are assumed by different actors. First, the municipality has been conducting activities of international recruitment for many years. This aspect seems to be supported both by political and bureaucratic leaders, as well as community organizations and private leaders in the community. This responsibility appears to be well-coordinated, perhaps because these activities have been on-going for many years and mechanisms of coordination between stakeholders are fully efficient. These activities are also entirely supported by political and administrative sides, as well as by community leaders. The action plan for this aspect seems to be clear in long- and short-term perspectives and shared by all community actors concerned by it. For this aspect, the leadership appears to be strong and multisectoral referring to the grid above.

Second, as for the welcoming and integration of newcomers, the leadership is spread between different places of coordination and stakeholders, as mentioned earlier. One particularity of the institutional arrangements related to the welcoming and integration of immigrants is the absence of political leadership in all these places of coordination. The *Réseau de coordination des partenaires en immigration* hosted by the City, as well as neighborhood roundtables in immigration do not include political leaders (City representative, personal communication, December 2020). Moreover, all these places of coordination have their own plan of action, risking that the actions undertaken by partners be not necessarily comprehensive or duplicated. Many efforts are undertaken by community actors to coordinate, but they report sometimes being under the impression that their time is not always well invested. This could certainly be because some roundtables have very similar mandates.

The *MIFI* seems to be mostly involved in the aspect of the responsibility in immigration, with the City and community actors being the ones directly involved in the welcoming and integration of newcomers. This quote illustrates the importance of the *MIFI* for community organizations:

Our relationship with *MIFI* is important. For us, it is an essential funder. I recognize that the accomplishment of my organization's mission depends primarily on them. Our funding agreements last three years. My point of contact is a partner advisor who is attached to the regional office of the Ministry. It really is a partnership. We talk to each other every week. We have a common vision, a very good collaboration, a relationship of trust. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

In the past months, community actors have noticed the return of the *MIFI* representatives in their region. Although this seems like good news at first, primarily for community organizations who highly depend on the provincial funding to conduct their activities, the return of the *MIFI* is marked by a lack of sensitivity and understanding of the local reality and ecosystem. As a main actor and funder, the *MIFI* could certainly be an asset in the local ecosystem, which could benefit the newcomers as well as the existing community. However, the approach undertaken by the department fails to recognize the subsidiarity principle where local actors have the expertise about the needs in the community. With the new policy, *Accompagnement Québec* completely failed to recognize the existing expertise of community stakeholders. The risk for the ecosystem is to replace this local expertise with well-intentioned but inexperienced bureaucrats. Another risk is to make changes in the current institutional arrangements put in place in order to ensure coordination among stakeholders. This would weaken greatly the ecosystem, both the actors and their coordination. Even though not fully efficient, those coordination mechanisms are worth building on. Hence, again, when the *MIFI* wants to control how the city administrative employees spend the monies transferred for immigration purposes, they fail to help and accompany them to ensure a leadership that promotes place-based policies. The role of the *MIFI* could be about supporting the local ecosystem (an expertise that could be developed by observing the different practices and needs in the different regions of the province), rather than trying to do the job for them. The role of the *MIFI* will be discussed in the conclusion section of this thesis.

The third aspect of the responsibility in immigration is related to living together. For Québec City, actions in this domain are quite new as the interest mainly sparks from the attack at the mosque in January 2017. Since then, political leadership has led to new

policies (crises-driven policies can make efficient policies.) The actions in this domain have started with a process of trial and error.

For the Mayor, improving living together requires unifying events, with a festive aspect. So after the mosque killing, the City made a call for interest in organizing events on the theme of living together. There were significant sums of money available. Unfortunately, the result was disappointing: there were only three proposals. We still believe that improving living together must involve festivities, but we are currently thinking about how we are going to revise the program. Repositioning seems necessary. We are in a trial-and-error approach. For example, we wonder whether we should invest more in the development of public places. (City representative, personal communication, December 2020)

I would say that when it comes to living together, there is a strong political will for things to go well, for Québec to be attractive and for it to be recognized for being welcoming. (City representative, personal communication, December 2020)

Nevertheless, in May 2021, this seems to have led to a comprehensive plan, including all actors and the required funding.

The Mayor admitted the existence of systemic racism. We hired an expert in the field for a three-year term. An analysis of municipal services has been conducted. Since May 2021, we have had a strategy which is accompanied by very concrete action plans. (City representative, personal communication, September 2021)

In sum, depending on the domain of actions, the leadership varies. As to the attraction of immigrants, Québec City shows strong and multisectoral leadership. In other domains, such as the welcoming and integration of immigrants as well as living together, its leadership is rather isolated. In these latter cases, the approach is deficient and, as a probable consequence, this could limit its action plan and strategies. One strength of the Québec City model is definitely the ecosystem including community organizations that are dedicated and mobilized toward their mission and the inclusion of newcomers. In other words, there is a strong potential for fully efficient coordination mechanisms, but it is certainly underutilized. A realignment of institutional arrangements would probably increase the outcomes of the resources in place.

Since the recognition of their responsibility in immigration following the abolition of the *CRÉ*, Québec City has taken up this new responsibility progressively. The scarcity of the resources, and probably the lack of support of the *MIFI* through these changes, has led to some pitfalls. A better definition of roles and responsibilities, as well as appropriate funding could certainly improve the situation.

With the experience I have, I think the Ministry should give us guidelines on immigration, then a budget. We must be able to define the objectives as close to the field as possible. I think there should be only one respondent for organizations, and it should be cities. As of yet, it's never clear who the respondent is. Sometimes it is the Ministry, sometimes us. If we want cities to play a role in immigration, we need to be clear, and we need to have the resources to do so. We require more information about ministerial orientations, and also about what is happening in the field, about the work of organizations. The *MIFI* could remain more at the strategic level, and, us, operational, on the ground, with the organizations. (City representative, personal communication January 2021)

I have seen many times in my career that we transfer responsibilities to cities, without transferring resources to them. (City representative, personal communication January 2021)

Nevertheless, for local actors, the city is definitely the organization that should assume the leadership at the local level in immigration:

The city is a key player in terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers, either through a roundtable that it initiates or in another roundtable, but where it is strongly involved. The *MIFI* must be there too. And we must ensure the consistency of the mandate, with common objectives. The actions of the city must be supported by a strong global vision of social development, but must also translate into concrete actions in the field. For instance, we want to make sure to register and integrate newcomers in the day camps of the city. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The city has to set a vision, no one else does. It must go through policies. The city has positioned itself well in terms of the workforce. The positioning is excellent with *Québec International*. But immigrants are not just labor. They are also humans, and their needs cut across all industries. Their contributions are also more transversal than on the job market. And even when it comes exclusively to the labor market, there is work to be done with employers because discrimination exists. Immigration was associated with labor. Yes, we

need it. But immigration is more than manpower. (Community organization representative, personal communication, January 2021)

The leadership in immigration at the local level should be that of the city. At the moment, it is not clear who should take it on. The situations we witness show us that it is uncomfortable to be caught between two stools. It seems very clear to me that we should discuss the sharing of responsibilities, the resources allocated to them... This is what we had planned to do in the agreement with the Government of Québec resulting from the *Act to grant Ville de Québec national capital status and increase its autonomy and powers*. But that didn't happen. (City representative, personal communication, January 2021)

Plan

Tightly linked to the leadership aspect, the plan touches many aspects of the welcoming and the integration of immigrants, as well as the greater diversification of communities. Referring to the grid of analysis, the plan carried by community actors can be labeled as comprehensive and targeted. However, these actions risk being forgotten or duplicated because of how institutional arrangements are organized. Not all aspects are funded by the *MIFI*. The conditions needing to be met for receiving funding are not clear, and the sources of funding can be multiplied. They also impact the delivery of the plan in a similar way to fragmented funding, as discussed above.

Institutional engagement

Institutional engagement toward the welcoming and integration of immigrants in Québec City is evaluated as very positive since the majority of the institutions are committed. As immigration and inclusion are two processes that implicate actors from different sectors (employment, health, education, housing, etc.), the participation of a variety of stakeholders, from community to public and private organizations, is expected. The interviews reveal a great array of actors involved in the place of coordination, including at the neighborhood level, in more specific areas where there is a greater diversity of people, and especially newcomers. Moreover, the plan of action submitted to the *MIFI* by the Québec City administration lists the partners required for its successful carrying out, including (in addition to the community organizations dedicating their mission to the

welcoming and integration of immigrants): *Emploi-Québec*⁷², *Centre intégré universitaire de santé et de services sociaux de la Capitale-Nationale (CIUSSS)*⁷³, the *Service de police de la Ville de Québec*⁷⁴, as well as the Québec Chamber of Commerce (document transmitted by a city representative, December 2020).

Partnerships

As discussed previously in this thesis, immigration must be tackled with the commitment of different orders of government. In Québec in particular, two orders of government are directly engaged in their welcoming and integration, the provincial and municipal governments. The evaluation of partnerships in the grid of evaluation concerns the different orders of government, as well as community organizations that must all work together in order to maximize the delivery of services.

As for the federal government, it has no direct involvement in the service-delivery in Québec City, as stipulated by the Canada-Québec agreement in immigration and the prevailing articles in M-30.

When it comes to immigration, the only relationship we have with the federal government is at the political level. For example, on the sidelines of the *Rendez-vous des affaires*, Minister Jean-Yves Duclos had met the Mayor. (City representative, personal communication, December 2020)

As for the provincial government, and the *MIFI* in particular, its commitment over the years has fluctuated depending on its presence – or not – in the region. Even though its presence is appreciated by community organizations – and especially their staff – , the interviews reveal that the *MIFI* does not always play a role deemed as useful as it could be by the rest of the ecosystem. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the involvement of the *MIFI* does not always cater to the needs of community actors. Even, sometimes, its presence even threatened the existence of certain services delivered by other organizations that had developed expertise and knowledge of the field over the years. And because the

⁷² Employment services from the Québec Government.

⁷³ Health services including hospitals in the *Capitale-Nationale* region.

⁷⁴ Québec City Police Services.

MIFI is the main funder of most organizations and services, the power relationship is imbalanced and disfavors smaller organizations.

The *MIFI* appears to want to play a greater leadership role in Québec City than what has been observed in Gatineau at the time of the fieldwork. Nevertheless, this role overlaps with the one currently played by the city. The few conflicts described in the previous section show that the role of the two orders of government is often identical and would need to be clarified for the benefit of all. However, in the case of the *MIFI*, the message delivered by the Québec Government is confusing. On the one hand, the Québec Government transfers responsibilities in immigration to the city in 2014 and even recognizes the importance of increasing its role and power in 2017 (with the *Act to grant Québec City national capital status and increase its autonomy and powers* as well as the agreement signed between the mayor and the Minister the same day). On the other hand, with its recent agreement, the *MIFI* wishes to impose greater overseeing of the city and also to take charge of responsibilities that had clearly belonged to the City and community organizations in the past.

As for the City, immigration is a new responsibility. Although it is hard to understand why the City did not want to pursue activities of coordination started under the *CRÉ*, it seems to have devoted increasing interest over the years to this new responsibility. Little support from the provincial government appears to have been given to the City while this responsibility was transferred, and, of course, the City had no previous expertise. As a consequence, the commitment of the municipal government has been imperfect while clear toward the welcoming and integration of immigrants.

The situation described above shows some level of partnership, but not a situation of ideal multilevel governance. In order to increase the quality of partnerships across stakeholders, it appears that the role and responsibility of each actor should be clarified. Likewise, the principle of subsidiarity should guide the determining of these roles. Local community actors have shown that they are able to organize themselves, to collaborate and provide interesting results. The *MIFI* could act in support of these, namely through the expertise their employees have developed or could develop. In addition, the importance of coordination among actors should be recognized, and arrangements should be revised (simplified) to enhance local capacity. Coordination takes time to establish, but the

commitment of all to work in the same direction, in their field of expertise, is a necessary condition for its success.

