

Diversity and Inclusion in Municipalities

REPORT BY

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Editorial Information

The Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF) is a federal Crown corporation. The CRRF respectfully acknowledges that the land on which the head office is located is the traditional territory of many nations — including the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishnabeg, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee and the Wendat peoples — and is now home to many other diverse First Nations, Métis and Inuit. We also acknowledge that Toronto is covered by Treaty 13, and that the CRRF staff and Board members individually reside on the traditional lands of many First Nation, Métis and Inuit across this country. The CRRF respects and honours the inherent and treaty rights of all Indigenous peoples and is committed to working alongside Indigenous nations and peoples to combat racism and mobilize action on the path towards reconciliation. This land acknowledgement was developed with input from the First Peoples Group, to whom we are grateful for sharing guidance.

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1 The “Regional County Municipalities (RCM)” is a territory grouping municipalities and, in some cases, unorganized territories—there are 87 of them in Quebec—and there are also fourteen cities and agglomerations that exercise some of the powers and responsibilities of RCM)» (Frozzini, 2024, p.55)

1. Introduction

1.1 Cities and Diversity

Cities have always been places of diversity (Weber, 1982), but the nature of this diversity has evolved over time. Not only is the world becoming more and more urban,² but the communities that live in cities are becoming more diverse, especially in industrialized societies with a long history of immigration, such as Canada. This process of diversification is being driven by new forms of mobility that require us to confront complex issues and unfamiliar situations (White et al., 2022). The new reality of diversity in cities influences the perceptions of people and communities marked by difference.

Before the first Europeans arrived in North America, its languages, spiritual practices and economic systems were already highly diverse. Various Indigenous communities maintained diplomatic relations across vast distances and interacted in places that would, in some cases, become North America's major urban centres. Colonization of the region—first by the French, then by the English—gradually took root, often to the detriment of Indigenous communities. The mass immigration of the late 19th century opened Canada up to new forms of ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. This trend continued throughout the previous century.

From this perspective, we cannot say that diversity is a new phenomenon in Canada. Quite the opposite: diversity is an integral part of the country's history. At the same time, there is no denying that the face of

diversity has changed considerably over the past 30 years, especially in major urban centres. For instance, we know that in big cities across the country, the number of countries of origin, languages spoken, religious practices and ethnic markers is growing. This phenomenon—also known as “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007)—refers not only to traditional identity markers (gender, ethnicity, race) but also to people's socioeconomic situation, age, career path and immigration status.

Just as the face of diversity in Canadian cities has changed considerably, the various ways of framing diversity-related issues have also evolved in the past 30 years. For example, there are more and more municipal departments or services tasked with the integration of newcomers, the implementation of policies that promote

² <https://www.unesco.org/en/sustainable-cities>

inclusion and the rollout of funding programs to meet the needs of specific communities. To some observers, these are welcome changes that reflect the open nature of pluralist societies like Canada. For others, they are a cause for concern, provoking hostile reactions and leading to polarization.

1.2 Inclusion in and by Cities

The Quebec City Mosque Shooting on January 29, 2017, led to the deaths of six men and the injury of eight others, victims of this crime only because they were Muslims. The incident shocked the entire province of Quebec by showing the level of intolerance toward ethnic and religious minorities, who continue to be targeted by acts of violence. In September 2020, the world saw George Floyd killed by an American policeman. A few months later, in December 2020, the death of Joyce Echaquan, an Atikamekw woman, reignited the debate about systemic racism in Quebec. These events were not the starting point of municipal diversity and inclusion initiatives, but they certainly provided an impetus for stakeholders in this field to address issues having to do with racial profiling (Armony et al., 2021).

Canadian municipalities have considerable expertise in diversity and inclusion—and this has been the case for some time (Gilbert & Chiasson, 2022; Good, 2009; Graham & Andrew, 2014; Klodwasky et al., 2018). For example, the first awareness campaigns about racism and ethnocultural diversity in Toronto (“Diversity, our strength”) date back to the 1990s. In the 1980s, the City of Montreal had already implemented policies and programs that emphasized an intercultural

approach at the municipal level (Rocher & Massana, 2022). In some contexts, municipal authorities were pioneers in the field of public policy on the integration of immigrants (De Graauw, 2015), and research has shown how municipal practice in this field can have an impact at various levels of regional and national government (Carpentier, 2022; Schiller, 2018; White & Frozzini, 2022).

But there are also external factors (demographic changes, political and economic factors) that are prompting cities to engage in the work of inclusion, *which may be defined as all the factors that enable people to flourish as members of the community and to have equal opportunities when it comes to accessing services and in social, economic and political terms*. In this sense, inclusion cannot be viewed simply as the absence of exclusion; it refers to actions aimed at including people, and this requires an understanding of the mechanisms of exclusion that reproduce barriers to inclusion (Klodawsky et al., 2018). Political commentator and activist Caroline Andrew (d. 2022) wrote extensively about inclusion in Canada’s cities, with a focus on the right to the city, particularly with regards to the legal claims of women and people from immigrant backgrounds (Gilbert & Chiasson, 2022).

In recent decades, the adoption of various laws and policies by the province of Quebec has obliged cities to be more accountable when it comes to diversity and inclusion. For instance, under the *Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans les organismes publics* (Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies), any institution that employs a hundred people or more must comply by

establishing an equal access to employment program (MTESS, 2023, c. 1, s. 2). What's more, a number of cities across the province have been the subject of racial profiling lawsuits and have undertaken concrete actions to address this issue. Meanwhile, the volatility of government policies and programs (e.g., changes to the *Programme d'expérience québécoise* or the government's refusal to recognize the existence of systemic discrimination³ or intersectionality⁴) has helped make certain stakeholders at the municipal level more aware and engaged.

Despite efforts in the past 30 years, the circumstances of racialized communities do not seem to have fundamentally improved (Armony et al., 2021; Armony et al., 2023). This situation raises at least two questions: *How do we promote inclusion in the context of rapid diversification and social polarization? What are municipalities doing to make cities more inclusive?* **The idea of moving beyond discourse about diversity and tolerance toward concrete actions promoting inclusion is becoming more urgent as cities become more diversified.** Inclusion must be expressed through material conditions (employment, access to services, political participation) but also symbolic (recognition of communities, sense of belonging, etc.) and social aspects (recognition of their degrees, experiences, etc.). The analyses presented in this study confirm what many stakeholders

in the municipal sector already know: cities are at the heart of diversity and inclusion in contemporary societies.⁵

At the same time, it is important to note that **municipalities, as a specific type of governmental body, are often faced with a paradox.** On the one hand, they are situated in a space historically marked by diversity; cities have always been spaces of diversity and development for people who come from elsewhere, whether near or far. On the other hand, as a governmental body, municipalities must contend with their legal status as the third level of government; in Canada, cities are often described as “creatures of the provinces.” “In this sense, and because they are representative political organizations, they have an obligation to take responsibility for the community (in all its diversity) that they govern (in their own organization and in their policies relating to the public)” (Anne Mévellec, personal communication).

3 According to the Quebec Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission (CDPDJ), systemic discrimination is “discrimination resulting from the dynamic interaction between decisions and attitudes that are tinged with prejudice, as well as from organizational models and institutional practices that have prejudicial effects (intended or not) on groups protected by the *Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*.” (See their *lexicon*).

4 See the following article (in French) with regard to this subject: <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/2023-03-18/malaise-sur-l-intersectionnalite/le-collectif-8-mars-sort-decu-de-sa-rencontre-avec-la-ministre-martine-biron.php>

5 <https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/en>

1.3 Context of This Study

Creation of the Inclusive Municipalities Community of Practice

Following discussions with the City of Montreal and later with other municipalities across Quebec, the Quebec Department of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF) realized that many municipal governments had initiated major reforms aimed at making their cities more inclusive. Other municipalities wanted to become a part of this movement but recognized that they were not adequately equipped to do so. They were also interested in discussing inclusion with other municipalities that had already begun the process and in establishing a network of municipalities dedicated to inclusion-related issues.

In October 2022, the CRRF, with support from the City of Montreal, organized the first meeting of the advisory committee for inclusive municipalities. This committee brought together representatives from eight municipalities of varying profiles and sizes.⁶ Some are thoroughly urban and have been highly diverse for many years. Others are more rural, with different types of diversity according to the local context. All the municipalities, however, were interested in sharing success stories and challenges with their peers from other cities, who had often encountered similar issues. In a spirit of co-construction, support and knowledge sharing, municipal representatives met monthly for almost a year, as well as participating in events such as the Jacques

Cartier Meetings with the City of Lyon (France) and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities' annual meetings, where they met with civil servants and municipal officials from across the country.

People from various municipal departments outlined the resources available in their cities in each field from an insider's perspective. With the aim of working toward concrete solutions, the members of the advisory committee were able to discuss initiatives they had established in various fields and the different challenges they had faced. Among many other topics, we discussed themes such as profiling-free public safety, recruiting and retaining diverse employees in municipal government and building bridges between communities through culture.

During this process, two researchers from the Laboratory for Research on Intercultural Relations (LABRRI) at the Université de Montréal specializing in municipal practice and issues related to the regionalization of immigration joined the advisory committee, along with a research assistant. They took part in discussions, proposing different strategies that drew on their previous work. They also interviewed the members of the advisory committee and other civil servants and municipal officials to develop a guide on inclusive practices for cities ([link to guide](#)). The multi-level discussions highlighted the need for cities to form a network and a community of practice to promote various initiatives and ensure their long-term viability. These include developing an inclusive action plan for each city, pursuing actions to fight

6 Adstock, des Appalaches RCM, Domaine-du-Roy RCM, Longueuil, Montreal, Quebec City, Repentigny, Sherbrooke.

discrimination, building bridges between communities, favouring long-term settlement by immigrants and organizing cultural events that involve the different communities in an area. The data and analyses presented in this study are the result of collaboration over many months between members of the community of practice, executives from CRRF's Quebec Department and researchers from LABRRI.

Research Conducted by LABRRI

Following a series of exploratory meetings in October 2022, the CRRF suggested that LABRRI attend meetings of the community of practice so that it could get to know the network's members and learn about the issues and concerns of stakeholders in the field. LABRRI's mandate was to prepare a research strategy, conduct a review of municipal practices, arrange interviews and develop a guide for municipalities.

LABRRI's researchers took notes during the meetings and presented a research strategy to the network's members in preparation for the review of municipal practices and interviews. The review of municipal practices was carried out starting in January 2023, while project interviews took place starting in March. Preliminary findings were presented to the network's members and at the May 2023 annual meeting of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in Toronto.

After they began working on the guide, the researchers realized how much valuable data had been collected for the project. They therefore proposed the production of a research report in addition to the guide that was originally planned. This report provides municipal officials, decision-makers and researchers with more context and analysis but it may also serve as a reference document on issues related to inclusion in cities. The accompanying *Guide for Inclusive Municipalities and Their Allies* also contains findings from the research project, but it focuses on more concrete actions and solutions that can support municipal practice in the field of inclusion. While there are many similarities between the report and the guide in terms of content, some elements appear in the report but not in the guide, and vice versa.

This report is divided into five sections:

- Description of the conceptual framework and methodological approach
- Context on immigration and public policy at the municipal level
- Discussion of policies and programs in municipalities across Canada
- Analysis of municipal issues identified by stakeholders who participated in the project
- Overall observations about the project and a summary of suggestions for the future

2. Conceptual Framework and Methodology

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study is inspired by a number of sources, not only migration studies but also systemic theory and recent research on pluralism. Inclusion is difficult to define and evaluate because it takes place at multiple levels and often involves subjective perceptions. According to UNESCO's Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities, "Because it values and respects all its members, an inclusive municipality builds a society without fences, where everyone has an equal chance at participating in its economic, social, cultural and recreational life, and to thrive there."⁷

2.1.1 From Exclusion to Inclusion

At a time when there is widespread debate about racism and the effects of systemic discrimination, analyzing the conditions that lead to inclusion is vital for stakeholders in the field. The desire for cities to be inclusive plays out in specific ways at the urban level. In Montreal, Quebec and elsewhere in Canada, the focus on inclusive practices is one way of contributing to a culture of living together, what in French is referred to as *le vivre-ensemble* (Azdouz, 2018; UNESCO, 2019).

The dynamics of inclusion vary from one level to another according to the specific context. For example, the relationship to difference is not experienced in the same way in Montreal and elsewhere in Quebec. In the City of

Montreal, multiple generations of municipal stakeholders have been preoccupied with inclusion as a means of promoting social cohesion (Carpentier, 2022). The examples found in Section 4 of this report show the desire of municipal stakeholders to go beyond the notion of integration, which is increasingly a source of debate (Tripier, 2015; Frozzini, Gonin & Lorrain, 2019) but continues to play a role in policies and programs at the provincial and municipal levels in Quebec (Bourassa-Lapointe, 2023).