It took several years to arrive at a favorable coordination within the *CRÉ*. Coordination is not spontaneous, far from it. It must be said that at the time there were people who were responsible for the development of this coordination and who had a lot of capacity for coordination. This directly contributed to the quality of the coordination. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

Evidence base

Community-specific research is conducted in Québec City in the field of immigration thanks to the presence of the *Équipe de recherche en partenariat sur la diversité culturelle et l'immigration dans la région de Québec (ÉDIQ)*. Based at the *Université Laval*, this research chair brings together researchers from various fields, such as social work, geography and history. Scientific conference and panels are organized, and the community is involved in many research activities. Therefore, researchers are also present in the community, including in the coordination roundtables:

There is a presence of researchers in both places of coordination. *ÉDIQ* researchers make presentations at the *Table de concertation en immigration de la Capitale-Nationale* regularly. They bring the scientific dimension if you will. They also participate actively in the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*, but in a more continuous manner in the table that emanates from the *CRÉ*. (Researcher, personal communication, January 2021)

Evaluation and reporting

Data gathered in the interviews make it possible to conclude that evaluation is conducted by the *MIFI*. The local government and community organizations benefiting funding from the *Ministère* must report their expenditures and activities. Reporting is an important aspect of the partnership between the two orders of government, and, on this point, some negotiations have been more difficult in the past. The evaluation and reporting criteria should reflect a situation of multilevel partnerships.

6.4 Beyond the grid

Once again, the grid of analysis offers a useful framework to describe as well as understand strengths and weaknesses of institutional arrangements related to immigration in Québec City. The analysis conducted in the previous section shows some positive aspects of the model – including the great engagement of local actors – as well as pitfalls – the role and responsibilities of actors which should be better clarified to enhance collaboration across the communities. Thus, the additional elements of analysis included in the Gatineau case study (see Chapter 5) in order to complement the grid are used to add an additional perspective on the current case study. No additional elements of analysis are identified in this chapter although this case study confirms the validity of the elements that could be included in the grid and future analysis. In light of the conclusions and theoretical additions from the Gatineau case study, we analyze in this section the case of the City of Québec.

The engagement of the political versus the administrative side of the city

This aspect of the analysis shows that both administrative and political sides need to be engaged toward the accomplishment of their responsibility in immigration. This demonstration has been made with the Gatineau case study. Municipal politicians have less power over the responsibilities that are given to them compared to provincial or federal elected officials. Therefore, the collaboration of members of the public function is essential to honor this commitment.

The Québec City case study confirms this situation. Taking into account that Québec City has three types of commitments toward immigration, namely international workforce attraction, welcoming and integration newcomers as well as living together, these fields of action cannot count on the same political support and lead to different outcomes. As for international workforce attraction, this long-standing engagement of the City counts on both political and administrative supports. Actually, in this research, both elected officials and public servants have discussed the plan of action, the history of the engagement, and the partnerships with the community.

Regarding living together, since this commitment of the City is new, it is therefore hard to define, as well as what resulted from it. During the interviews, political and

administrative interviewees were both coming to the same conclusions regarding the internal and external challenges of living together in the city and described the same processes put in place to address them. This situation tends to demonstrate a form of collaborative work and therefore a common understanding and engagement. This bodes well for the next steps, as more developments were brought to my attention after the fieldwork had been completed.

However, as for the welcoming and integration of immigrants, only the administrative side and the community partners seemed to be involved in the issues. The political side was absent. All roundtables of coordination were placed under the administrative portfolio and therefore eluded political supervision. However, the only time the political side seemed connected to the issues was when the negotiations with the provincial government over the funding agreement were difficult to the point of being delayed by almost a year. Community organization representatives also only seemed to maintain relationships with public servants and very few with politicians. The research does not however explain why this is the current situation. Since it is in building a welcoming and inclusive community that it seems more difficult to obtain satisfying results, it is plausible that the absence of elected officials is to blame. This observation should be understood as a policy recommendation, rather than as a tentative to identify a guilty party.

The sufficiency of financial resources

As for financial resources, the model and challenges of Québec City are very much comparable to those of Gatineau. Both case studies show the ever-present risk of losing funding (and therefore its capacity of action) depending on political turnover, either at the municipal or provincial level. The case study of Québec City shows that when the monies are not transferred, the City can decide to fund certain initiatives deemed too essential to be cut, but this is done at its own expense. As the budget of cities depends greatly on property taxes, because of the services to properties for which municipalities were first created, this is not sustainable. In other words, immigration remains a political choice for municipalities to decide whether or not to invest efforts and resources in it. In order to guarantee place-based policies, as well as multilevel governance institutional arrangements

including involving the community actors, the Québec state should promote it through its own policies.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the grid of analysis is very useful to better describe, understand and make policy recommendations regarding arrangements at the local level for municipalities in Québec. Some new elements of analysis have been added and could also be used in future case studies in other legislations. These aspects have been used for the case of Québec City showing their usefulness to better portray, understand and evaluate local institutional arrangements.

In summary, the Québec City case study highlights the following institutional arrangements. The city has a community of stakeholders mobilized to deal with issues related to immigration. The municipal government, for its part, has seen its action increase over the years in this area, and in particular following the abolition of the CRÉs and the transfer of this responsibility to the cities. The *MIFI*, like in Gatineau, is experiencing a return to the region, and although it is a major player and appreciated by local players, its return creates concerns in several respects because of the way in which it is carried out.

In terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers, the leadership is diffuse. This particular sector linked to immigration is characterized by a lack of political leadership, which is nonetheless very present on the issue of attracting international labor and living together. This diffuse leadership translates into two places of coordination at the local level with competing mandates and a similarity of actors around the table.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the return of the *MIFI* occurs in circumstances where there is a risk of weakening the ecosystem. On the one hand, local players are sometimes even worried about their survival because of the mandate of the new *Accompagnement Québec* program. From now on, the *MIFI* wants the first contact of new arrivals, as well as their redirection to the relevant services, to be made by civil servants. However, this role is assumed by organizations present on the territory of the city. This historical model according to which organizations make the first contact with immigrants still applies elsewhere in Québec and Canada. Thus, even if the organizations were to

maintain strong ties with *MIFI* employees, this possible forced change in their mandate worries them.

Regarding the links between the municipal government and the *MIFI*, it seems that in several respects, their actions clash. The two orders of government have been pounding their feet since the transfer of responsibility to the city in 2014, and the return of the *MIFI* to the region has raised fears, particularly with regard to the leadership of a place of coordination. The roles and responsibilities would benefit from being discussed and agreed upon. Furthermore, the *MIFI* must ensure that it recognizes the municipality's ability to assume leadership and give it the necessary resources to do so with a view to effective multilevel governance. Funding must also be discussed and will be addressed more fully in the conclusion.

It therefore appears that certain partnerships exist at the local level on the territory of Québec City in terms of immigration, but that the level of integration of the work of the various partners is limited. Multilevel governance can be considered weak. The case study also tends to demonstrate that a strengthening of institutional arrangements in favor of the principles of multilevel governance would be welcomed positively by local actors, and would respond to the issues raised in this study.

In short, the case study on Québec City tends to confirm the conclusions reached in the case study on the City of Gatineau. The two case studies highlight the willingness of communities and cities to invest efforts in immigration, thereby meeting the needs of the local community. The cities are also committed to tackling the delicate issue of living together as it appears like a preoccupation in the community. In the case of Québec City, this need was accentuated (crisis-driven) with the attack on the Mosque in January 2017. In Québec City, which is characterized by aging demographics making the need for manpower more urgent than elsewhere in the province, it is possible to observe that the local government is particularly committed to finding solutions to the labor shortage. This commitment comes as businesses and employers assert this pressing need.

Therefore, in light of this analysis, it appears from these conclusions that municipal governments, through their proximity to citizens as well as to local organizations and businesses, find themselves on the receiving end of the demands and aspirations of the community. Obviously, they show commitment to respond to these. They are able to

innovate and respond to local needs (this is the case, for example, with the labor shortage in which the Québec City is resolutely engaged). To achieve this, local governments sometimes find themselves in a process of trial and error (as is the case with the commitment of Québec City with the *vivre-ensemble*, which has not been entirely successful). That said, they do have a capacity to learn from these mistakes and develop expertise within local government and the community. This expertise, developed in specific fields of action, would benefit from being disseminated among the other cities.

At this point, it is also possible to draw parallels between the two case studies examined in this thesis, which can also lead to conclusions regarding how municipalities handle immigration at the local level in the province of Québec. These comparisons will represent one important aspect of the conclusion chapter.

Conclusion

7.1 Reminder of thesis objectives and steps

The main goal of the thesis was to study how local communities in Québec welcome and integrate newcomers. The emphasis is placed on local arrangements, specifically on all orders of government (federal, provincial and municipal) and community partners to understand how they collaborate and deliver services to immigrants. The research drew on literature developed in the rest of Canada, mainly in Ontario, to fill a gap in knowledge. The focus of the thesis was on mid-sized municipalities, namely Gatineau and Québec City, the two largest cities after Montréal and its suburbs (including Laval). One chapter has been dedicated to each of those cities (Chapters 5 and 6), mapping community actors, their services and how they interact in institutional arrangements. Building on previous studies (see Agrawal, Andrew and Biles, 2009; Good, 2009; Esses et al., 2010; Biles et al., 2011), I have evaluated these institutional arrangements to assess the local capacity of these communities to integrate newcomers as well as foster welcoming communities.

In Chapter 2, I have explored the theoretical grounds on which municipalities have undertaken more responsibilities in immigration as well as the growing importance of collaboration across all orders of government. Multilevel governance is used as a theoretical framework because it creates the opportunity to evaluate institutional arrangements that exist across the different public and community actors at the scale of cities. Previous authors (see, for instance, Leo and August, 2009; Young and Tolley, 2001) have used this framework to frame and evaluate the capacity of communities to welcome and integrate newcomers. I also argue that in a context of glocalization, municipal governments are key strategic actors to face challenges and create policies, programs and environment that allow to create solutions that are the most adapted and suitable for the scale of the community.

In Chapter 3, I have shown that the responsibility of immigration in the province of Québec has been delegated mostly to the provincial government through the Canada-Québec agreement of 1991 (Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of the Aliens). Since then, the provincial government has been responsible for the selection of most immigrants (except for some categories including

refugees, family reunions and temporary workers) as well as their integration. The federal government funds these services through a dedicated budget, in which the amount has been indexed each year since then. Thanks to this agreement, the Québec government is the provincial government with the most power in immigration in Canada. However, the way in which this responsibility by the implementation of policies, as well as the allowance of the indexed amount transferred by the federal government are executed is not well documented. Concomitantly, cities across the world are getting more involved in the welcoming and integration of immigration because of their capacity to achieve great results. I have shown that the responsibility of immigration is also shared with municipalities in Québec. As more responsibilities are shared, and because the needs of immigrants are complex and delivered by multiple actors, the need arises to pursue coordination among stakeholders.

In Chapter 4, I have detailed the methodology used to answer my research questions. It relies on a qualitative approach, more precisely on two cases studies. The first one is conducted in Gatineau where, in addition of being a researcher, I have served as a municipal councilor. The ethnography method suited my position well as it allowed me to make the most of the privileged information and relationships that I had. The second case study is conducted in Québec City with a traditional method. Data collection relies on observation (Gatineau), document analysis and interviews of provincial government representatives, municipal government representatives as well as community organizations representatives. Data analysis is presented in the two chapters that follow.

In Chapter 5 (Gatineau) and Chapter 6 (Québec City), I have detailed how the responsibility of immigration unfolds in two communities receiving a significant number of immigrants each year. Through the case studies, I have demonstrated how the responsibilities are shared and accomplished by the provincial and municipal orders of governments, as well as community organizations which deliver most of the services to newcomers. In each of these chapters, the institutional arrangements are detailed and evaluated. Moreover, the case study of Gatineau allows me to underline two aspects of the analysis that provide insight into the successes and challenges of institutional arrangements: the political *versus* the administrative involvement of the municipal

administration, as well as the sufficiency of financial resources. This represents a contribution to the theory to be added to the grid of analysis used by previous researchers.

I conclude that the role of municipalities toward immigration needs to be clarified and reinforced at the scale of the province and could receive more structured assistance to help get organized and better serve their communities. The case of Gatineau shows the disconnect between the efforts made by the city, supported by the local community, and those of the *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation, et de l'Intégration (MIFI)*. This situation arises due to the lack of recognition of the municipalities' role in immigration and to the institutional arrangements that do not facilitate place-based policies. The fieldwork confirms this situation. It is clear from observations and interviews conducted with *MIFI* officials that the value of city leadership, as well as the importance of coordination mechanisms, where the priorities are those of the local community directly concerned, are underestimated. This disconnect inevitably leads to a waste of energy and effort, and results in inconsistencies.

This finding is confirmed by the second case study, conducted in Québec City. While Ontario, at the forefront, and other provinces recognize the role of cities and the value of local knowledge, these elements are underestimated by the Government of Québec. In fact, the role of cities in immigration is subject to a legal and regulatory vacuum, which I call a 'governance void' and discuss below in this chapter. The case study of the City of Québec shows that the absence of rules, instructions, or recommendations to ensure coordination between the actors leads to a sub-optimal situation. The multiplicity of places for coordination and the sharing of powers can create confusion, weaken the environment and services for immigrants. Therefore, I make the argument that the Government of Québec would do well to align itself with its local stakeholders, particularly with regard to best practices, in order to increase their efficiency and the outcomes for the ones directly affected by those policies. The structures and resources that should be made available to municipalities and community organizations in a perspective of multilevel governance are subject of policy recommendations below.

This conclusive chapter first outlines and details the practical findings of this doctoral thesis, focusing on what the case studies of Gatineau and Québec City have in common. Based on this comparison, I draw conclusions on the general model of

governance between the provincial, the municipal governments as well as community partners in Québec. I then elaborate on the particularity of the Québec model for governance in immigration, discussing the scope of local immigration policies as well as difference between that province and the rest of Canada. Then, I develop the theoretical contributions. The thesis presents two types of theoretical findings, one related to the grid of analysis developed by previous authors and used to better understand and evaluate institutional arrangements at the city level. The second theoretical contribution builds on the theoretical framework of multilevel governance and describes the concept of governance void. Thus, this conclusion formulates policy recommendations directed to public institutions and community stakeholders in Québec. A section on future direction in research as well as short concluding remarks end the thesis.

7.2 Québec immigration approach: Policy spaces

This thesis demonstrates that the question of immigration is addressed differently in Québec than in the rest of Canada. It shows that local immigration policies have evolved in the past decades, just as in other provinces or other jurisdictions. Despite the fact that the most visible discussions have been mainly around cultural and social aspects related to immigration (for instance, the secularization of the state, the *accommodements raisonnables*, the Bouchard-Taylor commission, and other events) this research contributes to demonstrate that the practices have spread, following the principles of enhancing local capacities, and subsidiarity even though the progression has not been linear and could still be enhanced. Nevertheless, substantial efforts must be made to empower and accompany local community actors, namely municipal governments, to make sure multilevel arrangements unfold. The next sections summarize the findings regarding the two cases studies.

This section is structured to provide answers to the following question: What do Gatineau and Québec City have in common and what does it reveal about the Québec model of welcoming and integrating immigrants?

Through the analysis of these two case studies, it is possible to discern several converging elements, which makes it possible to understand the model of governance and

the institutional arrangements currently in place. Obviously, these two case studies are not proof that this model is the same in all regions of Québec, from Montréal to the smallest municipalities. It would be necessary to conduct more research on these situations to come to a conclusion. However, these two cases allow us to reflect on the institutional approach to governance of issues related to immigration.

The need to coordinate at the local level

The cities of Gatineau and Québec first have in common that the fact that local communities recognize the need to work together to provide services to newcomers in order to ensure their reception and integration. Through their recent history, these local communities have not remained without a place for coordination for very long. Local organizations are the first to recognize this need and are organizing among themselves to fill this gap, in the absence of support from other orders of government. In Gatineau, the organizations created *CASA* after the fall of the *CRÉO* in order to ensure the coordination of the organizations directly involved in immigration. In Québec City, following the abolition of the *CRÉ*, the community organizations took over the round table that had been created there in order to continue its activities. This need is therefore real, as confirmed by the scientific literature and empiric observations.

Another observation raised by the comparative analysis of these two case studies is the fact that the local communities work together, but they do not always do so efficiently. This element of analysis is directly related to the theoretical framework of this thesis, namely multilevel governance. The multiplicity of coordination sites and planned actions, particularly in the case of Québec City, illustrates this very well. To be effective, coordination must bring together all the players, sharing a single action plan. The coordination of local actors must be supported by all actors, particularly governments, who must ensure the alignment of incentives (programs and funding) to support the participation of all actors in mechanisms coordination. The creation of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) in Ontario, then throughout the rest of Canada, is a convincing example of the success of these types of multilevel governance institutional arrangements. The absence of clear guidelines on how to ensure effective coordination is therefore a risk.

The capacity of cities to act as territorial leaders

In the two cases studied, the cities demonstrate a will and a certain capacity to set up coordination mechanisms for issues related to immigration. In the case of Québec City, the municipal government took on this responsibility as soon as the *CRÉs* were abolished. In the case of Gatineau, setting up the round table took longer, and its leadership emerged with the arrival of Syrian refugees. In both cases, the cities demonstrate a capacity to unite in order to implement an action plan. Above all, we see in both cases that organizations quite naturally turn to municipal governments to meet their need for coordination. This brings us back to the principle of territorial leadership, mentioned by the Gatineau mayor at the time, Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, to express this capacity that cities have through their proximity to local players to assert needs by listening to community partners. This idea is also coherent with the thought of Bradford developed in Chapter 2. Bradford states that municipalities cannot be ignored when it comes to developing public policy related to their territories. They promote collaboration across the community in identifying issues and finding solutions. Their input should not be avoided, although cities and communities should not be left to their own devices, but rather supported to face these challenges (see Bradford, 2005, p. 12)

It is clear from these two case studies that the cities are much more able to ensure coordination in this field of government competence than the regional directorates of the *MIFI*, in particular because the decision-makers of the *Ministry* are not based in the regions concerned. That said, the leadership of the coordination could ultimately be provided by another community actor as demonstrated by the scientific literature (see Chapter 3). The important thing is, of course, that this leadership be recognized by the community actors. In addition, to be fully effective, the institutional arrangements (agreement, funding, action plan) must be better aligned than they currently are in the regions studied in Québec.

Moreover, an additional contribution of this thesis is the observation, through case studies, that cities are the ones who have decided to enhance their own capacities, not the province. In the case of the City of Gatineau, the trigger for its commitment to immigration was the arrival of Syrian refugees and the awareness of the risk of not interfering in issues related to living together (from the attack on the Québec City mosque in 2017 and the attack on Parliament Hill in Ottawa in 2014). It was not the transfer of responsibility to

cities in 2014 that triggered its commitment in this area. Rather, history shows that in Gatineau, there was a period of hesitation that lasted a few years between the abolition of the *CRÉs* and the local government's commitment to immigration. Similarly, in Québec City, the first stages of commitment in favor of immigration predates the transfer of powers by the Government of Québec to the city. The same is true for its commitment to the question of living together, which rather followed the attack on the mosque in 2017. Admittedly, the transfer of powers to the city in 2014 has led to the creation of a table coordination (the *Réseau de coordination des services en immigration*), but this is not where the city is most dynamic.

The argument of Paquet (2016) cited above in the literature review is based on the idea that the transfer of power from the federal government to the provinces is based on a conjuncture of elements, but including the fact that the provinces have been proactive in this area, demanding more power from the Government of Canada. My argument is that the same is true for cities. They have been proactive and have initiated this field of competence, regardless of whether the Government of Québec had transferred this responsibility to them.

Cities, as local governments, carry the concerns and aspirations of their community. The case of immigration demonstrates this well. Through their proximity, municipal leaders become sensitive to local issues, even if they do not come under their direct jurisdiction. When the municipal government is able to act to mitigate or resolve an issue, the work of the city becomes relevant, and perhaps even inevitable. While its power is often limited, depending on the legislative framework and available resources, its power is often one of influence, which the local government derives in part from the coordination of local actors.

The role of the MIFI in supporting efficient place-based policies

As for the *Ministère de l'Immigration*, its size and scope have changed over time, therefore having an impact on their capacity to help and deliver, as well as on the communities in which they intervene. Their withdrawal from the regions in 2014 has created a void in both cities studied, which has led to reorganizations. Ultimately, the void

has been filled, as nature abhors a vacuum. Community organizations have structured their work differently and places of coordination have been created.

With their return to the regions in 2018, there is a greater implication of the *MIFI* in local governance of immigration. This has been good news for all community actors, as the help and support of public servants is appreciated. However, how the *MIFI* is increasing its presence in all regions is not appreciated at all times from every local actor and is questionable from the perspective of best practices. The top-down approach used by the *MIFI* with their return to the regions has created some turmoil, and some of their efforts have been, or could be, simply counterproductive. The implementation of the *Accompagnement Québec* program shows, for instance, either a misunderstanding or ignorance of the services and empowerment that have taken place in the communities. The same applies to the wish expressed by the *MIFI* to provide a place of coordination at the regional level. There is a clear disconnect between their policies and the needs that are voiced by the communities, or, in other words, the principles of multilevel governance. This could be explained by the lack of reflection, empirical or theoretical knowledge, and the lack of public policies detailing the sharing of responsibilities by the *MIFI*.

Their approach reveals mostly a lack of understanding of what had been created in the regions during their absence and how important it was for community actors. In both cities studied, the *MIFI* came back with the will to create a table of coordination, while the municipal government, or the community, had filled this gap in the past years. Of course, this first attempt created some negative reaction from the municipal governments, both elected officials and public servants, who reacted strongly to this incursion in their new field of competence.

It would seem natural that the role of the *MIFI*, when the responsibility for immigration was transferred to the cities after the abolition of the *CRÉs*, be that of disseminating good practices and supporting the local environment in the implementation of a (single) governance structure for immigration-related issues. The empowerment and accompaniment of local communities seem essential for the accomplishment of responsibility in immigration by local communities, to a different extent depending on the region. This is, for instance, comparable to the role that the federal government has played

in Ontario with the implementation of the LIPs⁷⁵. This element also draws back to Bradford (2005a) who explained that municipalities and communities must not be left to their own devices (see Chapter 2).

However, not only has the *MIFI* not played this role, but the implementation of the provincial *Accompagnement Québec* program goes against good practices in terms of local coordination. Indeed, in recent months, the *MIFI* has announced its desire to set up places of coordination to ensure the coordination of local actors. By announcing its return to the regions, it thus wishes to endorse the leadership of issues related to immigration. In doing so, it ignores the institutional arrangements already in place, risking the weakening of local ecosystems, which had been put in place recently with the abolition of the *CRÉs*. Of course, leadership is not just something one can claim. The trust and collaboration of the partners will be necessary for them to succeed. Moreover, because decision-makers are still centralized in Montréal, the arrangements suggested by the *MIFI* does not promote place-based policies.

Another element that the Gatineau and Québec City have in common is the general attitude of the *MIFI* towards ecosystems and local actors. There is a disconnect between the objectives pursued by the *Ministère*, particularly within the framework of the *Accompagnement Québec* program, and local needs. The Québec Government, when making decisions, appears to misunderstand local realities, services and needs.

For instance, the role of the integration agents is, in the case of Québec City, duplicating the role assumed by local organizations for a long time. The very mission of community organizations is affected since some had been essentially dedicated, for decades, to welcoming immigrants and directing them to the services appropriate to their needs. The employees of these organizations know the field, they know the services, the individuals and are therefore able to properly direct newcomers. In the case of the *MIFI* integration agents, they are not based in the regions, and must therefore develop expertise for several regions simultaneously. However, the ecosystem is not the same in Gatineau, in Québec City, in Gaspésie or in Sherbrooke. This knowledge of the field will be difficult to acquire, especially without being on site, and having to acquire it for many regions.

⁷⁵ Although some authors find that the federal government plays too great of a role in the work conducted by some LIPs (see Cullen and Walton-Roberts, 2019; Dam and Wayland, 2019).

Another example is the establishment of new forums for coordination by the *MIFI* in recent months. While coordination has been going on for years, these new structures risk weakening it, rather than consolidating it. In short, these policies weaken the local ecosystem, both the organizations themselves, which must revise their mission or their activities, and the ecosystem that is shaken.

Thus, while the actions undertaken by the *MIFI* should aim to support local coordination, mainly in order to meet the needs of newcomers and doing so as efficiently as possible, their actions go rather in the opposite direction, ignoring the local challenges specific to each region. From the point of view of good practices in local governance of immigration-related issues, this attitude is inexplicable and absurd. From a practical point of view, it reveals a disconnect between decision-makers based in Montréal and local actors in the regions studied. This attitude is not new and does not seem to be linked to a single government. The actions of the *MIFI* over the past decade or so, despite changes in government, are not part of a logic of multilevel governance, nor of supporting place-based policies. The situation observed since 2018 with the return of the *MIFI* in the regions, and later with the implementation of the *Accompagnement Québec*, appear to be in continuation of a longer policy approach.