Along with recognizing different types of exclusion, it is also necessary to examine the dynamics of social cohesion and collective action. It should be noted that while the phenomenon of exclusion is relatively well-documented in the social and human sciences (Elias & Scotson, 2022), the scientific literature on the phenomenon of inclusion is more recent and probably less theorized than writing on exclusion (Ahmed, 2012; Tremblay et al., 2024). In an ethnography on the "work of diversity," Sarah Ahmed uses the metaphor of a *brick wall* to explain how professionals in various fields face barriers to inclusion:

...diversity workers acquire a critical orientation to institutions in the process of coming up against them. They become conscious of the 'brick wall', as that which keeps its place even when an official commitment to diversity has been given. Only the practical labor of "coming up

⁷ <https://en.ccunesco.ca/networks/coalition-of-inclusive-municipalities>

against” the institution allows this wall to become apparent. To those who do not come up against it, the wall does not appear—the institution is lived and experienced as being open, committed, and diverse (Ahmed, 2012, p. 174).

It is relatively rare to combine the two approaches in the same analysis, since the first is rooted in a criticism of power relations that sets out to explain social inequalities, while the second adopts a pragmatic stance in pursuit of solutions that aim to positively impact social cohesion. This difference may partly explain why the notion of inclusion is viewed with suspicion from the perspective of critical research on racial discrimination (Kersten, 2000; Herring & Henderson, 2012). The use of systemic approaches makes it possible to account for both paradigms and, in some contexts, to see possible links between them.

2.1.2 Systemic Approaches

Systems thinking involves both objects (especially systems) and tools (e.g., methods and concepts). It is based on the idea that human behaviours and beliefs are influenced by many factors that together form a “system.” Human beings are accustomed to navigating between these systems, understood here as a group of actors, structures and codes that interact in a dynamic manner (White & Genest, 2021)—for example, the school system, the healthcare system or the system of immigration.

From a systemic point of view, all aspects of our lives are made up of systems; for instance, a family is a system, as is a park, a transportation system or a city. It is important to distinguish between “the system” (which in this singular form may call to mind conspiracy theories) and “systems” (which may or may not be oppressive). Systems interact with each other and the elements that make them up are interrelated to varying degrees. They may change, remain stable or even disappear.

Systemic approaches are interested in the connections between different levels (e.g., individual, organizational and social) and strongly emphasize interactions to understand how organizations function (Bateson, 1972).⁸ The notion of a “double bind” (also known as a “catch-22”), meaning the experience of being caught between two contradictory imperatives, is central to understanding the breakdowns in communication that may lead to exclusion (Côté, 2024) in rapidly diversifying urban contexts. It is important to remember that systemic approaches constitute a broad diversity of theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Systemic methods and concepts have been applied in many fields of relevance to people working in the municipal sector, such as urban design and planning, housing, recreation and sport, libraries and human resources.

Systemic approaches facilitate the understanding and analysis of problems related to discrimination, a much-debated subject following the Government of Quebec’s refusal to recognize the existence of systemic

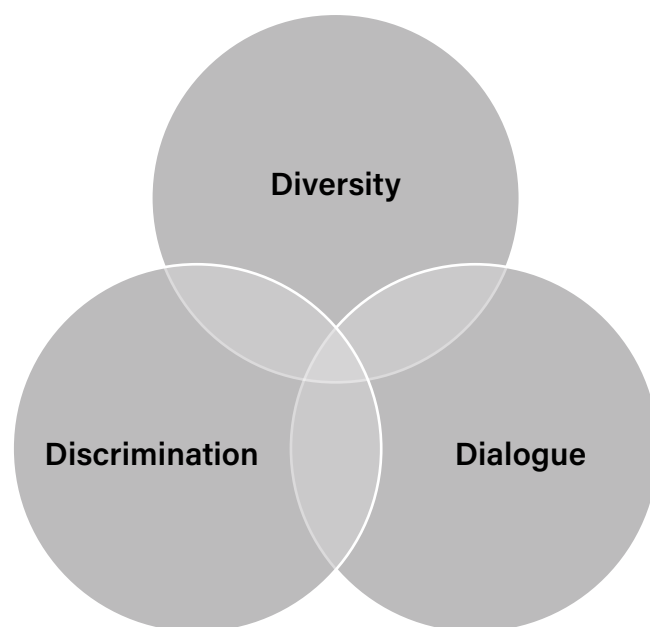
⁸ With regards to multi-level analysis in the context of municipal governance in Canada, see Carpentier (2022), Frozzini (2024), Good (2009), Graham & Andrew (2014), Tolley & Young (2011) and Paquet & Joy (2022).

racism in the province (Plante, 2020; Sioui, 2020). This debate led to discomfort for both racialized communities and especially for municipalities that had taken a stance on the impact that systemic racism has on racialized individuals throughout the province (see Section 5.1.3 below).

2.1.3 Pluralism and the “3D” Model

All societies are *plural*, but not all societies are *pluralist*, as they do not all recognize plurality or difference in the same way. First, it is necessary to distinguish between plurality (a social reality in all societies) and pluralism (a prescriptive ideology that is more common in Western liberal democracies). Pluralism takes diverse forms. Some principles are common to all forms of pluralism (e.g., the importance of recognizing diversity or the principle of equity), but there are also significant differences between the different variants of pluralist thought (e.g., the emphasis placed on conflict in analysis; see Wood & Landry, 2008). Canadian multiculturalism is probably the best known form of pluralism. It often conflicts with models that focus on civic identity (such as French republicanism), which fear that multiculturalism places too much emphasis on ethnic identity, and with interculturalism, particularly in the context of diversity management policies in Quebec (Rocher & White, 2016).

Research in this field has shown that there are three main currents of pluralism in Canada: the recognition of diversity, the fight against discrimination and rapprochement through dialogue (White, 2017).



The “3Ds” of the pluralism theory (White, 2017)

These three approaches to pluralism shape municipal policy and are found in the projects and programs implemented by public administrations. For example, festivals that celebrate the presence of different linguistic and cultural communities belong to the diversity-based approach. The fight against racial profiling is a good example of the anti-discrimination approach, and intercultural twinning programs are generally associated with a dialogue-based approach. The relative importance given to these different approaches by decision-makers may influence how immigrants and racialized communities are perceived and how citizens interact with each other. From a systemic point of view, the three pluralist approaches should be viewed as complementary, and policy frameworks that combine all three tend to be more inclusive.

It is important to note that the distinctions between these three approaches are not always obvious in practice, since many projects and programs combine elements of all three. The three approaches may also contradict or conflict with each other. We have used this model to analyze municipal policy in Quebec and elsewhere (see, e.g., White et al., 2018), and the results provided a reasonably good understanding of the different approaches used by municipalities when working toward inclusion and social cohesion. This research highlighted the importance of taking a complementary approach to policy analysis. For instance, to fight racial profiling, it is important to apply an anti-discrimination approach (documenting police interventions resulting from unconscious bias) but also to use a dialogue-based approach (through the presence of community-based social workers with expertise in mediation).

2.2 Methodology

Among other subjects, this report discusses inclusive practices and policies implemented by over a dozen Canadian cities and RCMs. Its content was developed by researchers from LABRRI between December 2022 and June 2023 as part of a project aimed at promoting inclusion in municipal governments. Following the initial documentation for the project, the methodology included three primary stages: the development of research tools, data collection and data processing and analysis.

The first stage of the research focused on collecting information about five major cities in different Canadian provinces (Vancouver,

Calgary, Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax) and three cities of varying sizes in Quebec (Quebec City, Montreal, Repentigny). During this stage, information sheets were produced for each city with regards to questions about inclusion (see beginning of Section 4). Next, we conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of various cities and RCMs in Quebec to obtain a clearer understanding of the local context and realities faced by professionals in the field. The eleven participants who agreed to take part in the interviews—ten city employees and one municipal councillor—were recruited through their involvement in the community of practice organized by CRRF. This sample cannot be considered representative (of either cities or departments), given the recruitment method and the composition of the community of practice. The city employees who took part in the study worked in recreation and community development, economic development and human resources departments, as well as in the strategic development of EDI programs.

Most of our interviews were conducted individually, except for one conducted with two people. Each participant represented a different city (i.e., 11 municipalities across Quebec). We tried to include a variety of cities, in terms of both geography and size (population and percentage of foreign-born residents). We met with participants for at least 90 minutes via videoconferencing (Zoom). The interviews were recorded and later transcribed (certain transcripts were done automatically using Microsoft 365 software, while others were done manually) to analyze the content while taking care to

protect the anonymity of participants. In the interest of maintaining their anonymity, we have removed references to specific cities from the excerpts in this report.

2.2.1 Data Collection

Data was first collected from the cities' websites, then through interviews, materials provided by participants and virtual meetings organized by CRRF. Neal Santamaria, director of CRRF's Quebec office and coordinator of the community of practice, facilitated contact with the participants and provided guidance with regards to recruitment. The community of practice meetings relied on the participation of municipal stakeholders to address questions about diversity and inclusion in the context of immigration, although many of them use approaches that go beyond ethno-cultural diversity in their work. They participated in the network meetings and interviews on a voluntary basis.

2.2.2 Research Tools

To prepare this guide, we developed a set of research tools, including city information sheets, an interview guide and analysis routines.

City Information Sheets

To help with the process of comparing and highlighting the most important elements for this project, we produced summary sheets with information about five cities outside Quebec (Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax) and three cities in Quebec (Quebec City, Montreal, Repentigny). These sheets are summary documents based on

material gathered from the cities' websites and documents received from municipal employees. Following the creation of the city information sheets, we created summary tables containing information about the following categories of information (see Section 4): 1) the city's vision of diversity and inclusion, 2) the various types of diversity identified by the city, 3) the various barriers to inclusion identified by the city, 4) the targets of its policies and programs, 5) the balance between internal and external actions, and 6) the importance the city places on the issues of immigration, EDI and systemic racism.

Interview Guide

The interview guide covers certain recurring themes found in the summary sheets for the non-Quebec cities and in our previous work in cities across Quebec. Before the interviews were conducted, the guide was validated by the members of the research team and CRRF. The topics covered in the guide are as follows: information about the participant's position, perceptions of discrimination and inclusion in the city or RCM, problems encountered in the city or RCM and related expectations, the presence (or absence) of EDI policy and its implementation, the internal and external structure and functioning of the city or RCM, implemented policies and actions, and the mechanisms (if any) for documenting intercultural situations or dynamics. The interview guide that was used during the interviews can be found in the appendix of this report.

2.2.3 Data Analysis and Research Limitations

Multiple online meetings were held between the members of the research team to analyze the material gathered in the field and clarify the goal of the research. Additional material on diversity and inclusion was consulted (reports, policies, programs, projects, etc.) on the cities' websites for the purposes of comparison. Transcripts were analyzed by the team members and an initial outline of the guide was developed, providing a starting point for the work. To consult the guide developed for this project, click [here](#).

The data presented in this report primarily details the different strategies used in the province of Quebec to promote diversity and inclusion. They are numerous and generally tailored to the local context. Our work involves going into the politico-administrative reality of specific cities, which may be described as "policy worlds" (Shore et al., 2011), primarily through the experiences and perceptions of certain key stakeholders. We have proposed several avenues for understanding broad trends or patterns in municipal policy, but given the preliminary nature of this study, it is not possible to draw systematic conclusions on the characteristics of policy design based on the data presented here (for a good example of this approach, see Paquet & Joy, 2022).

Other limitations of this study include the sample's non-representative nature. The cities selected for the documentation stage of the project (in the rest of Canada) and interviews (in Quebec) were not chosen using the same

criteria. In the rest of Canada, we selected cities of more or less comparable size—i.e., major national or provincial cities—to facilitate comparisons. When making our choices, we did not explicitly consider representativeness, except for ensuring that the cities would be comparable (in terms of size) and from different regions across the country. We did not consider the proportion of the population from an immigrant background (see the Council of Europe's Intercultural Cities Index: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/about-the-index>) or how many years of experience the cities had in this field, which are both factors that could have a significant impact on practice and policy outcomes (White & Frazzini, 2022).

We should also note that it is difficult to know whether material found online (particularly for cities outside Quebec) accurately reflects municipal practices in each context. To reduce the impact of this methodological limitation, we decided to validate the initial data collection with the cities in the rest of Canada that were chosen to participate in the first stage of the project. To this end, the principal researcher contacted employees in charge of diversity and inclusion by email to validate information found online. He had a discussion of one to two hours via Zoom with a municipal representative of each city (except Halifax) to verify content about policies and programs and to understand how diversity and inclusion policies are positioned within the municipal administration. These representatives were also contacted to validate the content of the summaries discussing their respective cities.

Since the researchers in this study had more experience and geographic proximity to cities in Quebec, this report contains more data about Quebec than the rest of Canada. This may constitute a significant bias in the analysis, but it also has some advantages. In any case, the final stage of the research about cities elsewhere in Canada allowed us to better understand policy and practice in Canada as a whole. Interviews were important for the analysis presented in Section 4. The municipal employees who took part were very generous with their time, and our discussions allowed us to better understand not just the diversity of practices in Canada but also features of municipal practice that may be specific to Quebec (see end of Section 4).