In its *Stratégie d'action en matière d'immigration, de participation et d'inclusion* cited in Chapter 3, the Government of Québec recognizes a certain role for municipalities, as well as communities, in the welcoming and integration of immigrants. In Chapter 3, it is reported that this strategy of the Government of Québec recognizes the role played by municipalities and communities in building inclusive communities. The Government also announces its intention to renew its partnership with cities. This new approach is based on the leadership that it recognizes in cities, in particular - but not exclusively the cities of Montréal and Québec, and their ability to coordinate and mobilize local actors (Gouvernement du Québec, 2015). Therefore, even though the Government of Québec appeared to recognize the strategic role played by local governments at the time, the actions observed in recent years, i.e. during the years covered by the implementation of this strategy, do not correspond to this enacted principle. The place occupied by the municipalities already seems small in this strategy if one were to examine it from the point

of multilevel governance. However, empirical analysis shows that even these promises have not been fully fulfilled.

Funding as a signal of recognition of local needs and solutions

Moreover, another common reality between Gatineau and Québec City is the unpredictability and variability of funding. In the case of Gatineau, the agreements have sometimes been of short duration (1 year), and do not seem to last beyond 3 years. In Québec City, the situation is the same, but local players also deplored a one-year gap in funding because the local and the provincial governments were unable to agree upon the terms on an agreement (see Chapter 6). Political authorities of both orders of government had to intervene to put an end to it. In the meantime, the city had to compensate for actions deemed necessary with its own funding.

The literature review showed that the transfer of responsibilities to cities is not always accompanied by corresponding funding (see Chapters 2 and 3). The case of the transfer of immigration responsibilities to the cities is another example of this. Indeed, the cases of Gatineau and Québec City show that they must provide 50% of the financing of the actions within the framework of the agreements binding them to the Government of Québec. It is therefore a new responsibility, but also a new financial burden for cities.

Still with regard to funding, cities manage to sign agreements with the *MIFI* by applying to a program that is the same for organizations working in the field of immigration. While multilevel governance foresees that partners should treat each other as equals, this phenomenon, although a detail, goes against this important principle.

Finally, with regard to funding, it is clear that the current structure is not the most efficient and creates confusion. In the two cases studied, the cities obtained funding for their actions and those of local organizations. However, it is not clear why the funding should pass through the city, and to what actions or activities it should be dedicated, *versus* why it would be given directly to the organizations by the *Ministry*. This formula should be clarified for the benefit of local stakeholders. Also, the funding formula should be designed to promote local coordination. At the time of the *CRÉs*, the organizations had an interest in joining the coordination because they could obtain funding for their activities

when they were part of their action plan. Funding is therefore a considerable lever for promoting local coordination.

Creating partnerships

Organizations need to view themselves as partners in a context of multilevel governance. This seems to be more the case in Ontario, where representatives of different orders of government participate at the same level. The ability to make decisions at the local level is also a *sine qua non* for this effective multilevel governance to work.

In the Canadian constitution, municipalities are creatures of the provinces. Although the Government of Québec today recognizes in principle cities as local governments, in practice it seems to have difficulty breaking out of its constitutional straitjacket and delegating the tools and resources they need to municipalities for them to accomplish the responsibilities that are incumbent to them. Rather than seeing the municipalities as equal partners and key actors for the realization of common goals, it appears that the Government of Québec still sees municipalities for the responsibilities that they used to have. One conclusion of both case studies is that actors have been able to establish partnerships for the realization of common goals, but not to the point where their work is integrated and coherent. This results in a sub-optimal situation and leads inevitably to lower outcomes.

To guarantee success, the Government of Québec needs to realize that the power dynamics have changed between the province and the municipalities. For the government to reach its goals, in immigration but also in other field of responsibilities, it will need to be able to work with local governments. Municipalities can be allies namely because they are in a better position to innovate (see, for instance, Corfee-Morlot et al., 2009). These innovations can then be shared and lead to the achievement of provincial, national or even international objectives.

The civil society must not be forgotten either. More and more, citizens have a say and community organizations also engage in policy making and decisions. Governance mechanism must reflect those principles and allow the community members to be part of the process. This is why researchers now discuss governance, rather than simply government.

A word about M-30

Creating partnership necessarily raises the question of whether cities should be prohibited from establishing direct relationships with the federal government (and *vice versa*). As discussed in Chapter 3, this provincial law M-30 limits direct relationships between cities (and provincial public bodies) and the federal government, forcing a ministerial decree to allow a direct link (Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation, 2017; Loi sur le Ministère du conseil exécutif, 2021).

One of the observations that arises in light of the two case studies is the visible difficulty of the *MIFI* in supporting and accompanying the municipalities in the establishment of a fully effective local coordination. However, the federal department IRCC has already demonstrated to have learned by establishing several LIPs across the rest of Canada. The question that arises incidentally is the following: would cities and local communities be better served if they could establish links directly with IRCC and thus establish *LIPs* or any other institutional arrangement falling within the principles of multilevel governance?

Bill M-30 was promoted when Québec was experiencing an important nationalist movement and where, following the failure of the 1980 referendum, he sought to behave as a national government (these chapters of the law were added in 1984 (Loi sur le Ministère du conseil exécutif, 2021)). For Collin and Léveillé (2003), the signature of agreements between the federal government and the municipalities, as well as the establishment of funding programs, was perceived as interference on the part of the Government of Canada in provincial affairs. Furthermore, Bill M-30 is part of a logic of nation building. Public actors, such as cities, school boards, and all types of public organizations have as sole interlocutor being the Government of Québec, which in turn becomes the sole interlocutor of the Government of Canada. Today, these legislative provisions seem little or not challenged in Québec.

Although the questioning cited above is legitimate, it does not appear necessary for cities and communities to circumvent Bill M-30 to put in place effective institutional arrangements. Indeed, multilevel governance does not necessarily involve the three orders of government, but should rather ensure the integration of work between those who hold powers and competences in this area, as well as civil society. Institutional arrangements

reflecting the principles of multilevel governance, in the field of immigration specifically, are therefore far from impossible in Québec, since the province holds the power in matters of reception and integration of newcomers under the Canada-Québec agreement signed in 1991 (see Chapter 3).

That said, the Government of Québec must develop its sensitivity to this type of governance. Even though the Government of Québec has centralized a lot of power to the detriment, sometimes, of local autonomy, it must henceforth, in the field of immigration at least, renew its partnership with local governments. In recent years, we have seen some attempts in this direction. For example, the Government of Québec's 2016-2021 *Stratégie d'action en matière d'immigration, de participation et d'inclusion*, and Bill 122, both tend to recognize the role of local governments and their ability to assume territorial leadership. That said, this policy must be taken much further and materialize into concrete actions on the ground.

Responsibility of immigration constantly shuffling

Looking at the trajectories of local community engagement in immigration, it is clear that inefficiencies exist. The powers and responsibilities of each of the players are ill-defined, if at all. This governance vacuum gives way to all sorts of institutional arrangements, some more efficient than others, but which are inevitably not optimal.

For the past two decades, it appears that the powers and responsibilities of each actors have shifted several times in both cities. First, responsibility for immigration has passed from the *CRÉs* to the cities. Now, the *Ministry* currently seems to want to recover some of these powers, particularly in terms of coordination and local leadership. So it could be a bit of a change of direction. However, the absence of local decision-makers in the regions would risk rendering these efforts futile.

Also, the vagueness or vacuum of governance makes the commitment of municipal governments in the area of immigration vulnerable to political vagaries. This risk was identified in the Gatineau case study. In the absence of the necessary framework, the level of commitment of cities depends on the will of individuals. When these individuals move on, this can crumble. It has also been shown that in the absence of regulations or supervision, the commitment of cities must be based on a situation combining the will of

the political and administrative sides of cities. In any case, in order to ensure the sustainability of coordination sites and local action plans - and because coordination takes time to establish - the roles and responsibilities of the different orders of government should be defined, in addition to ensuring support and the dissemination of good practices in the regions.

In sum, contrasting the two cases studies makes it possible to better understand the Québec model of local governance in immigration currently at play in the province. Interestingly enough, this model of governance is not formal, but rather implicit. The dominant arrangements are not those necessarily recognized by the Government of Québec or the legislative framework in force. Unlike the Ontario model (later exported across Canada) of *LIPs*, this model is not one recognized by all orders of government involved in this way (in Québec, it would be the provincial government and local governments). Rather, this model emerges primarily from local communities taking charge of issues related to immigration and the growing diversity of their community. In this model, local governments assume a leadership role that is also recognized by the community, which wants the city to take over this function. The institutional arrangements emanating from the Government of Québec, in particular the method of financing immigration services, do not however (entirely) support this model of governance. Indeed, it is somehow ignored by the province, which puts in place policies and programs that compete with what is already in place in the communities. The case of the *Accompagnement Québec* program is the best example of this situation. Because this model has the potential to respond to the issues at stake, through tailor-made solutions and innovation, this model would benefit from being recognized by the Government of Québec. Through its policies, the latter could consolidate it in such a way as to promote the full coordination of local services.

Based on the analysis, it is possible to conclude that the level of integration of the work of stakeholders is weak. Lack of multilevel governance leads inevitably to a loss of efficiency and lower outcomes. All stakeholders do not necessarily understand each other's role, therefore creating situations where services can be duplicated. This is a situation that seem to be happening with the new service launched by the *MIFI Accompagnement Québec*. Many preoccupations have arisen on how it could be cannibalizing the services

already offered by community organizations. This fear was raised by organizations both in Québec City and Gatineau, and, I believe, with great reason. In Québec City, the community organizations reveal that the funding of the services they were offering for years by the *MIFI* would no longer be available since those services were going to be offered from now on the by *agents d'aide à l'intégration*. Community organizations have nonetheless developed an expertise and the network necessary to achieve those actions. The Government of Canada, by comparison, also recognize the role of SPOs in their policy (see Chapter 3). In addition, the real capacity of *the agents d'aide à l'intégration* to deliver was also questioned by community organizations. During the interviews, the participants wondered if the resources allocated by the Ministry would be sufficient to ensure that all newcomers' needs be met. In sum, this policy seems to be disconnected from the real needs of the communities.

The institutional arrangements should be revised to better reflect the principles of multilevel governance as this model ensures efficiency in the allocation of public resources. The work of the two orders of government should be aligned to avoid duplication of efforts, coordination mechanisms, and better allocation of public monies. Place-based policies should be promoted, and this could happen by formally recognizing the role of cities in immigration. Policy recommendations are formulated below to the attention of decision-makers.

7.3 The particularity of the Québec model in immigration: scope of local immigration policies and sharing of responsibilities

As communities become more and more diversified, there is a need to understand those public policies, and make sure they are appropriate to assure resilience of those communities. To that end, two things are important to consider regarding the scope of policies. The first, and maybe the most intuitive, is that immigrants must access appropriate services when they arrive to make sure they are able to get access to the opportunities for which they came here. In other words, immigrants come here to contribute to the community (and often to get a better quality of life for themselves and their children) and, in order to be able to do so, services must be offered to them (such as support on their arrival, language training, housing and employment services). Effective immigration

policies must seek to achieve good integration of immigrants in order to make sure they have the capacity to contribute and thrive and therefore avoid situations such as exclusion, segregation, radicalization, ghettoization and so on.

The second aspect of successful immigration policies concerns welcoming communities. In fact, as communities become more and more diversified, some concerns arise about the welcoming communities, the people who were there first, to make sure they create the openings necessary for the full integration of immigration. Some attention must be directed toward battling racial and religious prejudices, discrimination, racism, etc. The second aspect is often understood as the *vivre-ensemble* (or living together), an aspect of immigration policies where francophone policy-makers, including in Québec, are particularly strong. This conclusion is based on my observations, but has also been confirmed by professionals and academics in the field. Although it is not enshrined in the literature yet, it appears like an obvious fact. Under the aspect of *vivre-ensemble*, cities have also been able to tackle larger issues related to diversity, including those related to First Nations, the LGBTQ+ community, etc. This is namely the case with Gatineau, which has planned some structuring actions in this regard following the creation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*.