Before discussing the selected cities and some issues that arose during the interviews, we will first provide an overview of the context of diversity and inclusion in Quebec. To properly prepare the reader for the later sections of the report, the following section addresses immigration in Quebec, the political context, the municipal turn, municipal networks related to immigration and the emergence of EDI.

3. Context

Diversity is intrinsic to all societies. This has always been the case, but today it is true more than ever, as diversity has become a topic of public debate in both the media and public institutions. *In this report, we have focused on certain types of diversity, particularly categories related to racialized minorities and people from immigrant backgrounds.* However, it is important to remember that: 1) the notion of diversity is not limited to the domain of immigration (Paquet, 2022); for example, there are racialized minorities such as Indigenous peoples who are not immigrants, and 2) the notion of diversity goes beyond the category of ethnicity (Vertovec, 2007), since each individual has multiple simultaneous identities (gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, age, etc.). The notion of diversity is complex because each individual and each city contain a multitude of perspectives influenced by a multitude of lived experiences. With this caveat in mind, the contextual overview presented below emphasizes the issue of immigration, given that many elements of the Guide refer to the inclusion of people from immigrant backgrounds. However, as the reader will see, other aspects of diversity are addressed both in this report and in the Guide.

3.1 Immigration in Quebec

The region now known as Quebec has a long history of human diversity. The first people arrived around 15,000 to 30,000 years ago (i.e., the ancestors of Indigenous peoples), followed much later in the 17th century by the French who came to settle. A century later, with the 1763 Treaty of Paris, after Quebec was transferred into British control, loyalists arrived from the United States during the War of Independence. Since the establishment of the French and British regimes, there

has been immigration in the form of both settlement and conquest.

From 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was founded, until 1968, immigration in Canada was openly racist (Dauvergne, 2016; Frozzini & Law, 2017; Piché, 2003). During this period, Canada favoured white immigrants from northern European nations, including Great Britain. However, there was also mass immigration from various southern European countries and elsewhere at the same time. The 19th century saw waves of Irish and Scottish

immigration. During this period, the door was closed to Black and Asian populations. There was, for instance, a head tax on Chinese immigrants from 1885 to 1923, which gradually increased from \$50 to \$500 (Chan, 2020). This tax was imposed based on the *Chinese Immigration Act, 1885*, and later by the *Chinese Immigration Act, 1923*, which prohibited the entry of Chinese immigrants until 1947 (Chan, 2020). People of African descent were discouraged from settling in Canada, and the *Immigration Act of 1910* provided the Canadian government with a tool for prohibiting entry to immigrants deemed unfit based on various openly discriminatory criteria (“immigrants not coming by continuous journey,” “passengers brought by certain companies” in violation of the Act and “specified classes of immigrants”). Section 38 of the Act stated that:

The Governor in Council may, by proclamation or order whenever he deems it necessary or expedient, –

- prohibit the landing in Canada or at any specified port of entry in Canada of any immigrant who has come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which he is a native or naturalized citizen, and upon a through ticket purchased in that country, or prepaid in Canada;
- prohibit the landing in Canada of passengers brought to Canada by any transportation company which refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this Act;

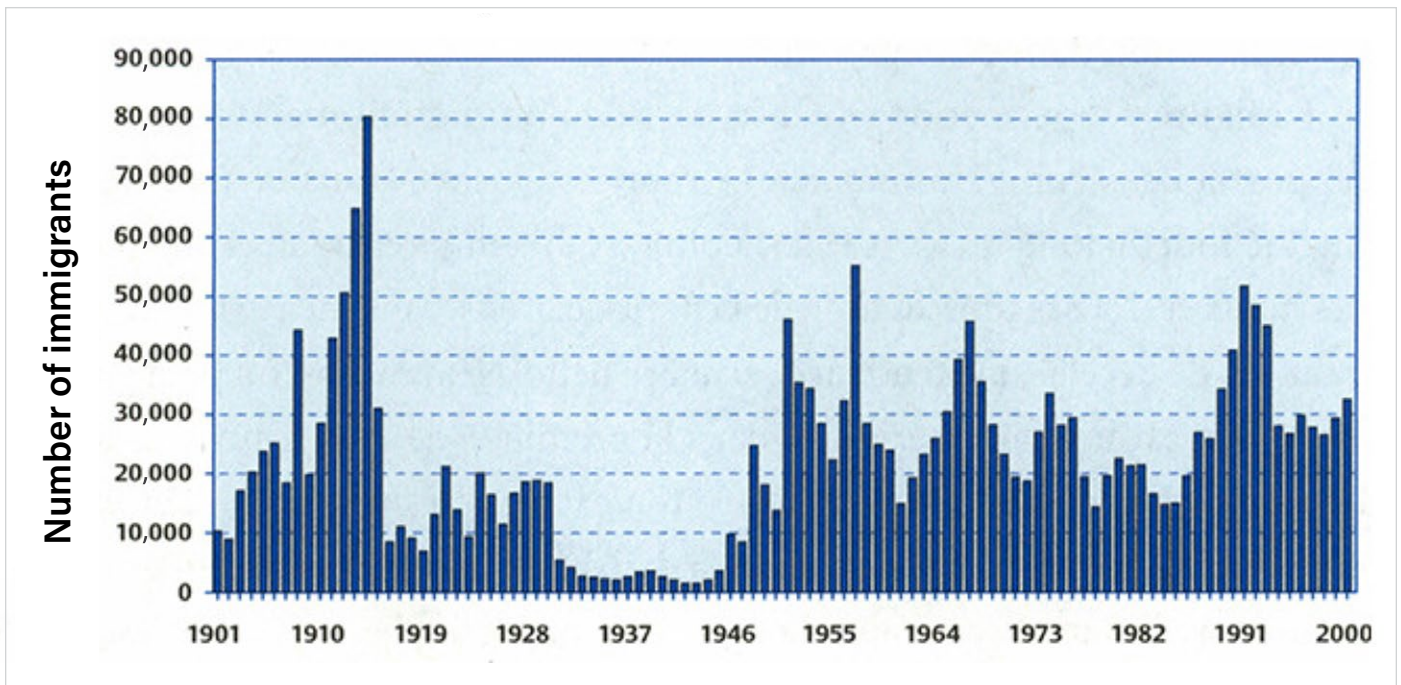
- prohibit for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character. (*Immigration Act of 1910*, s. 38)

Article 38 of the Act prevented the arrival of people from India, among other countries, since it was impossible to make the voyage by sea without stopping along the way. In the specific case of people from India and Japan, the prohibition dated back to the *Continuous Journey Regulation of 1908*.⁹

In addition to open discrimination, during this period there were, according to Piché (2003), three migratory sub-periods: from 1901 to 1920, from 1921 to 1930 and from 1931 to 1950. The first corresponds to an unprecedented wave of migration (see Figure 1) with a large proportion of Jewish and Italian immigrants: “The two biggest groups [...] were Jews, whose relative size grew from 21% to 42% from 1901 to 1921, and Italians, whose size also increased, from 8% to 14%” (Piché, 2003; our translation). It is estimated that 2.93 million immigrants entered Canada between 1901 and 1915 (Anctil, 2017, p. 83) and that 142,000 Jewish immigrants settled in Canada between 1901 and 1921 (Anctil, 2017).

During the second sub-period (1921 to 1930), there was a substantial decrease in immigrant numbers (see Figure 1), which then dropped even further during the third sub-period (1931

⁹ See <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/continuous-journey-regulation-1908>



Numbers of Immigrants to Quebec from 1910 to 2000 (Piché, 2003)

to 1950). These decreases can be explained by various factors: the two world wars, the economic problems of the 1920s and 1930s and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment since the 1920s. For example, despite the reported atrocities committed by the Nazi regime, the entry of Jewish immigrants into Canada was prohibited until the end of the 1940s (Abella & Troper, 2012). Prior to the end of the 1960s, Quebec was almost never involved in immigration policy. Quebec's elite had a negative perception of immigration, viewing it as a strategy for diluting French-Canadians in a predominantly anglophone Canada. Beginning in the 1960s, two major changes were observed: the transformation of Canada's immigration system through the establishment of a point system and the emergence of Quebec as a player in

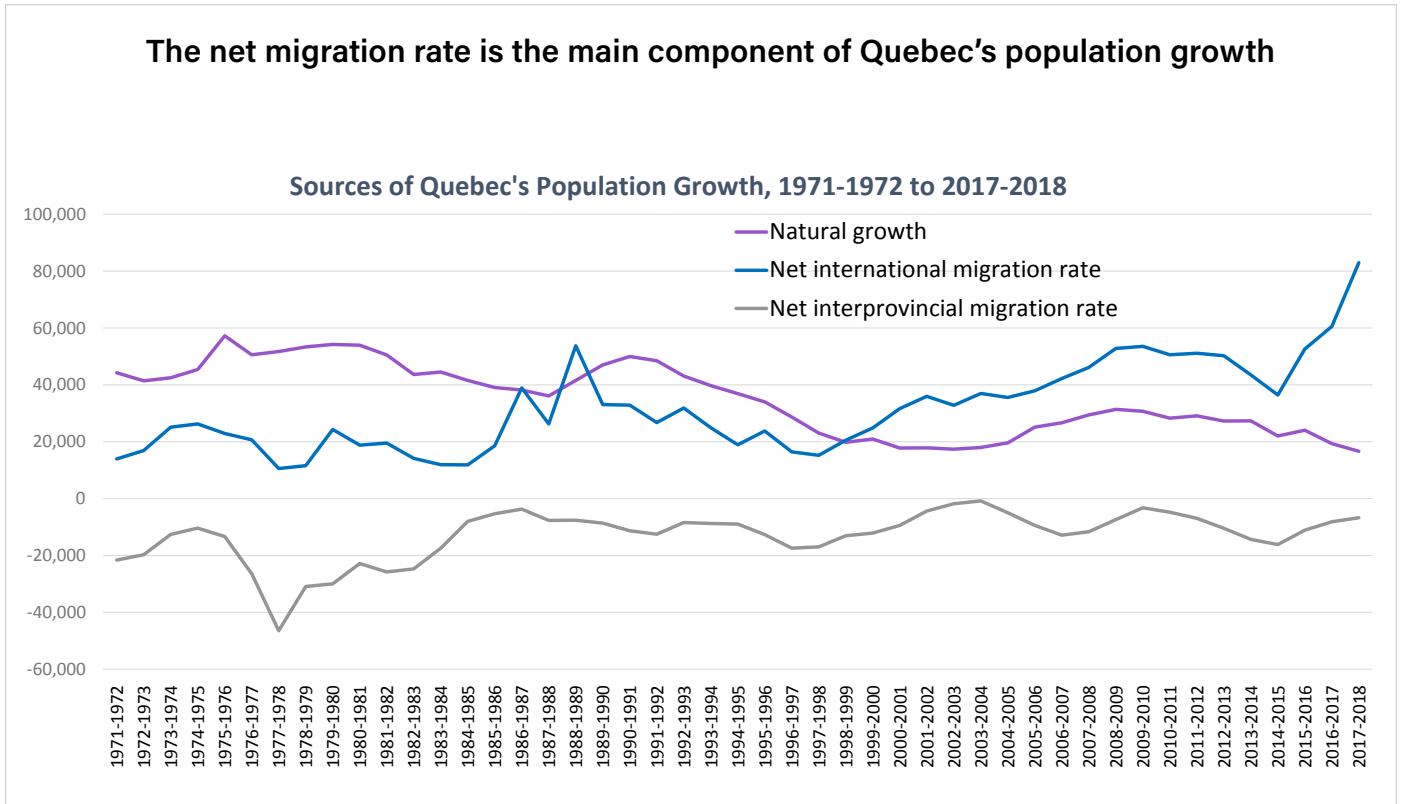
immigration policy at the provincial level (see Section 3.2).

The point system (1967) was a product of citizen engagement and the post-war context. The new system, which would later be copied by other countries, did not depend on racial or ethnic preferences. It instead gave priority to criteria related to professional qualifications, age, etc. Immigrants therefore continued to be chosen based on specific criteria, and the new system continued a trend seen since Canada was founded—namely, selecting immigrants for demographic or economic reasons or for the purposes of land settlement (Frozzini, 2022). From a Quebec perspective, four agreements concluded between 1971 and 1991 that granted the province more power in this area.

The last to enter into effect was known as the Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall agreement (see Government of Canada, 1991, and below).