Cities in Québec seem to be interested in the question of *vivre-ensemble* more than elsewhere in Canada. For example, the former Mayor of Montréal, Denis Coderre, set up the *Observatoire international des maires sur le vivre-ensemble*⁷⁶ a few years ago. It brings together several cities in Québec, as well as internationally. This possibly reflects the predominance of French language and Québec's own cultures, or interculturalism. Indeed, the *vivre-ensemble* is based on an understanding that there is a dominant culture, and that the approach to the Other must be based on common principles (such as language, culture, history). Canadian cities do not ignore similar elements in their approach, but they seem to give them less importance. The two approaches seem valid for both the newcomers and the host community, and simply reflect different cultural concerns (researcher, personal communication, May 2021).

⁷⁶ Also known as the International Observatory of Mayors Living Together. For more information: <https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/en> (page consulted on March 28th 2022)

In sum, these two aspects – regarding newcomers and the welcoming community - should be understood as important and complementary in a local immigration policy, as one nurtures the other. In fact, if the community is opened and welcoming towards immigrants, there is a higher chance that they will integrate successfully. Likewise, if immigrants do integrate themselves successfully, there will likely be fewer risks of prejudices and negative attitudes toward immigrants (researcher, personal communication, May 2021). As a matter of fact, successful local immigration policies must include actions directed toward immigrants and others toward the welcoming communities.

One very important finding of this thesis is that in Gatineau and Québec City, policies are directed toward both the immigrants and the welcoming communities. For instance, in Gatineau, both the name of the roundtable (*Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*) and the plan of actions have integrated the two aspects. It is the same in Québec City where the actions also concern the welcoming community (Ville de Québec, 2020). In other words, even though the public debates, as well as the literature, have not analyzed much of the policies implemented to make sure communities are welcoming toward immigrants, local communities have addressed both aspects of the policies.

Why is Québec different than the rest of Canada when it comes to local immigration policies?

One of the main conclusions of this thesis is that the Québec model of local integration of immigrants is different from the rest of Canada. This thesis describes local arrangements in immigration, highlighting the case of two mid-sized cities in the province of Québec that receive a significant number of immigrants. This exercise makes it possible to draw certain conclusions, including, again, the unicity of the Québec model as it relates to institution arrangements between local actors and different orders of government. It also allows me to suggest ways in which it can be improved. The thesis did not however aim to explain the origin of these differences, but the literature can be enlightening in that sense.

Fourot (2013) explains the historical trajectory of local administration in immigration, taking as an example Montréal and Laval. She argues that, in Québec, following the *Révolution tranquille* and the rise of nationalism in the 1960's, the effects were multiple

and include a certain centralization of power in the hands of the Québec government, at the expense of the powers devolved to cities. It was namely the case for immigration. She writes:

The consequences of the *Révolution tranquille* on political, economic and social institutions are major. At the intergovernmental level, this has resulted in a loss of autonomy of the municipalities in relation to the province. With regard to nationalist discourses, the abandonment of the ethno-religious identity of French-Canadians was made in favor of a more inclusive political identity, the Québécois, with the French language being at the heart of it. However, the anglicization of immigrants made many Francophones fear that they would become a minority in Montréal, their assimilation being seemingly inevitable. Important urban problems result from it, but call for a provincial response much more than a municipal one.⁷⁷(p. 52)

This logic is based on a nation-building perspective. In fact, it is the same logic that prevails for the Canadian government when negotiating agreements in immigration with the provinces. Fourot explains that some responsibilities, including immigration and education (related to the francization of newcomers, among other things) were centralized to the Québec government, therefore affecting the capacity of municipalities to play a role. As an example, Fourot (2013) recalls that Québec put in place its *Ministère de l'Immigration* in 1968, with the double goal of limiting the anglicization (the *commission Parent* (1961-1966) had confirmed the tendency of newcomers to learn English rather than French), as well as reversing the birth decline. Therefore, the *Ministère de l'Immigration* quickly sought to attract French-speaking immigrants. During those past decades, the Québec government, in an effort to preserve the French language and affirm the Québec identity has limited the capacity of municipalities to act in welcoming and integrating newcomers. From then, it is easy to imagine how a certain path dependency (see Pierson, 2000)⁷⁸ between the province and its municipalities came into being...

One question that arises from the conclusion reached by Fourot is the following: to what extent have the responsibilities devolved to cities been affected by this way of

⁷⁷ These terms have been freely translated by the author of the thesis.

⁷⁸ The term 'path dependency' has been coined by Paul Pierson in an article published in 2000: *Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics*. The path dependency theory explains that history matters in the sense that decisions guide the path for future decisions. Radical change is hard to implement as historical decisions limit the scope of decisions that can be made. This dynamic is reinforced through time.

working? Can the path dependency explain why the Québec government tends to devolve fewer responsibilities to municipalities, at least in the field of immigration? Indeed, the municipalities take on those responsibilities because the communities express needs which municipal governments realize they are in the best position to address. But, at the end of the day, the responsibilities are devolved without real reflection on the part of the two orders of government. This creates significant inequalities between municipalities across the province, without the tools, support that could be given by the different departments, and perhaps more importantly financial leverage to act (affecting municipal taxation.)

When it comes to immigration, the historical trajectories drawn by Fourot show that the Québec government has been reluctant to devolve responsibilities to municipalities during the first few decades of Québec as a modern state. The decisions and policies decided at that time still impact what is observable today in terms of sharing responsibilities between the provincial and municipal governments. What has been observed during the course of this thesis is that, since then, there has never been a reflection on how to tackle immigration services and share responsibilities for the benefit of newcomers and their welcoming communities. The institutional arrangements vary from one city to another, depending on individuals, their capacity to lead and influence each other, political priorities and views, as well as time. This absence of clear policy certainly represents a risk of losing efficiency in public resources at the very least.

7.4 Theoretical contribution

The theoretical contributions of this thesis are twofold. The first one is the enrichment of the grid of analysis developed by previous authors. By conducting two case studies in new institutional settings (one of which is an ethnography with the researcher being an active member of the community), this has led to two additions to the grid. These are detailed in the first section below.

The second contribution concerns the absence of public policy in a context of multilevel governance, or what I call 'governance void'. The term 'governance void' is not defined in the scientific literature, although some cases do depict this situation. My contribution is therefore to define the term 'governance void' for the first time. The conclusion reached in this thesis is that a vacuum of governance inevitably leaves room for

some institutional arrangements, but these are highly likely to be sub-optimal. In a context of multilevel governance, i.e. in a context in which governments and social groups everywhere in the world are increasingly evolving, the roles and responsibilities of the actors, as well as the mechanisms for coordination between them, must be stated in order to avoid this problematic situation. This current section therefore makes it possible to define this governance void, observed in matters of immigration between the provincial government, the cities, and the communities.

Institutional arrangements or a modern and agile governance

For a little over ten years, researchers have been interested in institutional arrangements promoting the reception and integration of newcomers into communities. This research program, conducted mainly in Ontario and in the English-speaking provinces of Canada, combined with the development of an analysis grid (see Annex I) assessed the response of the city and the host community. This grid has been used in the two case studies conducted as part of this thesis. The case studies, and particularly Gatineau examined from the angle of an ethnographic method, has led to the identification of two new parameters for analysis, i.e. two additions to the grid.

The first aspect concerns the municipal government approach to immigration and differentiates the engagement of the political *versus* the administrative side of the city. In Chapter 5, I have shown that, in the current legislative context, municipal representatives have less power over some responsibilities than elected officials in the *Assemblée Nationale* or Parliament, and therefore must count on the commitment of the administrative side of the city to ensure the completion of their engagement. The second aspect needing to be added to the grid of analysis seeks to better understand the community response to immigration. The sufficiency of financial resources is, in fact, unavoidable to reach optimal outcomes. The next section details those new elements of analysis that could be exported to other cases studies, in Québec or elsewhere.

The engagement of the political versus the administrative side

The first addition concerns the evaluation of the city's response, which is the first section of the assessment of institutional arrangements, and focusses on political *versus*

administrative commitment. The argument has been made that mayors and municipal councilors are elected officials with limited power compared to elected officials in other orders of government (see Chapter 5). I argue that the limited power of elected officials had to be compensated by the support of public officials to ensure that the political decisions, or policies, would be implemented.

The limited power of mayors was also identified by Biles et al. (2011) as being a limit to the action of cities in terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers. Indeed, the literature recognizes the importance played by civil servants and their discretionary power. Lipsky (1980) notably documented the work of street-level bureaucrats and their ability to influence the application of public policies. Fourot (2013), moreover, returns to this phenomenon and the impact it can have on municipal governments. She writes: “[i]n Canada, the professionalization of the municipal public service has been considered as a protection against its politicization, especially since the functioning of Canadian municipalities is thought out according to management standards of administrative structures rather than governmental ones. (p.32)” Collin and Léveillé (2003) also subscribe to this idea that the municipal apparatus was organized to limit its politicization. These researchers have documented the strategies adopted to limit the influence of politics in municipalities. This list of strategies includes the professionalization of the municipal civil service, unionization, the hiring of a general manager becoming the only employee of the municipal council and acting as a transmission belt between it and the entire bureaucratic apparatus, as well as the protection of certain functions (positions) by provincial laws which govern the activities of the municipality.

As a consequence, elected officials, in addition to making decisions in the municipal council, must have the support of the bureaucratic apparatus to carry out their actions and to be able to invest new fields of competence for cities. As immigration is not a traditional competence of cities (which are rather aimed at property services) and is not adequately supervised by the Government of Québec either, the commitment on the political side, as well as the administrative side, is identified as necessary to advance these priorities.

In this doctoral research, the case study of Gatineau has demonstrated that the engagement of both the political and the administrative sides were complementary and

allowed the city to take the lead to fully commit to the objectives that they had determined with the community. The city was able to rely on its history of recognizing and valuing its diversity, in particular through the *Politique de la diversité culturelle* adopted in 2008. In addition, it was able to rely on the expertise of civil servants who knew the actors in the community well and who demonstrated a great knowledge of issues related to immigration and diversity. The City of Gatineau is also involved, through these individuals, in scientific networks aimed at sharing knowledge between municipalities. The political side, for their part, could rely on knowledge of the issues, and when they assumed leadership were therefore able to count on the support of stakeholders, namely city officials. All of these combined conditions were favorable to the city's approach, in particular in setting up the *Table de concertation sur la vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*.

The second case study is slightly different, but Québec City was certainly able to count on both the political and administrative to some extent. Québec City's commitment to attracting international labor is long-standing. In this case, both the political and administrative sides seem deeply committed to achieving common goals. Regarding living together, the city's commitment appears newer and is possibly crisis-driven since the events at the Mosque in January 2017. The commitment to living together and valuing diversity relies on a strong political will, which is notably the trademark of the former Mayor of Québec City, Régis Labeaume. This commitment by the city is still in its infancy, and the city has experimented with a few ideas in recent years. The commitment on the political and on the administrative sides seem complete, and can also benefit from the advice of experts (City representative, personal communication, December 2020). Finally, in terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers, this is only dealt within the public administration, apart from the negotiation of the agreement with the Government of Québec where political will became necessary to finally reach to an agreement after a year of stalling. Moreover, the city's approach to welcoming and integrating newcomers presents certain pitfalls, as demonstrated in Chapter 6. It is possible that the commitment of elected officials, particularly *vis-à-vis* the responsibilities that the *MIFI* seeks to take over, will become necessary.

Moreover, it is a safe to say that the commitment of the City of Gatineau and Québec City in terms of immigration and diversity are largely due to the fact that they were

able to count on internal leadership. As the field of immigration is not so suitably supervised by the Government of Québec, unlike other fields of action of the cities (for example the management of drinking water, the management of waste, etc.), the action of cities - and communities - is largely based on the local leadership. In sum, the commitment of cities in immigration relies on the will of individuals, but the engagement of both the political and administrative sides is a winning condition to ensure its success.

The sufficiency of financial resources

The second addition to the grid concerns the sufficiency of financial resources. Biles et al. (2011) had also identified this element as a potential limit of the actions of cities. In the case of Québec, immigration seems to be even more of a political choice, as the framework for activities in this area of jurisdiction is less codified than in Ontario, for example. Municipal governments must decide to spend energies and resources (including financially) in this field, therefore it being a political choice. Appropriate funding and financial leverages available to the community to make sure it is and remains a welcoming one should be part of the grid because it is an inherent condition to the success of the efforts invested. These elements are also part of institutional arrangements which can facilitate or complicate the community engagement toward immigration.