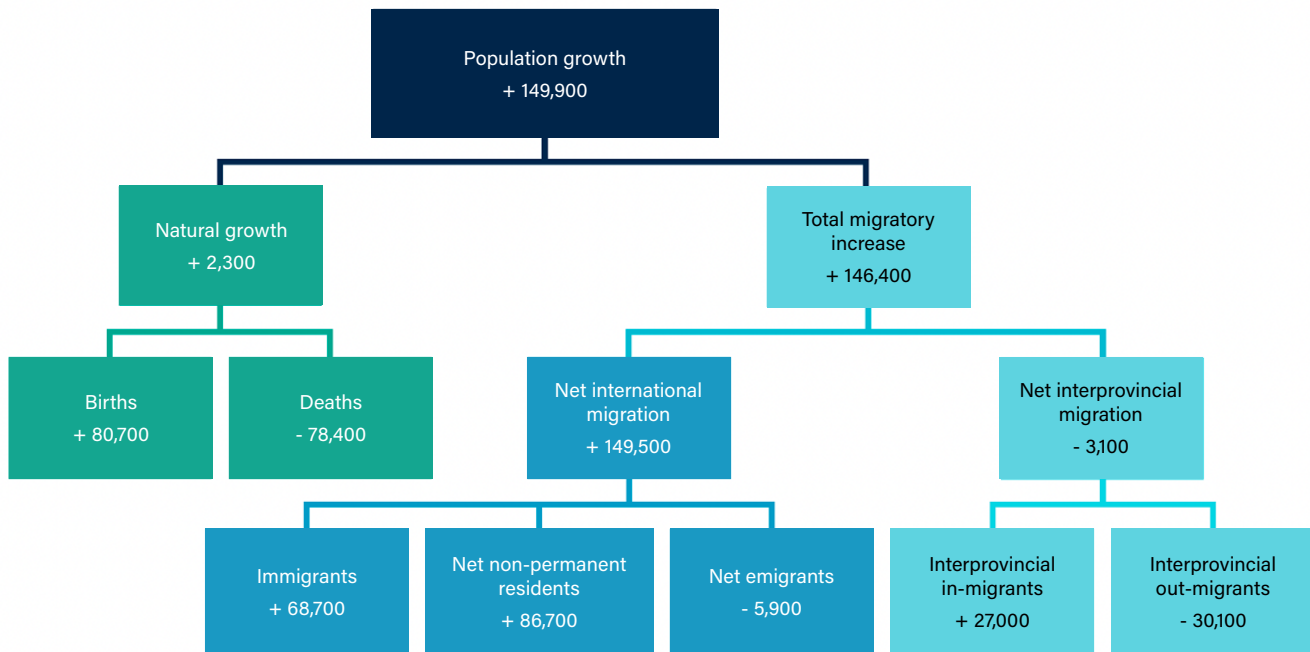
Over the years, there has been increasing diversification in immigrants' origins and

immigration pathways. The statistics available today show that the population of Quebec is increasing due to immigration and that the number of people from immigrant backgrounds is rising over time (see figures and graphs below).



Source: Arora & Statistics Canada, 2019

Components of Demographic Growth, Quebec, 2022



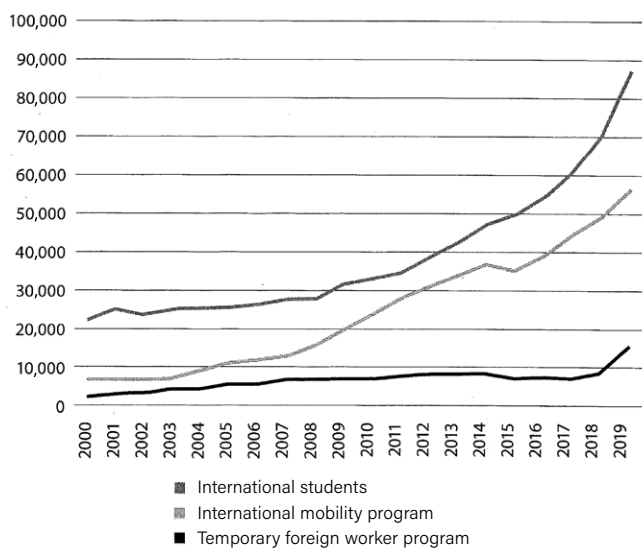
1. Calculated as the difference between the population on January 1, 2023 and that on January 1, 2022. The pooling of different data sources on demographic components results in a slight residual difference between total growth and the sum of the components.

Sources: Population and migration: Statistics Canada. Population estimates (March 2023). Adapted by Institut de la statistique du Québec. Births and deaths: Institut de la statistique du Québec.

Source: ISQ, 2023, p.18

Note: The net migration rate is the difference between the number of people who arrived in the region and the number of people who left during the year.

Temporary permit holders in Quebec by category, 2000-2019



Source: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2020a, 2020c

Number of Work Permit Holders Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP)

Number of Work Permit Holders under Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) on December 31, 2021, vs. December 31, 2019

2021	2019	DIFFERENCE
23,795	15,415	+ 54.4 %

Source: MIFI, 2023

Source: Paquet, Deschamp-Band & Garnier, 2022, p.25

People from an immigrant background generally have a good knowledge of French upon arrival, and it has been shown that they also develop a good mastery of the language

over time, with a higher level of education on average than the local population (see figures below).

Number and Percentage of Immigrants Admitted to Quebec Who Report That They Speak French

All Immigrants

2022	2021	2020	2019	2018
46,087	34,449	15,095	19,871	24,442
67.8 %	69.3 %	60.4 %	49.8 %	49.5 %

Qualified Workers

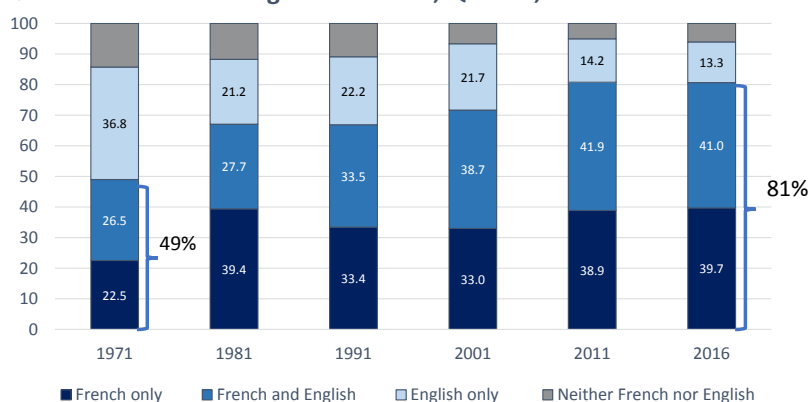
2022	2021	2020	2019	2018
34,125	22,451	9,133	12,813	15,779
85.7 %	90.0 %	79.9 %	67.4 %	65.8 %

Source: Ministère de l'immigration, de la francisation et de l'intégration (Ministry of Immigration, Francisation and Integration), Direction de la recherche, de la statistique et de la veille (Department of Research, Statistics and Monitoring). Preliminary data for 2021 and provisional data for 2022.

Source: MIFI, 2023

In Quebec, the proportion of recent immigrants who know French has increased over the decades

Self-reported ability of recent immigrants to conduct a conversation in English or French, Quebec, 1971 to 2016



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2016; National Household Survey, 2011.

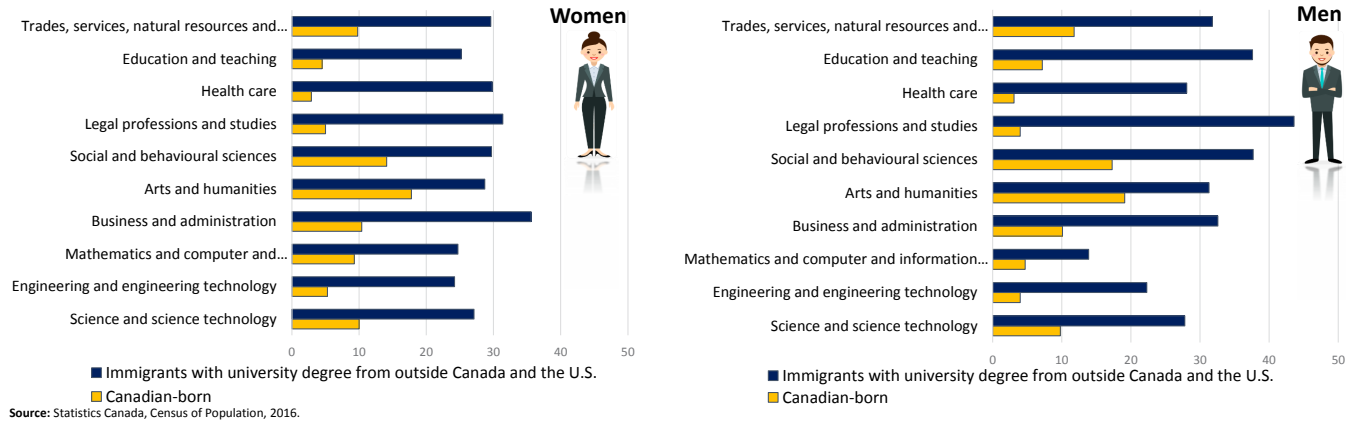
Ability to have a conversation in at least three languages

- In the Montréal CMA, around **1 in 2 immigrants** with a mother tongue other than English or French can have a conversation in at least three languages.
- In the Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary CMAs, the ratio was **1 in 5 immigrants**.

Source : Arora & Statistics Canada, 2019.

The proportion of immigrants who earned a university degree outside Canada and the United States and who have a job that requires a high school diploma or less is much higher than the proportion of Canadian-born.

Overqualification rate among workers aged 25 or older with a university diploma, by main field of study and immigrant status, Montréal CMA, 2016

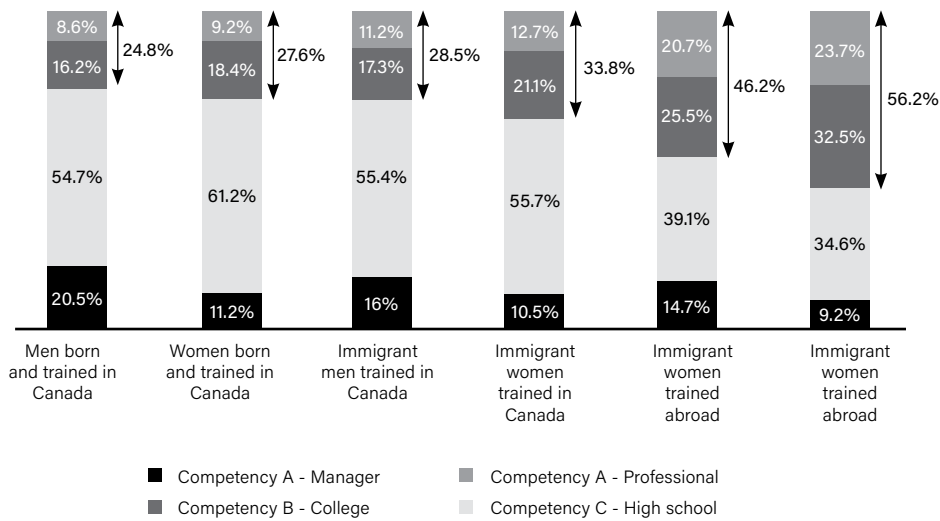


Source : Arora & Statistics Canada, 2019.

Despite these advantages, people from immigrant backgrounds continue to have a higher overqualification rate than people born in Quebec. It is also known that the immigrant

population has a higher unemployment rate, although this tends to decrease after living in the province for more than five years (see figures).

Skill level required for employment among university-educated Quebecers, by immigrant status, place of study and gender



Source: Eid, 2022, p.183

Geography ²	Quebec (map)												
Labour force characteristics	Unemployment rate ³												
Age group	15 years and over												
Immigrant status	March 2022	April 2022	May 2022	June 2022	July 2022	August 2022	September 2022	October 2022	November 2022	December 2022	January 2023	February 2023	March 2023
	Percentage												
Total population ⁴	5.1	4.6	4.4	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.4	4.2	3.7	3.7	4.2	4.5	4.7
Landed immigrants ⁵	6.0	5.9	6.2	6.0	6.4	6.9	6.7	5.9	5.0	4.7	5.0	5.1	5.8
Immigrants, landed 5 or less years earlier	9.0	8.8	9.2	7.7	7.5	7.6	7.5	7.3	7.0	7.3	8.9	9.3	10.6
Immigrants, landed more than 5 to 10 years earlier	5.1	3.8	3.7	4.5	5.7	6.7	6.0	4.7	3.3	3.0	3.5	5.1	6.4
Immigrants, landed more than 10 years earlier	5.5	5.9	6.3	6.1	6.3	6.7	6.7	6.0	5.0	4.6	4.6	4.1	4.4
Born in Canada	4.8	4.2	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.2	4.3

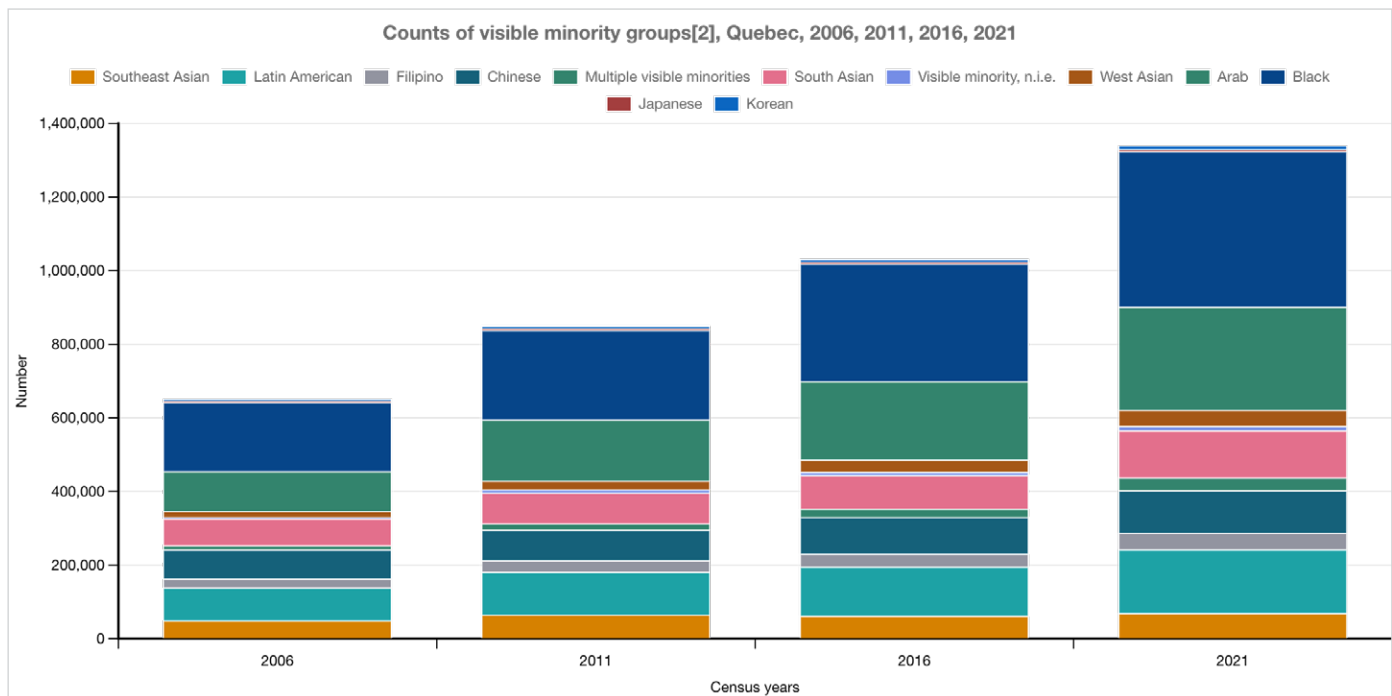
Source: Statistics Canada, 2023

As for the presence of racialized minorities (a categorization produced by the process of racialization, meaning the construction of others as radically different from oneself—see Garneau, 2019), 2021 Canadian census statistics reveal an overall increase in this population (see figure that mentions the government category of visible minority).

This concise overview of people from immigrant backgrounds and racialized minorities in Quebec¹⁰ remains incomplete without consideration of structural issues related to legal immigration status as well as Quebec and Canada's concurrent jurisdiction over immigration. The following section aims to clarify some of these issues

(like immigration status), which influence immigration processes and pathways (Frozzini, 2023), along with other structures (like Quebec immigration documents and the CBSA) pertaining to various population groups.

¹⁰ See Appendix A for other statistics about cities and the breakdown of people from immigrant backgrounds and racialized minorities.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

3.2 The Political Context of Immigration

We know there are fundamental differences in the socio-legal situation of immigrants. An individual's legal status (immigration status) refers to their classification based on the provisions of three federal laws: the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, the *Citizenship Act* and the *Indian Act*. In the case of immigrants, it is the first two laws that determine their status—i.e., the “state and capacity of the individual” (CRFJ, 2006) who

is permitted to enter and/or stay in Canada, either permanently or temporarily.

People may change status throughout their lives in Canada, and the Government of Canada is responsible for managing the classification of individuals.¹¹ As the text in the box below indicates, there are five types of legal immigration status in Canada.¹²

11 In this process, the Government of Quebec, which is responsible for selecting most im/migrants to the province, grants the *Certificat de sélection du Québec* (Quebec Selection Certificate; CSQ) and the *Certificat d'acceptation du Québec* (Quebec Acceptance Certificate; CAQ), which confirm to applicants that the provincial government has selected and accepted them. In the case of refugees, it is the federal government that determines whether they are accepted as refugees and assesses asylum requests (requests for protection).

12 There is also the status of Indian (official designation under the Indian Act). For a critical analysis of legal statuses, see Frozzini, 2022.

Legal Statuses Related to Immigration

Legal Status from Most Precarious to Most Secure	Brief Description
Undocumented or person without status	Person without permission to remain in Canada or whose permission period has expired.
Temporary resident	Person permitted to remain in Canada for a limited period in order to work, study or visit.
Refugee	<u>Accepted refugee (protected person)</u> : Person recognized by Canada as a refugee under the Geneva Convention or as a person to be protected. <u>Asylum seeker (seeker of refugee status)</u> : Person who has fled their country, submitted a request for protection as a refugee and is waiting for a decision.
Permanent resident	Person who has obtained permission to stay in Canada on a permanent basis.
Citizen	Person who is Canadian under the <i>Citizenship Act</i> either by birth or by naturalization (after three years of permanent residence in Canada).

Source : (Frozzini et Mvogo Balla, 2021, p. 13)

Source: Frozzini, 2022, p. 174.

Legal statuses related to immigration make it possible to:

[...] a) enter Canada (or not) to stay there; b) indicate the individual's state or factual situation; and c) in connection to the preceding item, **determine whether it is possible to access services and programs offered by various levels of government.** (Frozzini, 2022, p. 173, our translation)¹³

The issue of immigration, however, goes beyond the question of status, even if it is of vital importance to understanding

individuals' situations and trajectories. Other administrative arrangements (agreements) exist that enable concurrent jurisdiction in this area between the federal and provincial governments.

Immigration is an area that has been under concurrent jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments since the *Constitution Act, 1867*, particularly Section 95 (Ministère de la Justice, 2020). However, few provinces have entered into agreements with the intent of sharing control of the different aspects of immigration (selection, program management, etc.). The province of Quebec

¹³ Access to government services and programs is essential for a decent standard of living. Without access to a social safety net such as healthcare, a person or family may soon find themselves in an unsustainable situation with expenses that exceed their financial means. Unfortunately, those with precarious status (undocumented people, temporary residents, asylum seekers) are most susceptible to falling into a vicious cycle that will likely increase the precarity of their situation or cause an accumulation of factors that can lead to precarity.

is a pioneer in this area, having established a ministerial structure and initiated talks to conclude agreements with the federal government to provide the province with greater control of immigration. There have been four agreements since 1971.¹⁴ The most recent, known as the “Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall agreement” or “Quebec-Canada Immigration Accord,” was signed in 1991. It:

[...] gives Quebec exclusive responsibility for selection (except for family reunification, refugees recognized when they were already in Quebec or migrant workers when the employment offer is not subject to Canada’s requirements relating to the availability of Canadian workers), reception and integration (linguistic, cultural and economic). Canada withdrew from these three fields while providing Quebec with financial compensation. The agreement also allows Quebec to determine its levels of immigration, which it submits to the federal government for consideration (information is exchanged between the two governments for coordination purposes) to have a volume of immigrants corresponding to its demographic weight in Canada, with the option of exceeding it by 5% if Quebec deems it appropriate (Government of Canada, 1991). (Frozzini, 2022, p. 177, our translation)

Concurrent jurisdiction has two consequences that require further consideration: (1) increasing the complexity

of processes for people from immigrant backgrounds and the workers trying to help them, and (2) clarifying the division of jurisdiction between the two levels of government. There is greater complexity because of the many agencies, workers and documents to be completed, not to mention the time it takes to process cases in Canada and especially in Quebec. On the other hand, since 1991 there has been greater clarity in the division of labour between the federal and provincial governments. For example, Quebec issues *Certificats d’acceptation* (CAQ) and *Certificats de sélection* (CSQ) on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the levels of permanent immigration that the province has set for the year. Meanwhile, the federal government is responsible for providing various documents required to work, study or stay in the country (work permit or study permit), taking into account Quebec’s approval of individuals and the levels of immigration it has chosen.

It should be noted that the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) is responsible for verifying the arrival and departure of Canadian and foreign nationals who pass through Canadian border crossings (issuing visas, work permits, etc.) and has the power to detain and deport foreign nationals (i.e., implementing removal measures) under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA). Combined with a tendency to treat people from other countries with suspicion, this has created a culture prone to criminalizing immigration (Côté-Boucher & Paquet, 2021). Police forces across the country are also involved in verifying

¹⁴ For more information about the various agreements, see Frozzini, 2022.

individuals' documents and call CBSA agents when they detain someone following verification (Marsen, 2019). The sanctuary cities movement developed with the intention of countering this tendency and had the aim of creating a network of safe cities for undocumented individuals (Paik, 2020). People in precarious or hyper-precarious situations due to the intersection of various factors (precarious status, precarious work or the absence of a support network; see Frozzini & Law, 2017), live with feelings of anxiety and fear (which may affect their day-to-day interactions) and are more likely to suffer abuse. Furthermore, the issue of racial profiling (see CDPDJ) is important here, due to the impact it has on people belonging to racialized communities. Another factor is the negative perception or moral panic related to the presence or arrival of asylum seekers (often referred to in the media as refugees), who are portrayed as a danger to Quebec (Crête & Marquis, 2023; Carabin, 2024). However, if we consider various global reports about this situation (UNHCR, 2022), we can see that this is not the case, and the fact that these people come from regions where various kinds of violence have long occurred justifies claims based on the right to asylum (Gauderman, 2023; Dauvergne, 2021). As we will see in the next section, municipal competencies in this area are not codified in federal laws (Good, 2012), but cities do play an increasingly important role in the inclusion and resocialization¹⁵ of people from immigrant backgrounds and people belonging to racialized groups.

Questions relating to equity and the protection of fundamental rights in Quebec involve various other institutions that address the needs of the population as a whole, including individuals belonging to minority and racialized groups. These organizations include the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission; CDPDJ), which monitors promoting and respecting the principles set forth in the *Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*. It also oversees the respect and promotion of rights set forth in the *Loi sur la protection de la jeunesse* (Youth Protection Act) and the application of the *Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans les organismes publics* (Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies). The Commission may conduct investigations and bring cases of discrimination, harassment or exploitation to the Human Rights Tribunal. However, it is the Tribunal's decisions, not the Commission's recommendations, that have the force of law and are therefore binding.

Besides the CDPDJ, there is also an ecosystem of community groups in Quebec that are involved in the defense of fundamental rights and in the fight against racism. However, they operate in a context where the laws in effect do not prevent misconduct, since these laws and associated mechanisms of protection and compensation are not applied until a complaint is filed. The burden of proof is therefore placed on the individual, who must have the courage and knowledge

15 The "process by which a person [...] [will] undertake learning and internalizing sociocultural elements of their new environment in order to adapt to it while retaining certain cultural characteristics." (Frozzini et al., 2019, p. 80; our translation)

needed to fight for and eventually achieve justice, while realizing there is no guarantee of success. For these reasons, establishing a welcoming, friendly environment aimed at including all members of the community is a laudable goal that municipalities and RCMS should actively pursue.

3.3 Cities and the Local Turn

Municipal governments play an increasingly important role in diversity and inclusion. The social scientific literature often refers to the “municipalization” of these issues but also the “municipal turn” or “local turn” (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017). Various factors may explain why municipal governments decide to commit resources to the work of diversity and inclusion: political vision or leadership, an important event or crisis, or simply demographic change (Fourot, 2013). Clearly, there is a wide range of approaches and visions among the municipalities engaged in diversity and inclusion efforts (Andrew et al., 2013; Gilbert & Chiasson, 2022). Section 4 of this report presents a survey of municipal practices in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada.

With a few exceptions, integration and inclusion policy in Quebec municipalities is overseen by the professionals responsible for recreation and community development (“loisirs et vie communautaire”). Most municipalities also receive funding from the Quebec ministry of immigration, which, since the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord, has enjoyed considerable autonomy in the area of integration and inclusion. During the past decade, there has been an increase in the number of networks aimed at supporting municipal practice in this field,

both in Quebec and elsewhere (Flamant et al., 2022). Examples include the Réseau des municipalités sur l’immigration et les relations interculturelles du Québec (Network of Municipalities on Immigration and Intercultural Relations; RÉMIRI), the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities and the Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities Programme. Despite the growing interest in municipal practice in this field, there are not enough studies to allow systematic comparative analyses (Schiller, 2018; Gamba et al., 2022). This is a significant gap in the research that could be used to help municipalities transform their practices or organizational cultures.

Firstly, it is important to remember that each city is unique; various factors based on the local context may influence program planning and implementation (local history, demographics, economy, geography, etc.). A city’s size is not necessarily indicative of its commitment to action or the quality of its actions. Big cities have more immigrants, more experience with diversity and more resources to address these issues. However, they also face more technical and political challenges, such as conflicts between political parties, the distance between elected officials and civil servants, and a more unwieldy administrative structure, which may create more distance between the public and the municipal government. Small and medium-sized cities are sometimes capable of surprising innovations and may even outdo larger cities (see the phenomenon of “leapfrogging,” White, 2018).