Throughout the case studies, different risks have been identified related to financial resources. The sufficiency of financial resources could first be threatened by the fact that municipalities can decide to invest monies or not in this field of responsibilities. In fact, according to the current program, cities can benefit from an agreement with the *MIFI*, but they must ensure 50% of the funding budget. In other words, municipalities must match the funding of the *MIFI*. Because the taxation on which municipal activities rely depends on property tax and is therefore quite limited, financial choices must be made and can be tough.

A related risk is political turnover. As a matter of fact, if one municipal government decides to invest in immigration, there is no assurance that the next one will make the same decisions. This can weaken the ecosystem by reshuffling local institutional arrangements. Financial resources could also vary on the provincial side, although the federal monies

transferred according to the Canada-Québec agreement are indexed and therefore should not fluctuate too much.

Moreover, both case studies have made it possible to highlight the fact that financial resources from the *MIFI* can be unpredictable, and that there is therefore little ability to foresee (no more than three years). In the case of Québec City, the city spent one year without funding. The city had to decide to either cancel some activities or maintain them at the own expense. In the case of Gatineau, with the implementation of the *Table de concertation sur le vivre-ensemble et l'immigration*, the investments of the *MIFI* have greatly increased. This is good news, but it also raises the question of the durability of these investments.

The other element of analysis regarding financial resources are the leverage through which the community can ensure its action plan is carried out. For community organizations, the monies can come from either the *MIFI* (which remains the most important funder) or the city. Both case studies have demonstrated that it is not always clear which order of government should fund which activities. Because the *MIFI* and the city do not necessarily share the same plan of action (which is, for instance, the case with LIPs in Ontario), the risk is that their financial efforts do not necessarily go in the same direction. In both case studies, cities had created an action plan with the community stakeholders. However, they both lacked financial leverage to ensure that all their actions would be completed. At the time of the CRÉs, monies were seen as an important lever to ensure coordination. This has been diluted with the current institutional arrangements.

Therefore, the following table shows the modified analysis grid that includes the two new elements following the case studies in Gatineau and Québec. This enhanced grid is exportable and could increase our understanding of cases in Québec or even elsewhere (also see Annex II).

Table 7.1 - Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity

Municipal approaches			
	<i>Range of approaches</i>		
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Engagement (political <i>versus</i> administrative sides)	Two sides	Only political	Only administrative
Community responses			
	<i>Range of responses</i>		
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent
Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Financial resources	Sufficient	Some	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

Reproduced and adapted from Biles and al., 2011, p. 322

In sum, this tool of analysis is intended to be used for any municipality, at the very least in Canada. Since 2009, this grid has been developed to evaluate institutional

arrangements at the local level, focusing both on the municipal and the broader community approach. This grid has demonstrated its usefulness in several cities in Canada. For the first time, in this research, this grid has been applied in cities in Québec. For this reason, and because the methodological approach used is original (i.e. an ethnography), this research has shed light on two new aspects to be taken into account for future studies. This scientific contribution is productive as this grid can be exported to other communities.

Governance void: opportunity or threat?

The case studies show that the sharing of responsibilities in immigration among stakeholders has changed over time, and continue to do so depending on policies, on individuals mostly, and on regions. There seems to be an absence of clearly stated policies, understood by all, on the sharing of responsibilities between the provincial government, municipalities and community organizations. This is what I call a ‘governance void’. This leads institutional arrangements to be constantly redefined. It is plausible that the near absence of academic literature on how to welcome and integrate immigrants in Québec (or the direction taken by public debates regarding immigration policies) has led to an avoidance of the topic which is at the heart of this thesis. This could explain why other provinces have thought, discussed and implemented policies on how to welcome and integrate immigrants, while this discussion seems to have been circumvented in Québec, although this province is the first to have had an agreement with the federal government on immigration. Nevertheless, this situation brings about several consequences, including potentially poorer outcomes for immigrants as well as the for welcoming communities.

As a matter of fact, this governance void seems to have lasted for some time. Even when the *CRÉs* were officially responsible for immigration, there were differences in how they unfolded between various regions. In Québec City, there were a table of coordination and mechanisms to ensure the community was able to address situations and issues (a place of coordination that many feel is missing). But this was not the case in Gatineau where the actions were still in an embryonic state at the moment of the *CRÉO* abolition (and despite the fact that Gatineau is a *terre d'accueil* for immigrants). Since then, the responsibility of immigration has been officially transferred to cities and *MRCs*, but without structure, management framework, and adequate resources. This also coincides with the withdrawal

of regional directions of the *Ministère de l'Immigration*. As a consequence, the regions have been mostly left to their own devices, with initially little knowledge or capacity to face this new responsibility. The case study shows that there has been a difficult transition period, at least for a time, in order for the community to reorganize. Regions have handled this differently, and producing varying results; certain being more efficient than others.

In 2018, with the gradual return of *MIFI* officials to the regions, this ecosystem was again disrupted, as shown in the two cases studies. The *Ministère's* approach has been a top-down one. It possibly wished to put structures that were abolished (the abolition of the *CRÉs* has coincided with the *MIFI's* withdrawal from the regions) back in place, at least to some extent. However, what the *MIFI* then seemed to ignore is that in the meantime structures had been put back in place in order to meet the needs of organizations and local communities. The same is true of integration assistance agents put in place by the program *Accompagnement Québec*. It is possible that, from its perspective, the *Ministère* wished to respond to a real need in certain communities, possibly the most remote ones, where the ecosystem linked to immigration is not very developed - but I can only speculate. However, with this approach, the *MIFI* risks weakening ecosystems in cities, both the organizations directly, those who had assumed leadership, and the coordination mechanisms that had been put in place. That was the case in the cities that were the subject of this thesis.

The lack of clear policies, or governance void, creates a space where all orders of government, as well as stakeholders, can imagine and understand their role as well as the functioning of the ecosystems differently. This absence of policy leaves place to all types of structures, some more efficient than others, that vary depending on regions. There is also a risk of personification of the roles, i.e. where individuals define their own role. As soon as these individuals leave their position, the role is defined otherwise by a new person. This means that roles are consistently to be redefined, and that the ecosystems must readjust accordingly. Lack of policies defining roles and responsibilities also impact the local capacity to coordinate because coordination takes time to establish, and institutional arrangements are changing too frequently to be fully efficient. This creates incongruities, inconsistencies, loss of energy, and inefficiencies. This is the situation that prevailed in the case studies.

Governance void: review of the literature and definition

The term ‘governance void’ has not been identified in the scientific literature and is therefore not clearly defined. The literature also shows similar expressions, namely ‘absence of public policy’ or ‘policy gap’. Since both the literature and this research tend to draw the contours of a similar situation that can be exported to other contexts, it is therefore appropriate to attempt a definition. This concept, governance void, applies in circumstances requiring multilevel governance, which is bound to be more and more frequent given the nature of the issues requiring public policies. This next section details how and in which context the terms ‘governance void’ or similar expressions have been used. This overview of the literature leads to a definition of the concept.

Looking specifically at the issue of climate change under the lens of a multilevel governance framework, Corfee-Morlot et al. (2009) used the concept of policy gaps. The authors reach similar conclusions to me as related to the integration of work between all orders of government, but specifically on fighting climate change. They write:

Cities represent a challenge and an opportunity for climate change policy. (...) [B]y empowering local governments, national policies could leverage existing local experiments, accelerate policy responses, foster resource mobilization and engage local stakeholders. [A]dvancing governance of climate change across all orders of government and relevant stakeholders is crucial to avoid policy gaps between local action plans and national policy frameworks (vertical integration) and to encourage cross-scale learning between relevant departments or institutions in local and regional governments (horizontal dimension). Vertical and horizontal integration allows two-way benefits: locally-led or bottom-up where local initiatives influence national action and nationally-led or top-down where enabling frameworks empower local players. (p. 3)

Corfee-Morlot et al. advocate that all orders of government (international, national, and local) must align in their strategies to fight climate changes. They use the multilevel governance framework and explain that their work must be integrated. In some way, they recognize that the contribution of local governments is not only unavoidable and necessary, but they also suggest that their engagement reinforces what is being conducted by a superior order of government. To that end, they recognize that local governments need to be supported in order to achieve their goals. They also write that ‘[t]he capacity of local

governments and institutions is ultimately shaped by national law and policy and dependent upon the nested institutional structures of any particular national context.” (p. 86)

In the context of the global Covid-19 pandemic, the terms ‘‘absence of policy and/or regulations’’ were used to define the absence of a clear structure to fight the spread of the virus and promote vaccination. In some countries, notably Brazil, the absence of a structure defining the links, chains of command, roles and responsibilities through state and community actors, did not prevent the mobilization of local actors. However, this mobilization was done in different ways depending on the region, with practices not always being the best and with mixed results (Leite et al., 2021). In the absence of government regulation or oversight, local communities are still committed to dealing with the situations that overwhelm those who live there. This absence of policy and/or regulations, or, in this case, governance void, should be replaced by clearly stated policies, promoting best practices and some management at the local level.

Charbit (2011) writes specifically about the governance in decentralized contexts where issues ought to be understood under a multilevel governance lens. The argument of the author relies on the idea that some issues must be managed with the collaboration of different orders of government, and sometimes including civil society actors (such as non-profit organizations or citizens.) She writes:

The ability of sub national governments to ‘‘better spend’’, by identifying relevant paths for territorial competitiveness and effective delivery of public services, is largely enshrined in their institutional background. Rather than isolated actors, sub national authorities and central governments are ‘‘mutually dependent’’. In this context, and for a majority of OECD member and non-member countries, the key underlying question is not whether to ‘‘decentralise or not’’ or even opt for a specific decentralisation model, but to look at ways to improve capacity and co-ordination among public stakeholders at different orders of government to increase efficiency, equity and sustainability of public spending. (p. 3)

Therefore, coordination must be done in order to avoid capacity gaps. Her contribution to the theory relies on case studies conducted in the area of water management and economic recovery. She writes: ‘‘ this approach argues that it is essentially through better coherence of public action that outcomes of public policies such as efficiency, equity and sustainability can be achieved.’’ (p.15) The author reports on several types of gaps that

must be avoided to ensure coordination and efficient multilevel governance. She defines a typology of gaps designed as a tool to better understand challenges and solutions aimed at better multilevel governance framework to tackle particular issues. She calls for ‘procedural improvements’ (p.21) to develop institutional arrangements leading to better multilevel governance framework. The following table is reproduced from her publication.

Table 7.2 – Types of gaps to avoid in order to enhance capacities and enable coordination

Information gap	Asymmetries of information (quantity, quality, type) between different stakeholders, either voluntary or not => Need for instruments for revealing et sharing information
Capacity gap	Insufficient scientific, technical, infrastructural capacity of local actors, in particular for designing appropriate strategies => Need for instruments to build local capacity
Funding gap	Unstable or insufficient revenues undermining effective implementation of responsibilities at sub-national level or for crossing policies, => Need for shared financing mechanisms
Policy gap	Sectoral fragmentation across ministries and agencies. => Need for mechanisms to create multidimensional/systemic approaches at the sub national level, and to exercise political leadership and commitment.
Administrative gap	“Mismatch” between functional areas and administrative boundaries => Need for instruments for reaching “effective size”
Objective gap	Different rationalities creating obstacles for adopting convergent targets => Need for instruments to align objectives
Accountability gap	Difficulty to ensure the transparency of practices across the different constituencies => Need for institutional quality measurement => Need for instruments to strengthen the integrity framework at the local level => Need for instruments to enhance citizen’s involvement

Reproduced from Charbit, 2011, p.16.

Charbit’s contribution is helpful to define the concept of governance void. The types of gaps that she identifies as the elements to steer clear of are part of a governance void. But governance void is also about institutions and structures. In other words, governance void is created by the absence of policies, regulations, and programs aiming at defining institutional arrangements in a context of multilevel governance. Those institutional arrangements must clarify the roles, responsibilities and how it unfolds for

each stakeholder involved in the attainment of a common goal. Coordination mechanisms, as well as evaluation and funding pathways must also be detailed. These guidelines must be clear and understood by all actors. As the potential to step on each other's toes is high for actors in a context of multilevel governance, institutional arrangements should be detailed in order to maximize outcomes.