Most research on integration policy has concentrated either on practices at the national level (Andrew, 2000) or transnational

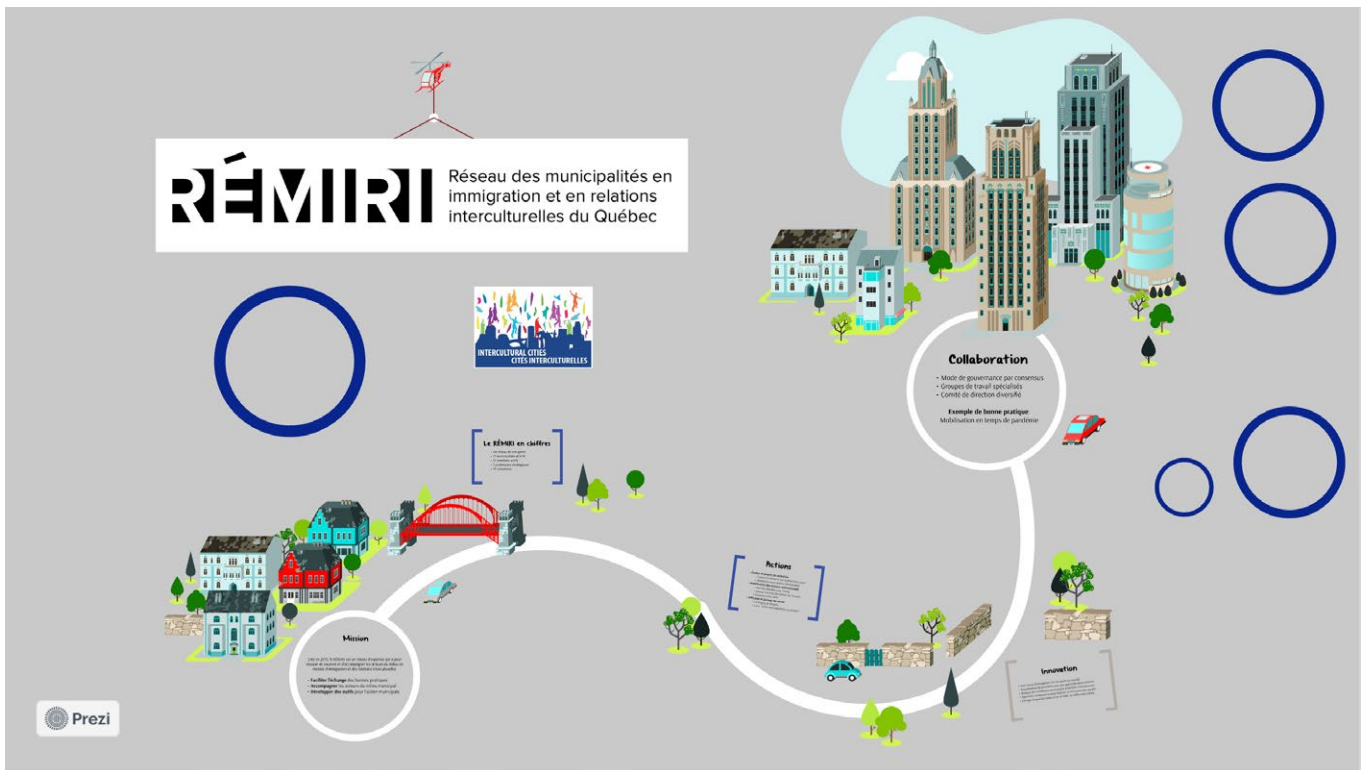
flows at the global level (Glick-Schiller & Caglar, 2008). Multiple studies have shown that it is impossible to paint a complete picture of inclusion and integration dynamics without understanding political issues at the municipal level (Burayaidi, 2015; Fourot, 2015; Qadeer, 2015; Tolley & Young, 2011). Due to their intermediate status (neither national nor regional, at once local and global), cities are well-situated to develop programs and policies that will contribute directly to the well-being of individuals and communities from diverse backgrounds (Rocher & White, 2014).

Given the relative flexibility of their institutions, many cities have taken on more responsibility in this area, in some cases going above and beyond municipalities' traditional roles and mandates (Gagnon, 2009), such as the implementation of a welcoming policy for immigrants and an immigration action plan in Saguenay. Some researchers have suggested that innovations in integration at the municipal level may have a significant impact on governance at other levels, particularly in terms of taking into consideration specific communities (Good, 2009) or developing and implementing new diversity and inclusion paradigms (White, 2018). The recognition of municipalities as local authorities is fairly recent in Quebec. "Proximity governance" (Larouche-Leblanc, 2019; Mevellec et al., 2020)—i.e., the fact that municipal governments can respond more rapidly and more efficiently than other levels of government (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004)—can facilitate relationships of trust between municipal professionals and other professionals and organizations in this field (White & Frozzini, 2022). It could even be said that these relationships of trust explain why,

for the most part, municipalities are better positioned to address the issues faced by diverse populations in general.

3.4 City-Based Inclusion Networks

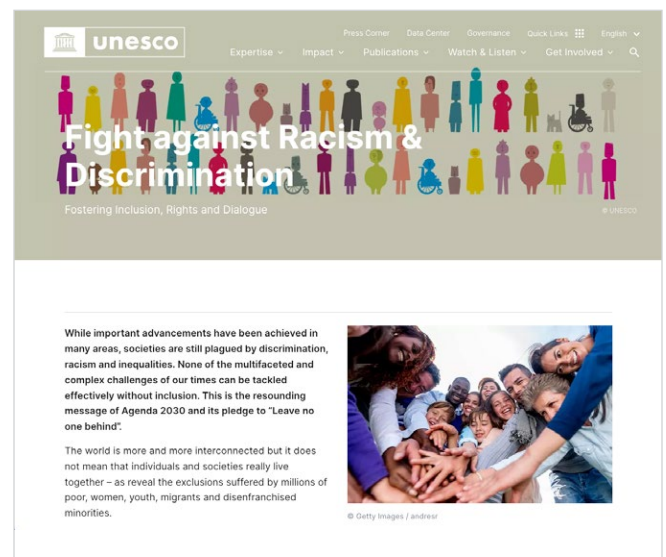
Besides organizations such as the Union des municipalités du Québec (Quebec Union of Municipalities; UMQ), Fédération québécoise des municipalités (Quebec Federation of Municipalities; FQM) and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), which were formed many years ago to represent municipalities of all sizes on various issues, in the past decade, the number of municipal networks focused on diversity and inclusion has grown significantly in Quebec and elsewhere (Flamant et al., 2022). These networks have developed concepts and tools to help cities promote inclusion, such as Welcoming Cities, Eurocities or the Council of Europe's Intercultural Cities Programme. There is relatively little contact between municipal networks, even though cities may belong to several at once. The Réseau des municipalités en immigration et relations interculturelles (Network of Municipalities on Immigration and Intercultural Relations; RÉMIRI) has played an important role in promoting diversity and inclusion in cities across Québec.



Source: Network of Municipalities on Immigration and Intercultural Relations; RÉMIRI

While not all cities see the advantages of participating in municipal networks, those that take part benefit in terms of visibility, recognition and knowledge transfer. But cities also participate in networks for the purpose of capacity-building, and their participation may have a positive impact on how municipal governments perceive themselves. Small and medium-sized municipalities are also involved in networks of this kind, even if they sometimes lack the resources to participate on a regular basis. When they participate actively, they can benefit just as much as larger cities with more resources. In other words, a city's size is not a predictor of success; small and medium-sized cities may have some advantages in terms of innovation and implementation, particularly because smaller organizations have fewer levels of

approval and more regular communication between civil servants and elected officials.



Source: [Fight against Racism and Discrimination](#), UNESCO



Source: [Pathway to Prosperity: Canada](https://www.pathwaytoprosperity.ca/)

Some networks focus on elected officials and others on civil servants and municipal employees. Some are more general, while others concentrate on specific groups or issues:¹⁶

- Welcoming America: promoting openness to newcomers and settlement services
- Integrating Cities: improving the economic and political integration of migrants
- Cities of Migration: making cities more welcoming for immigrants and minority groups
- International Coalition of Inclusive and Sustainable Cities: helping local governments fight racism and discrimination
- Intercultural Cities: promoting social cohesion through the principles of intercultural integration.

While all the networks mentioned above are committed to the pluralist principles of recognizing diversity and fighting against discrimination, the same cannot be said for the pluralist principle of dialogue. Apart from the Intercultural Cities (ICC) Programme, these city-based inclusion networks tend to focus mainly on the situation of immigrants and refugees, not on relations between newcomers and the host society in which they have decided to remake their lives. The Intercultural Cities Programme emphasizes the idea of “intercultural integration,” which advocates concrete actions aimed at rapprochement as well as policies and programs that favour “positive interactions.” In this sense, the ICC network is a good example of how to maintain a culture of dialogue between cities and neighbourhoods (Wood & Landry, 2008).

3.5 The EDI (Equity, Diversity and Inclusion) Model

In the past ten years, equity, diversity and inclusion programs have proliferated in Quebec, both in the private sector (e.g., banks) and in the parapublic (e.g., Hydro-Québec) and institutional sectors (universities and hospitals). A recent article in *The Economist* showed that the number of people hired for positions listed with the words “diversity” or “inclusion” has quadrupled since 2010.¹⁷ While municipalities were relative latecomers in implementing EDI policies and programs, this study shows

16 See the special issue of *Local Government Studies* on “City Network Activism and the Governance of Migration” for multiple articles on the subject of municipal networks: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/flgs20/48/6>

17 <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2022/08/25/workplace-diversity-programmes-often-fail-or-backfire>

that cities around the world have significantly ramped up their activities in this area. In 2021, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities created a position for a Senior Director of Anti-Racism, Diversity, Inclusion and Reconciliation. This study also shows that there is growing interest among municipal stakeholders to develop tools based on an EDI approach (see Section 4 of this report). What are the principles or foundations of EDI? What does EDI look like in cities in Quebec? What are the advantages of using EDI and what pitfalls should be avoided when implementing it at the municipal level? Finally, what is the impact of EDI on living together, social cohesion and the delivery of municipal services?

The Emergence of EDI

The roots of EDI may be found in the movement to defend minority rights in the United States, particularly women, African Americans and people with disabilities. A series of demands made in the 1960s set the agenda for laws promoting non-discrimination, such as the *Equal Pay Act* (1963) and the *Voting Rights Act* (1965), which was a turning point in the fight against discrimination toward racialized communities. In the 1970s, the feminist movement in the United States and Canada focused attention on the issue of equal pay, and in the 1980s demands made by the disability rights movement led to the creation of the *Americans with*

Disabilities Act (1990). In the Canadian context, precursors to EDI principles and programs include the idea of representative bureaucracy (dating back to 1944) and the federal *Employment Equity Act* of 1995 (<https://hal.science/hal-03594281/document>).

Following a period of economic globalization in the 1980s, multinational corporations began investing in diversity and inclusion programs to attract an international workforce. During the 1990s, a number of governments (including Canada) established standards to ensure diversity and inclusion in vendor supply chains.¹⁸ In the 2000s, diversity and inclusion programs were a subject of growing debate. According to some observers, they were limited by their focus on representativeness and did not consider the phenomenon of unconscious bias, which prevents organizations from thinking about inclusion in terms of equity. In 2000, the *Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans les organismes publics* (Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies) came into effect in Quebec. In the 2010s, EDI programs became increasingly common, especially in academia, and EDI principles were increasingly reflected in popular culture and consumer habits. The emergence of the #MeToo movement in 2017 and the death of George Floyd in 2020 were key moments for many public organizations and institutions, especially in North America, who felt impelled to question their practices in the

¹⁸ It is tempting to believe that EDI programs develop in a linear manner, starting at the federal level then proceeding to the provincial and municipal levels, but in some cases, the opposite may be true. Further research is needed in various local contexts to determine whether EDI develops in a linear, a circular or some other manner.

area of diversity and inclusion.¹⁹ Although some municipalities have put ambitious policies in place, it should be noted that, with some municipalities, this questioning has remained superficial and has not led to any real change..

While the first steps in diversity and inclusion were driven by the work of professionals engaged in social, political and legal battles, governments gradually adopted anti-discrimination mechanisms and standards in order to develop the necessary structures and laws. In Quebec, this enabled the establishment, for example, of the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission)²⁰ and equal access employment programs.²¹ EDI programs—which do not share a common history with human rights commissions—provide tools to help public institutions become more inclusive, thereby fulfilling their legal obligations to the government and their moral duty as an employer and supplier of public services. Nevertheless, it should be noted that despite advances in EDI in recent years, there is still considerable discomfort with the issue of racism in public institutions. The sensitivity of various stakeholders seems to stem from a combination of factors, including the action of various groups engaged in defending rights and a feeling of guilt that gives rise to social and relational tensions.