Moreover, governance void is characterized by a people-dependent situation. In other words, in the absence of clear policies and rules, the void is filled by those created and put in place by individuals. When these individuals change roles, the policies and rules also change. There is, as a consequence, a personification of the policies and rules in place. This situation also leaves room for informal, rather than formal, practices. This explains the difference in policies, rules, or even institutional arrangements according to the different regions, and the fact that they change frequently over time. This is true for immigration, but it certainly can be exported to other policy areas where a multilevel governance lens ought to be applied.

7.4 Policy recommendations

This section aims to elaborate on policy recommendations in the light of observations, interviews, analysis of the literature, analysis of cases studies, and the conclusions drawn from them. These recommendations are influenced by best practices, in particular those observed elsewhere in Canada, but also take into account the specific reality of Québec, namely the Canada-Québec agreement in force, and the historical issues related to the preservation of the Francophone nation.

The Ministère de l'Immigration as a facilitator of place-based policies

A first principle on which the recommendations must be based is to equip the local environment. Organizations, workers and local decision-makers are best able to know, understand and solve local issues. My case studies demonstrate this, but the literature also tends to recognize and value this local expertise. The solution must therefore be based on recognition of local players' expertise. *MIFI* officials are part of it, but for the *Ministère's* decisions to be optimal they cannot be made centrally.

In a context of multilevel governance, the role of the upper order of government – in this case the provincial government – must be to support the ownership of local communities, since they are the ones who are best able to gather and develop expertise on the reality of their territory. Through the resources it has at its disposal, as well as its favorable position to create bridges between regions, the role of the *MIFI* should become that of outlining strategic principles, disseminating good practices, and supporting the communities in the establishment of a situation that promotes coordination among stakeholders and place-based policies. It is not completely excluded that the Ministry could be in charge of the coordination among local actors, but this situation could simply be necessary when the ecosystem in terms of immigration is underdeveloped (maybe in less populated regions which attract fewer immigrants). However, the ideal situation is the creation of local leadership, either the municipality or a community actor, and the enactment of a local structure of coordination.

That said, the solution cannot be decentralization alone. On the one hand, local communities all have different ecosystems in place to welcome, integrate and deal with the challenges of diversity. In the two case studies investigated as part of this doctoral thesis, the cities could rely on a strong ecosystem: dynamic organizations having deep knowledge of their environment, cities concerned by the issues and engaged toward their community, as well as mechanisms to facilitate coordination. However, it is safe to suggest that a case study of smaller cities, where immigration is a less significant phenomenon, would have revealed a less solid ecosystem. Similarly, Montréal, as a large city that welcomes most immigrants in Québec, is a special case with its own structures, organizations and challenges related to immigration. A major challenge for the *MIFI* is therefore to recognize this asymmetry and to adjust its action according to the needs and capacities of different cities.

Therefore, the *MIFI* must recognize that local actors are best able to make the right decisions, but must also support them in doing so. Even though this action will be asymmetrical, it can nevertheless be based on the idea that the *MIFI* has a strategic advantage, that of possessing knowledge and expertise. It can therefore become a disseminator of good practices and promote the principles according to which local communities must operate. The role of the *MIFI* must therefore, as far as possible, remain

at the strategic level and support local communities and place-based policies that are best placed to respond to needs and challenges. The *MIFI*, among its strategic orientations, should promote and support coordination in a single place.

A strong Québec nation must rely on strong regions. By supporting local governments through the necessary transitions toward multilevel governance arrangements, the Provincial Government and the province as a whole will be better off. Moreover, a better sharing of responsibilities still means that the Government of Québec must assume a role in setting strategic orientations. It can, at the same time, continue to play its nation-building role.

Efficient coordination mechanisms at the scale of the community

Coordination between stakeholders is essential to ensure a variety of services for immigrants and to face challenges related to diversity. The case studies demonstrate this well: local actors consult each other and fill the governance void in this regard. This coordination must be supported by all the actors and must occur in a single place for each community. As coordination takes time to establish, it should be supervised by the Government of Québec, and should not rely on the will of particular individuals. Clear guidelines and diffusion of best practices will facilitate coordination.

The cities are in an ideal position to lead this coordination, as recognized by the vast majority of actors met in the two case studies. Nevertheless, it is not excluded that others may take the lead. For example, committed and credible local actors could provide leadership, as seen elsewhere in Canada. The key element is that coordination take place at the local level, ideally, and bring together all the actors involved in this field of action. Place-based policies must prevail, supported by a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down one. The action plan must be developed openly, then shared to all the players. Public policies and funding programs must reflect these priorities.

As for funding

In order to ensure concerted action by the players and the implementation of an action plan, the funding formula must also be clarified. Once again, funding should be used to carry out the action plan determined by the community and be sufficient to make it

happen. The funding formula in place at the time of the *CRÉs* was inspiring in this regard. Funding becomes a means of ensuring coordination between the players. As cities act on their territory as territorial leaders, funding could pass through them. This would make it possible to consolidate their role at the local level, and thus ensure continuity over time.

In sum, institutional arrangements must be aligned to foster collaboration and coordination between provincial and municipal governments, as well as local organizations and actors. They must also encourage place-based policies, reflecting local needs, issues and expertise. One policy recommendation would also be to not start again from the ground every time, but to bank and build on existing structures. These changes are significant in that they present a change in culture, or paradigm, according to which the Government of Québec deals with cities and local communities in matters of immigration. This culture must henceforth be based on the promotion of the principle of subsidiarity and the recognition that all players are equally important to ensure the objectives that they share. They must therefore be treated as equals.

7.5 Direction for future research

The thesis filled a gap in the literature on immigration policies in Québec. Inspired by the scientific research conducted in other provinces, this research program sought to extend the understanding of local institutional arrangements at the local level designed for the welcoming and integration of newcomers. The two case studies were conducted in mid-sized cities which receive a significant number of immigrants each year. This research program could be extended to all types of municipalities in Québec in order to better understand the framework of institutional arrangements in this province with a unique reality and responsibilities in immigration. This should seek to enlighten and increase awareness of decision-makers.

The case of Montréal (including its suburbs), which has already been the topic of research in this field, could also be evaluated based on this improved grid of analysis. The case of Montréal is certainly singular because the metropolis does receive the bulk of immigration and is very diversified. The commitment of Montréal toward its diversity is clear and long-standing. Compared to other cities, its institutional arrangements could be evaluated at the neighborhood level in order to increase the understanding of mechanisms

in place. This is, for instance, how research has been conducted in Toronto, which also has a very complex ecosystem and where LIPs are implemented at the neighborhood level.

Smaller municipalities should also be interesting to study. Very little research has been conducted on how they deal with this responsibility. The engagement of smaller municipalities, or *MRCs* to which the responsibility is officially delegated, could possibly be quite minimal, but could also present significant disparities. Likely, as observed in the current case studies, their engagement could largely depend on individuals, rather than be systematic. It could be interesting to understand their actions better, so as to strengthen their role enhancing place-based policies. The same evaluation could be done with the role played by the *MIFI* in regard to these places.

In a world that is diversifying at an unprecedented rate, where migratory movements mark our era, it is essential to ensure that they take place in a harmonious way. The local level is the one that assures the reception and integration of migrants, but it is still necessary that the actors at this level have the leeway and the tools to achieve this. The particular context of the Canada-Québec agreement does not diminish the importance of multilevel governance, nor does it make it more complicated to implement efficient institutional arrangements. In matters of immigration, Québec's situation is unique, but the lessons on multilevel governance are perfectly exportable. This research program therefore makes it possible to fill this gap in the literature and aims for better decision-making for the benefit of immigrants and of communities that welcome them.

Another aspect of local public policies on immigration that could benefit from more research is the topic of funding. The Canada-Québec agreement in this area provides an annual budget, from the federal government to the province, that has been indexed since 1991. However, little information is available on this subject, in particular as to how these sums are spent. This budget allows Québec to fund reception and integration services directly, rather than through the federal government as is the case elsewhere in Canada. An analysis or evaluation of the program could lead to recommendations to ensure that these amounts are spent in an optimal way and that they promote the activities of organizations working for the reception and integration of newcomers, but also that they encourage their coordination.

7.6 Concluding remarks

Immigration is a complex policy case but the main interest remains focused on the role of cities. Perhaps immigration is, in fact, a pretext for discussing the role of cities in the current issues of our century. At this point, we could hypothesize that both the analysis and the conclusions of this thesis could have been similar if it had focused on environment and climate change, on the management of homelessness or on access to affordable housing, or on economic development, particularly following a global pandemic...

Beyond Immigration: Solving wicked policy problems

The findings of this thesis research can also be exported to fields of activity other than immigration. In a context of glocalization, where cities assume more and more responsibilities and issues become the interest of different orders of government and community actors, public policies should ensure that everyone's roles and responsibilities are clear. Governance void leads to asymmetrical results among regions, inequalities between people, and poorer outcomes globally. Where it concerns the new responsibilities of cities, mechanisms of multilevel governance should be outlined and defined to ensure issues and policies are tackled properly.

As the issues become more wicked and imply an increasingly diversifying array of stakeholders, local governments become key strategic actors to implement practical and efficient solutions at their scale. The example of immigration is one, fighting climate changes is another (see Corfee-Marlot et al., 2009). When it comes to climate change, cities are responsible for a large part of GHG emissions and can adapt their territory to the new climate reality. In order to tackle this important issue, cities must be equipped and supported so that their actions meet globally-shared objectives. Other examples of complex problems that find solutions through a multilevel governance approach include the rise of inequalities, or one of its main symptoms namely increasing homelessness rates (see Head, 2022). These are policy fields that are also falling more and more into the hands of municipal governments, as well as housing, economic development (see Charbit, 2011), and so on.

Cities of the 21st century

Cities are creatures of the provinces under the Canadian constitution. According to this founding text, they do not have properly autonomous powers. However, the reality on the ground has evolved since 1867. Cities are exercising more and more responsibilities today, in particular because they can obtain the most interesting results. Despite this simplistic designation of their role, governments would benefit from considering them as equals. This, therefore, calls for a redefinition of the relationship between cities and, in the case of Québec, the provincial government. Obviously, depending on size and resources, power cannot be shared asymmetrically among them. But cities are local governments, and a partnership with them is essential to face the challenges of the 21st century.

In conclusion, cities are at the forefront to face these 21st century complex policy challenges. Their ability to act, to assume leadership on their territory, to gather together the stakeholders and to propose solutions adapted to their population and their territory will make the difference in the resilience needed in the face of challenges. In this context, the other orders of government must recognize this role that cities can play. But beware! Even though their role must evolve accordingly, they do not become less important. Governments must set targets, oversee the role of cities and local communities, in addition to supporting them in fulfilling their role, in particular by disseminating good practices. Because they have this capacity, governments must therefore play a role in the development of science and the dissemination of data-driven policies. Their essential role will ensure consistency among actions, equity between populations throughout the territory, and greater achievement of national targets. It is already known that community actors take on more of a role in decision-making, and thus engage in the actions necessary for the well-being of communities. Citizens take their place and are now stakeholders in decision-making and the implementation of public policies. In other words, in order to govern in the face of the great challenges of our time, we must favor greater multilevel governance.