The Pillars of EDI

There are many ways to implement EDI. Programs and initiatives must meet the needs of stakeholders and take into account the particularities of local contexts. In spite of these local contextual factors, EDI policies and programs share three key concepts: **diversity, equity and inclusion**. Each concept plays an important role in planning and implementing measures aimed primarily at transforming organizational cultures.

Diversity refers to all the characteristics of humanity and human variability. UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity states the following:

Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.²² (UNESCO, 2001)

Municipal professionals recognize not only that there is a problem of representativeness within municipal administrations—which is often the main reason for undertaking EDI

19 <https://www.thecut.com/article/diversity-equity-inclusion-industrial-companies.html>

20 <https://www.cdpcj.qc.ca/en>

21 <https://www.cdpcj.qc.ca/en/our-services/activities-and-services/learn-more-about-equal-access-employment-programs>

22 <https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/unesco-universal-declaration-cultural-diversity>

initiatives—but also that the public often has a limited understanding of diversity. Cities that decide to adopt diversity and inclusion policy need to provide a definition of diversity that goes beyond the concept of ethnicity (see [the Guide](#) for a discussion of this issue). In some cases, cities refer to the 14 grounds of discrimination identified by the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission) in Quebec or tools based on intersectional approaches (e.g., the City of Montreal's GBA+ tool). Mevellec et al. (2020) show that despite changes at the level of public declarations, cities in Canada still have a long way to go with regards to gender equity.

To properly understand the concept of **equity**, it is first necessary to distinguish between equity and equality. In an ideal world, everyone would be equal. But, in reality, contemporary societies are characterized by inequalities on multiple levels (male-female, black-white, rich-poor, etc.). To combat these inequalities, the concept of equity proposes taking action based on the idea of justice, meaning that everyone is treated in a fair manner. This goes beyond simply providing “equal opportunities,” since it demands that the distribution of resources and decision-making should also be fair. As a result, equal treatment is not enough –mechanisms are needed to mitigate the inequalities built into social structures and institutions. An equity-based approach assumes that people do not all have the same privileges or starting points and that public institutions must create conditions that allow individuals to flourish

by eliminating multiple barriers. This can involve, for example, the creation of employee resource groups to support minority or racialized employees.

The third pillar, **inclusion**, is generally seen as both a process and a condition. Defined as an “active process of change or integration as well as an outcome, such as a sense of belonging,” inclusion is viewed as incorporating both an active process of change (including) and an emotional result (feeling included) (Nair & Vohra, 2015). When talking about strategies that enable municipal professionals to overcome resistance to change, many interviewees mentioned the positive aspects of inclusion, particularly with regards to anti-racism and anti-discrimination approaches. The concept of inclusion, which emphasizes positive actions and creating a sense of belonging, makes it possible to open doors that were previously closed due to discrimination.

Municipalities in Canada have a long way to go before they can say with certainty that they are creating inclusion (Gamba et al., 2022), and there are few tools to document the impact of municipal practices on the dynamics of inclusion (Klodawsky et al., 2018; White & Frozzini, 2022). The three pillars of EDI—equity, diversity and inclusion—are of course interrelated and interdependent. These concepts allow municipal organizations to lay a solid foundation for supporting individuals and communities. EDI functions like a tripod; if one or two legs are missing, it may become unstable and fall over.

The Possibilities and Pitfalls of EDI

Studies have shown that diversity and inclusion training by themselves have little or no effect on employee behaviours and organizational practices, especially if they are not part of an overall organizational development strategy. According to several studies, mandatory training may even have a negative impact (Dobbin & Kalev, 2018; Noon, 2018). Sociologists Frank Dobbin and Alexandra Kalev have identified five factors that explain the limited or negative impact of training programs that are not part of an integrated overall approach: 1) adults do not retain much from one-off training courses, 2) training on unconscious bias may reinforce or accentuate stereotypes²³, 3) training may have the effect of making individuals feel

they are not responsible for diversity and inclusion, 4) people from majority groups feel attacked or excluded, and 5) adults react negatively to efforts to control or change their thinking. However, it must be said that while some EDI initiatives have very little impact (such as sensibility training and performance evaluations), other measures may significantly impact individuals' perceptions and organizational practices, especially mentoring programs and the creation of internal committees such as diversity task forces (Dobbin, Kalev & Kelly, 2006). If some types of activity with limited effectiveness remain popular, it is because organizations lack the resources, imagination or will to make profound changes to workplace relations and, most importantly, because certain strategies seem easier and cheaper.

23 For example, see the following link, which addresses racism in the workplace that occurs even though employees have received EDI training: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WL7eiTBdygk>.

4. Diversity and Inclusion in Cities

The question of diversity is an integral part of municipal inclusion policy, not only because of the heterogeneity of Canadian cities but also in relation to the multiple jurisdictions and responsibilities of municipal professionals (Allard, 2022). In public discourse, there is a tendency in Quebec, as in Canada, to link the notion of diversity to that of immigration, which has the unfortunate effect of further stigmatizing particular individuals and communities. In this project, we conducted a survey of municipal action in the field of diversity and inclusion by collecting data about policies and programs in three cities in Quebec and five cities in the rest of Canada. Given that the three Quebec cities will be analyzed in more detail later (see Section 4.2), we will limit the discussion of their policies and programs in this section.

We formulated a series of open-ended questions to facilitate comparison between the different cities covered by the study:

1. What is the city's vision of diversity and inclusion?
2. What are the different types of diversity identified by the city?
3. What are the various barriers to inclusion identified by the city?
4. Who are the targets of municipal policies (employees, partners, residents)?
5. What is the balance between internal and external actions in the city's policies?
6. What importance does the city place on the following issues?
 - a. Integrating people from immigrant backgrounds
 - b. Approaches to and programs for promoting EDI
 - c. Racism and systemic discrimination

Based on these criteria, we compiled the data collected for each city; the following two sections summarize the content of our analyses, with a short discussion at the end of each section.

4.1 Municipal Practice across Canada

With cities in Quebec and elsewhere diversifying rapidly, municipalities are making significant investments in the area of diversity and inclusion. How is this issue tackled in Canadian cities outside of Quebec? We will try to answer this question based on exploratory research conducted in five predominantly anglophone Canadian cities: Vancouver, Calgary, Ottawa, Toronto and Halifax. As we explained in the methodology section (Section 2), the cities presented in this analysis were selected based on comparability (in terms of size rather than the proportion of people from immigrant backgrounds) and geography (to ensure we had examples from different regions of the country). The results presented here should be seen as part of an exploratory study aimed at identifying elements for comparison between Quebec and the rest of Canada. More in-depth research is needed to conduct systematic comparative analyses of different cities.²⁴ As we will see, some aspects of municipal practice are the result of top-down initiatives (in response to demands by municipal or provincial decision-makers) while others arise from needs expressed by the public or interest groups living in the city.

City of Vancouver

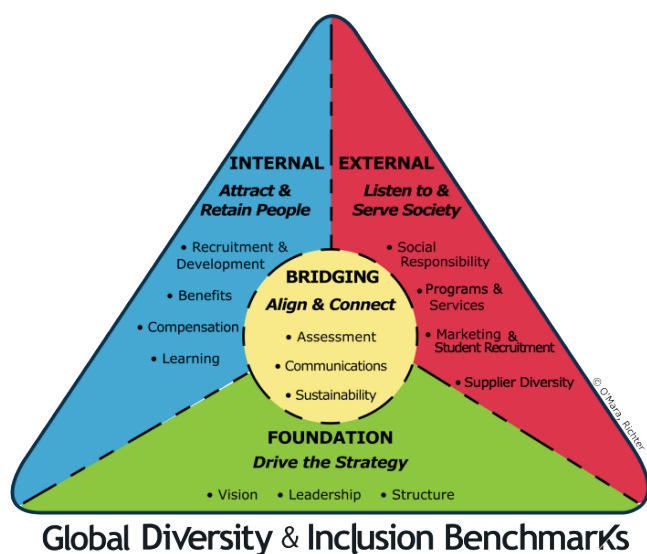
The City of Vancouver often refers to the concepts of *equity* and *reconciliation* in its attempts to improve social relations and social cohesion. In the Vancouver context, *equity and reconciliation* are aimed at ending systemic inequities and uniting urban communities. The city has undertaken work on a larger equity framework to highlight the diversity that characterizes its urban space: “The Equity Framework exists to create a unified vision and shared understanding of equity across City departments, and to define the City’s orientation to this work” (City of Vancouver, 2021, p. 4). Given the large number of residents who speak neither French nor English, the City has worked on creating a Language Access Policy to facilitate access to its services, promote linguistic equity and combat language barriers.

It is worth noting that the City of Vancouver was one of the first cities in Canada to formally adopt a position favouring reconciliation with local Indigenous communities (Squamish Nation, Muskwa Nation, Tsleil-Waututh Nation). As a “City of Reconciliation,” its vision is to “form sustained relationships, incorporate perspectives and provide services that benefit local First Nations and the Urban Indigenous community” (City of Vancouver, 2021, p. 3). More recently (in 2022), the City of Vancouver partnered with local First Nations to develop a set of recommendations and strategies

24 On this topic, see Triandafyllidou et al. (2024) and the International Intercultural Cities Comparative Study project (<https://iiccs.com/>).

for implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).²⁵

Externally, municipal practice in Vancouver is aimed at achieving a fair, emancipated society, while internally, the City is aiming for employment equity and equal treatment (equal work for equal pay). Equity is therefore central to the City’s overall EDI framework. Adopted in 2021, this framework consists of both external actions (“community facing identity-based strategies”) and internal initiatives:²⁶



Source: Diversity & Inclusion Framework, Halifax Regional Municipality

Work on this framework was overseen by the Equity Office, which reports to the City’s senior management and has established three permanent bodies in the City: 1) the equity leadership group (managers and directors of various departments), 2) resource groups for employees (based on identity-related affinities), and 3) communities of practice (e.g., a group working on equity in the area of data access). The Equity Office also works closely with other members of the staff specializing in equity who were recruited to implement the equity framework in various departments. The City also has a policy on accessing city services without fear and an anti-racism strategy.

City of Calgary

Municipal policies in Calgary emphasize the concepts of diversity, inclusion and equity. The City’s workforce is increasingly diverse, and various communities have contributed to its development.

As Calgary’s population has increased steadily over the last decade, so too has the diverse social composition of the city. Calgarians come from a range of cultural backgrounds and have a myriad of perspectives. There are opportunities for diverse populations to actively participate in our city. This brings vibrancy and life to Calgary. (City of Calgary, 2011, p. 2).

25 <https://vancouver.ca/people-programs/undrip-task-force.aspx>

26 GDEIB: <https://www.globaldeibenchmarks.org/>



In Calgary, inclusion is presented as the possibility of being an actor rather than a spectator in the city’s social life, regardless of political, cultural and ethnic background or sexual identity. Inclusion involves the promotion of diversity and active participation in the fight against racism. A strategy for fighting systemic racism within the municipal government and in the Albertan metropolis as a whole was unanimously adopted by the City of Calgary in May 2023. The ultimate goal of adopting it was to “ensure that all residents of Calgary, whatever their origin, have equal access to the City’s programs and services and that municipal employees are able to develop within the administration” (Radio-Canada, 2023; our translation). While a diverse workforce exists within Calgary’s administration, externally it is seeking to create a city where inequality

and discrimination are eliminated from social life.²⁷ The City’s actions are oriented around the concept of equity, which involves multiple divisions and teams (Community Well-being, Resilience, Anti-Racism, Indigenous Relations, Equity Program, HR Equity). Some initiatives focus mainly on residents (“community”), while others are focused on internal employees (“corporation”).

In 2011, the City of Calgary developed a welcoming community policy, identifying five key areas for supporting new arrivals (economic and social integration, intergovernmental relations, access to services and equity, public awareness and education, special populations).²⁸ Its anti-racism strategic plan (2023-2027) includes programs and actions that highlight the systemic nature of racism: “to take actions to

27 For more information, see the *Cross cultural connections directory*: <https://www.calgary.ca/arts-culture/cross-cultural-resources.html?redirect=/culturaldirectory>

28 <https://www.calgary.ca/content/dam/www/ca/city-clerks/documents/council-policy-library/csps034-welcoming-community-policy.pdf>

remove systemic racism in Calgary through education, engagement, collaboration, and policy changes.”^{29,30} Approved by the City Council in 2019, the Gender Equity, Diversity and Inclusion strategy recommended strategic actions based on the City’s current work to advance diversity and inclusion. The strategy covers four focus areas: leadership accountability, data-informed decision making, addressing barriers to participation, and education and awareness.³¹ The City’s work on Indigenous relations is guided by the Indigenous Relations Office and its Indigenous Policy. Given the proportion of Indigenous people living in Calgary, this is a key issue for the City. Inspired by the White Goose Flying Report, its work places considerable emphasis on the concepts of truth and reconciliation.³²

The City of Calgary is actively involved in the Calgary Local Immigration Partnership (<https://www.calgarylip.ca/>), notably as a member of its board, which features representatives of various key organizations and stakeholders in the City’s community. The City is also involved in other collaborative bodies, such as Gateway and the Newcomer Research Collaborative. For more about the Calgary LIP, visit <https://www.calgarylip.ca/new-about>.