Annex I – Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity (original grid of analysis)

Municipal approaches			
<i>Range of approaches</i>			
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Community responses			
<i>Range of responses</i>			
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent
Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

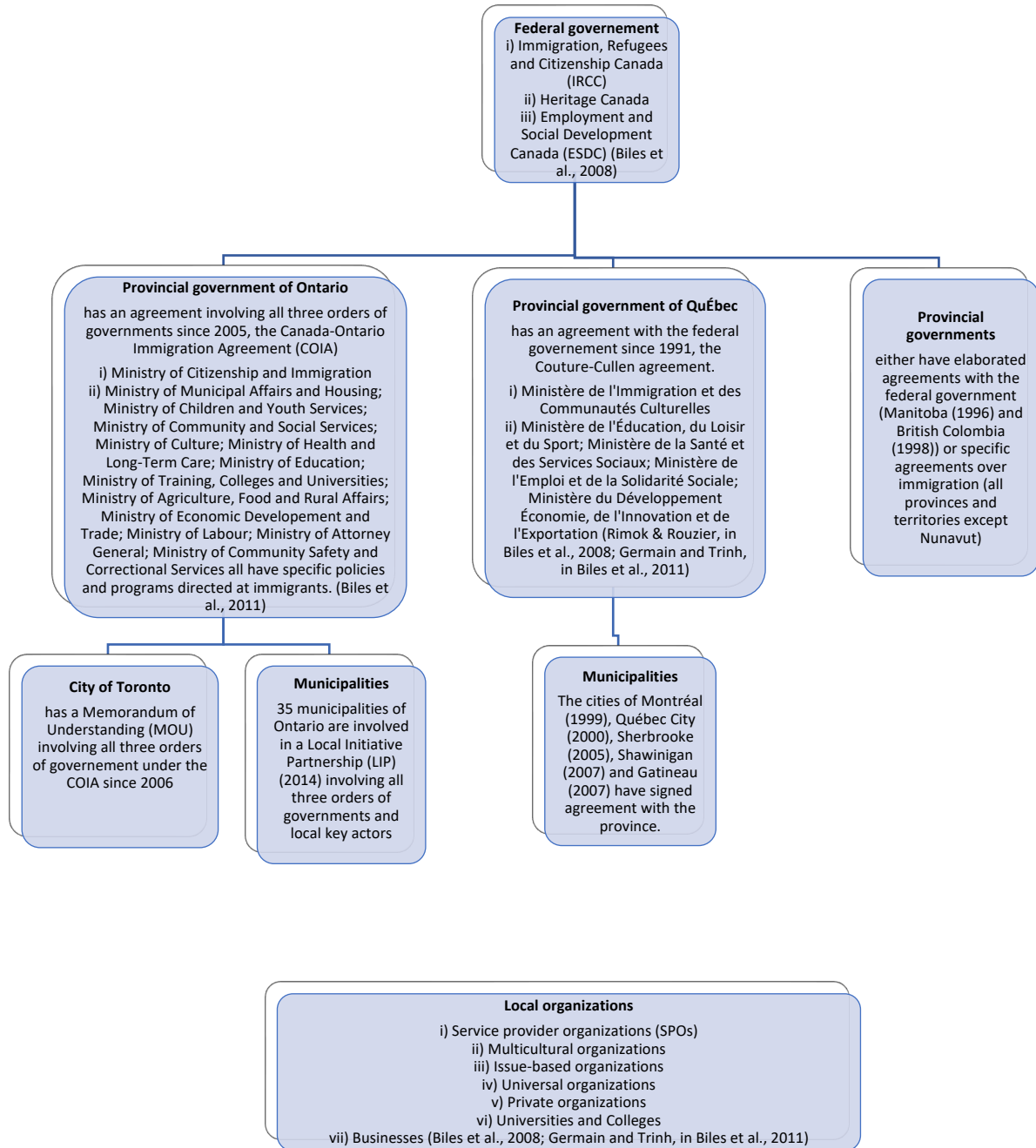
Source: Reproduced from Biles & al., 2012, p.322

Annex II – Municipal Approaches and Community Responses to Immigration and Diversity (updated grid of analysis)

Municipal approaches			
	<i>Range of approaches</i>		
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Policy interventions	Broad	Moderate	Minimal/superficial
Engagement (political versus administrative sides)	Two sides	Only political	Only administrative
Community responses			
	<i>Range of responses</i>		
Attitudes	Positive	Mixed	Opposed
Leadership	Strong, multisectoral	Isolated	Absent
Plan	Comprehensive and targeted	Narrow and overly broad	Non-existent
Institutional engagement (e.g., police, library, schools, colleges and universities, health system, employers, chambers of commerce, civil society organizations, immigrant service providing organizations, ethnocultural organizations)	Majority of institutions engaged	Some institutions engaged	Few institutions engaged
Partnerships	Multilevel	Some	Minimal
Evidence base	Comprehensive	Limited	Minimal
Financial resources	Sufficient	Some	Minimal
Evaluation and reporting	Moderate	Minimal	Non-existent

Reproduced and modified from Biles and al., 2011, p. 322

Annex III - Key stakeholders in the settlement and integration of immigrants in Canada



Annex IV - Certification of institutional ethics clearance



Office of Research Ethics
4500 ARISE Building | 1125 Colonel By Drive Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
613-520-2600 Ext: 2517
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CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS CLEARANCE

The Carleton University Research Ethics Board-A (CUREB-A) has granted ethics clearance for the research project described below and research may now proceed. CUREB-A is constituted and operates in compliance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS2).

Ethics Protocol Clearance ID: Project # 112722

Project Team Members: Mrs. Maude Marquis-Bissonnette (Primary Investigator)

Dr. Paloma Raggo (Research Supervisor) Christopher Stoney (Research Supervisor)

Project Title: The Institutional Arrangements and Resilience Of Québec Local Communities In The Welcoming And Integration Of Immigrants: A Theoretical and Practical Contribution

Funding Source (If applicable):
Effective: **May 15, 2020** Expires: **May 31, 2021**.

Please ensure the study clearance number is prominently placed in all recruitment and consent materials: CUREB-A Clearance # 112722.

Restrictions:

This certification is subject to the following conditions:

1. Clearance is granted only for the research and purposes described in the application.
2. Any modification to the approved research must be submitted to CUREB-A via a Change to Protocol Form. All changes must be cleared prior to the continuance of the research.
3. An Annual Status Report for the renewal of ethics clearance must be submitted and cleared by the renewal date listed above. Failure to submit the Annual Status

Report will result in the closure of the file. If funding is associated, funds will be frozen.

4. A closure request must be sent to CUREB-A when the research is complete or terminated.
5. During the course of the study, if you encounter an adverse event, material incidental finding, protocol deviation or other unanticipated problem, you must complete and submit a Report of Adverse Events and Unanticipated Problems Form, found here: <https://carleton.ca/researchethics/forms-and-templates/>

Failure to conduct the research in accordance with the principles of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans 2nd Edition* and the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research* may result in the suspension or termination of the research project.

Upon reasonable request, it is the policy of CUREB, for cleared protocols, to release the name of the PI, the title of the project, and the date of clearance and any renewal(s).

In light of the COVID-19 outbreak, The REB has developed guidance for human participants' research at <https://carleton.ca/researchethics/>. However, the situation is evolving rapidly so please check back regularly to keep up with any ongoing changes to this guidance.

Please contact the Research Compliance Coordinators, at ethics@carleton.ca, if you have any questions.

CLEARED BY: Date: May 15, 2020

Natasha Artemeva, PhD, Chair, CUREB-A

Janet Mantler, PhD, Vice Chair, CUREB-A



Annex V – Interview protocol

Protocol for personal interviews

Conducted by Maude Marquis-Bissonnette, Ph.D. candidate in Public policy, Carleton University, Ottawa

Information of the interview

Name of interviewee : _____

Title: _____

–

Organization: _____

Date of interview: _____

Place of interview: _____

Digital copy of the interview: _____

Each interview should last about one hour.

Questionnaire

N.B. those questions are aimed to be open-ended in order to fuel a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee about the topic of the research.

1) What is your role in your organization?

Questions for not-for-profit organizations

2) What is the mission of your organization?

3) Since when your organization has been active in your community?

- 4) What services do you deliver to newcomers?
- 5) To which kind of immigrants your services are addressed to (recently arrived, refugees, economic immigrants, women, etc.)
- 6) How would you define your relationship with the municipal government?
- 7) How would you define your relationship with other community organization that deliver services to immigrants?
- 8) How would you define your relationship with the provincial government? With who (Ministers, provincial deputy, regional direction, etc.) do you maintain relationship(s)?
- 9) Do you have a relationship with the federal government for the services you offer to immigrants? Do you receive funding for some programs you deliver?
- 10) Has the level of funding for immigrant services fluctuate with time? Is yes, why?
- 11) From where this funding comes from?

Questions for government representatives (municipal of provincial)

- 2) How do you see the mission of your organization toward immigrants?
- 3) What services do your organization deliver to newcomers?
- 4) Since when your organization has been active in your community in this particular field?
How has this evolve with time?
- 5) To which kind of immigrants your services are addressed to (recently arrived, refugees, economic immigrants, women, etc.)
- 6) How would you define your relationship with the municipal/provincial government related to immigration? With who (Ministers, provincial deputy, regional direction, municipal councilor, cabinet of Mayor, etc.) do you maintain relationship(s)?

7) How would you define your relationship with community organizations that deliver services to immigrants?

9) Do you have a relationship with the federal government for the services you offer to immigrants?

10) Do you fund local initiative dedicated to immigrants? If yes, how?

11) And has the level of funding fluctuate with time? Why?

For everyone

12) Do you have a way to coordinate with local actors in your community? If yes, how? Is it an official coordination mechanism or rather informal?

13) How often do you meet/discuss?

14) What do you discuss?

15) Who take part in those discussions?

16) Since when has this been going on? Why did it initially start? Was there an event causing your community to be more engage toward immigration?

17) Who would you say has the leadership in this initiative?

18) Is there a common plan to enhance the services to newcomers?

19) Is there a common plan to make sure the community remain resilient and welcoming to newcomers?

20) How would you qualify the institutional engagement toward this goal (for instance from the city, police, health system, employers, schools, CÉGEP and universities, not-for-profit organizations, ethnocultural organizations, etc.)?

21) Is this thing based on evidence-based policies? Is there a role for researchers in this partnership? If yes, how?

22) Is there a process of evaluation and reporting?

23) What is your appreciation of what is done to welcome and integrate newcomers? Do you find the range of services allow to answer most or all needs? Can you identify gap in this range of services?

Annex VI -

List of interviews

City/Field of action	Interviewee	Number of meetings	Date
Gatineau	Maxime Pedneaud-Jobin, mayor at the time of this research	1	July 2020
Gatineau	Mireille Apollon, ex-city councillor	1	July 2020
Gatineau	City representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	City representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	City representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	Community organization representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	Community organization representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	Community organization representative	1	July 2020
Gatineau	Provincial government representative	1	September 2021
Québec City	City representative	1	December 2020
Québec City	City representative	1	January 2021
Québec City	City representative	2	January 2021
Québec City	Community organization representative	1	December 2020
Québec City	Community organization representative	1	January 2021
Québec City	Community organization representative	1	January 2021
Québec City	Community organization representative	1	January 2021
Québec City	Provincial government representative	1	September 2021
Québec City	Stéphanie Arseneault, researcher	1	January 2021
	Bob White, researcher	1	May 2021

Annex VII -

Glossary of acronyms (in alphabetical order)

ACFAS: Association francophone pour le savoir (previously Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences)

AFIO: Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l'Outaouais

AMO: Association of Municipalities of Ontario

APO: Accueil parrainage Outaouais

BINAM: Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants à Montréal

CASA: stands for the name of four organizations: Carrefour Jeunesse-Emploi de l'Outaouais (CJEO), Accompagnement des femmes immigrantes de l'Outaouais (AFIO), Service intégration-travail Outaouais (SITO) et Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais (APO).

CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CÉGEP: Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel

CIC: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (previous name of IRCC)

CJEO: Carrefour Jeunesse-Emploi de l'Outaouais

CIUSSS : Centre intégré universitaire de santé et services sociaux

COIA: Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement

CRÉ: Conférence régionale des élus

CRÉO : Conférence régionale des élus de l'Outaouais

CRRF : Canadian Race Relations Foundation

CUSMA : Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement

DPJ: Direction de la protection de la jeunesse

ÉDIQ: Équipe de recherche en partenariat sur la diversité culturelle et l'immigration dans la région de Québec

ESDC: Employment and Social Development Canada

FCM: Federation of Canadian Municipalities

HIPC: Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council

IRCC: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

IRPA: Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

LABRI: Laboratoire de recherche en relations interculturelles

LIP: Local Initiative Partnership

LGBTQ+: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or questioning +

MAMH: Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation

MIFI: Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

MRC: Municipalités régionales de comté

M-30: Loi sur le ministère du Conseil exécutif

NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations

MP: Member of Parliament

OLIP: Ottawa Local Initiative Partnership

PTNP: Provincial and Territories Nominee Program

RAMI : Réseau des agent.e.s en milieu culturel

SITO: Service integration-travail Outaouais

SPO: Service Providers Organization

TRIEC: Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council

TRIDIL: Table régionale en immigration, diversité culturelle et inclusion de Laval

TRIO: Table régionale immigration Outaouais

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WRIP: Waterloo Region Local Immigration Partnership

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