City of Toronto

Diversity figures prominently in statements made by the City of Toronto: “The City of Toronto values the contributions made by all its people and believes that the diversity among its people has strengthened Toronto.”³³ In 2014, Toronto became the first city outside Europe to sign the Integrating Cities Charter; this initiative was part of the City’s newcomer strategy.³⁴ The equity perspective, which emphasizes the various communities affected by discrimination, is central to its vision of municipal practice.

The City’s equity and inclusion programs aim to reduce barriers related to systemic racism: “Anti-Black racism is deeply entrenched in Canadian institutions, policies and practices, often making this particular form of racism normal or invisible to the larger society” (City of Toronto, 2017, p. 4). Official statistics speak to the seriousness of anti-Black racism in Toronto: “Black Torontonians are victims of 85% of hate crimes in Toronto where racism is the motivating factor” (City of Toronto, 2017, p. 4). To address this issue, the City established the Confronting Anti-Black Racism Unit, which includes multiple programs and actions across Toronto.³⁵ Each year, the Bureau also organizes a communications campaign to raise

29 <https://www.calgary.ca/social-services/anti-racism/anti-racism-strategic-plan.html>

30 <https://www.calgary.ca/social-services/anti-racism.html>

31 <https://www.calgary.ca/our-strategy/diversity-inclusion.html>

32 <https://www.calgary.ca/communities/indigenous/city-relations.html>

33 <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accessibility-human-rights/equity-diversity-inclusion/>

34 <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2014/cd/bgrd/backgroundfile-69053.pdf>

35 <https://www.toronto.ca/community-people/get-involved/community/confronting-anti-black-racism/>

public awareness of diversity's benefits and discrimination's consequences. Most of the campaigns are organized using a populational approach.³⁶



Source: City of Toronto: torontoforall.ca

There is no overall policy that frames all the City's actions relating to diversity and inclusion; instead, there are different policies and programs in different departments. The Social Development Division, which includes the Toronto Newcomer Office and others, plays an important role in this respect.³⁷ The

Office established a Newcomer Strategy (2022-2026) to facilitate the integration of newcomers, including asylum seekers, undocumented people and people with precarious status. The AccessT.O. strategy (created in 2013) was used to facilitate the integration of asylum seekers and people without status (Paquet & Joy, 2022).³⁸ Each year, the Office organizes the Newcomer Day event and intercedes directly with professionals who can support the inclusion of newcomers (e.g., by holding information fairs).³⁹ Within the Social Development Division, there is also the Indigenous Affairs Office and the Police Reform Unit.

Youth is a central element of the division's policies and practices. According to the *Toronto Youth Equity Strategy (TYES)*, all youth should have equal access to municipal services, regardless of their ethnic, religious or political background or sexual identity:

The City of Toronto strives to ensure all youth can equally pursue their hopes, dreams and aspirations free of barriers based on race, gender, economic status and geography, and that all youth have the opportunity to meaningfully contribute to Toronto's strength, vitality and governance. (City of Toronto, 2014, p. 5)

36 I.e., organized by considering the various populations or communities that make up the city (see <https://www.toronto.ca/community-people/get-involved/community/toronto-for-all/>).

37 <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accountability-operations-customer-service/long-term-vision-plans-and-strategies/toronto-newcomer-strategy/>

38 <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accountability-operations-customer-service/long-term-vision-plans-and-strategies/access-to-city-services-for-undocumented-torontonians/>

39 This event brings together over 100 community organizations and City divisions for an information fair that provides newcomers with resources to help them settle. The day is also intended to celebrate newcomers and their contributions to the City.

Internally, the City conducts a survey each year to measure diversity and inclusion among its employees. The “Count Yourself In” survey provides sociodemographic information, especially about representativeness within the municipal government. The City has published a document that describes its municipal EDI vision, but this statement emphasizes the delivery of services to residents.⁴⁰ The City has also established an EDI policy for its suppliers, but there is no internal EDI policy for its employees.

City of Ottawa

To implement its inclusiveness program, Ottawa has established support systems that are mainly implemented by two key municipal bodies: the Strategic Community Initiatives Branch (SCIB) and the Diversity and Inclusion Branch (D&I Branch). The former “is responsible for developing and monitoring the implementation of corporation-wide initiatives, programs and projects” (City of Ottawa, 2018, p. 48) and “maintain[ing] relationships with many community organizations and groups” (*ibid.*). Meanwhile, the D&I Branch “creates and sustains a diverse and inclusive workplace” (*ibid.*) by “providing support to managers and employees to resolve issues based on the prohibited grounds of discrimination” and by “support[ing] departmental diversity and inclusion planning initiatives” (*ibid.*). In Ottawa, 44.8% of the population speaks both official languages (English and French), although many residents speak other

languages as well. The City has had an official language policy for many years but has never obtained bilingual city status.

To address the issue of racism, the City announced an anti-racism strategy in June 2022 to begin the work of achieving racial equity.⁴¹ Working both internally and with the community, the strategy identifies systemic obstacles in policies, programs and services as well as in public spaces. In Ottawa, the issue of diversity and inclusion is of considerable importance at the institutional level. As early as 2002, the City Council approved an Equity and Diversity Policy, according to which the City “is committed to providing quality services and by establishing a qualified workforce that reflects the diverse population it serves” (City of Ottawa, 2023 [2017], p. 1). The City defines diversity as:

A wide range of qualities and attributes within a person, group or community. When we celebrate diversity, communities and workplaces become richer as they draw upon the variety of experiences, perspectives and skills that people can contribute. (City of Ottawa, 2018, p. 12)

The City’s statements affirm that inclusion is “acknowledging and valuing people’s differences so as to enrich social planning, decision making and quality of life for everyone. In an inclusive city, we all have a sense of belonging, acceptance and recognition as valued and contributing members of society” (City of Ottawa,

40 <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accessibility-human-rights/equity-diversity-inclusion/>

41 <https://documents.ottawa.ca/sites/documents/files/coo-ar-report-fr.pdf>

2018, p. 12). The City of Ottawa is a member of UNESCO's Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination.

The City of Ottawa was among the first cities in Canada to establish a clear equity and inclusion vision (Veronis et al., 2024).⁴² The tools developed for its EDI framework focused on intersectionality and a model based on critical thinking at four key junctures: considering your diversity, checking assumptions, asking about inclusion and applying it to your work:



Source: Equity and Inclusion Lens, City of Ottawa

Recent actions taken by the City have placed more emphasis on gender equity (since 2019)⁴³ and the fight against systemic discrimination, an aspect that did not receive much attention in its first wave of diversity and inclusion programs.⁴⁴ For a number of years, the City of Ottawa has coordinated a cross-Canadian community of practice to support municipal employees with integration and inclusion. This community of practice, which involves the participation of 50 municipalities across Canada, is focused on anti-racism and gender equity. It includes regular meetings for members, presentations and sharing of best practices.

City of Halifax⁴⁵

The City of Halifax states that diversity involves valuing the differences and similarities between individuals and communities: "Diversity is more than race, ability, sexual orientation, language, gender or any other descriptive category. Diversity is a combination of differences and similarities among people" (City of Halifax, 2022). This is accomplished by transcending barriers related to race and sexual orientation. Recognizing diversity "means understanding and utilizing different views, ideas, life experiences, skills and knowledge" (*ibid.*). According to municipal policy, inclusion also refers to the elimination of various barriers liable to impede individuals' participation

42 See material on the "equity and inclusion lens" here: <https://ottawa.ca/en/city-hall/creating-equal-inclusive-and-diverse-city/equity-and-inclusion-lens>

43 <https://ottawa.ca/en/city-hall/creating-equal-inclusive-and-diverse-city/women-and-gender-equity-strategy>

44 <https://ottawa.ca/en/city-hall/creating-equal-inclusive-and-diverse-city/city-ottawa-anti-racism-strategy#:~:text=Overview,-Overview,City%20policies%2C%20programs%20and%20services>

45 Despite several attempts, we were unable to validate the information in the section on the City of Halifax with diversity and inclusion professionals from the municipality.

in society: "Inclusion is about community actions meant to eliminate barriers so all its members can fully participate in and contribute to the community. It means being supported and valued within the community and organization." (City of Halifax, 2018, p. 24).

In Halifax, there is an entity responsible for promoting respect for diversity and inclusion: **the Office of Diversity & Inclusion (D&I Office)**. Established by the City in 2015, it works to strengthen relationships between communities (City of Halifax, 2018, p. 7). The municipal government views diversity and inclusion as complementary, which is why it states that "a diverse municipality needs to be an inclusive place where everyone has a role to play, everyone belongs and everyone is included" (City of Halifax, 2018, p. 10).

These statements of principle are translated into concrete action through the implementation plan described in the City's Diversity & Inclusion Framework, which establishes five key goals for all its business units: 1) inclusive public service, 2) safe, respectful and inclusive work environment, 3) equitable employment, 4) meaningful partnerships and 5) accessible information and communication (City of Halifax, 2018, p. 15). In this regard, Halifax has also committed to supporting initiatives by its partners and various communities in the City.



Source: Equity and Inclusion Lens, City of Ottawa

"More than just an icon or logo, this emblem is a symbol of our renewed commitment to the values of diversity and inclusion on behalf of our employees and citizens. Our commitment to those values must be demonstrated in our business practices and policies so they are reflected in the programs and services we deliver. Like our people, the new symbol is multi-dimensional yet cohesive, vibrant and iconic. Two Xs overlap to bring disparate shapes and colours together in a common goal, to reflect the intent of valuing diversity and inclusion at the Halifax Regional Municipality." (City of Halifax, 2018, p. 4)

Over the years, the City has committed to the inclusion of various historically marginalized communities (immigrants, francophones, Afro-descendants, Indigenous people) and to certain cross-cutting themes (universal accessibility, recruiting specialized categories of workers, community engagement and

participation). In 2023, it announced the creation of a framework to guide its actions in this area. The framework included objectives, best practices and indicators for each of the five key goals mentioned above.

4.2 Municipal Practice in Quebec

The promotion of diversity and inclusion is a central concern for many cities in Quebec. In a recent text on inclusive practices in Quebec municipalities, St-Louis and Frozzini (2022) make the following observations:

If we focus on democratic aspirations at the municipal level (especially with respect to the inclusion and participation of people in decisions that affect them), it is possible to examine the pathways of Quebec cities in two complementary ways. On the one hand, the implementation of intercultural initiatives by municipal governments raises questions about the autonomy of local communities, particularly in relation to other types of government... On the other hand, the pluralist aspirations of cities often raise questions about inclusion and equality in communities. This means we need to carefully consider cities' potential to serve as venues for fighting to transform power relations at different levels (p. 443; our translation).

It is important to remember that these cities have many elements in common, such as the PAC (*Programme d'appuis aux collectivités*, or Community Support Program) a funding mechanism in collaboration with the Ministry of Immigration, the *Programme d'accès à l'égalité en emploi* (Equal Employment Access

Program) and their participation in networks such as RÉMIRI, UMQ and FCM. For the purposes of this study, we selected three cities representing different demographic and geographic contexts: a big city with a long history of municipal action in diversity and inclusion (Montreal), a capital far from Montreal that has recently undergone significant demographic and political changes (Quebec City) and a medium-sized city near Montreal which has been very active in policy and program development (Repentigny). These three cities are actively involved in the CRRF's network, which facilitated their participation in the study.

City of Montreal

In the City of Montreal, municipal action in social diversity goes back to the late 1980s (particularly the Doré administration; see Massana, 2018). Its inclusive practices and mindset have evolved over time, becoming more and more visible on multiple administrative levels. Montreal's government has several bodies tasked with the mission of supporting the integration and inclusion of racialized and immigrant communities (Krol et al., 2022, p. 427), such as the *Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants de Montréal* (Newcomer Office; BINAM) and *Conseil interculturel de Montréal* (Montreal Intercultural Council; CIM). It also coordinates various ongoing initiatives: the *Programme Montréal interculturel* (Intercultural Montreal Program; 2020); the *Plan d'action en matière d'immigration* (Immigration Action Plan; 2017-2019); the *Réseaux de Soutien Interne* (Internal Support Networks; RSI), whose role is "to contribute to an equitable and inclusive environment, develop a support network,

and promote awareness of the *Service de Police de la Ville de Montréal* (Montreal Police Department; SPVM); and the 2018-2021 *Plan d'action Montréal inclusive* (Inclusive Montreal Action Plan).

In Montreal, there is also the *Bureau de la Lutte au Racisme et aux Discriminations Systémiques* (Office of the Commissioner for Combating Racism and Systemic Discrimination; BRDS), which is responsible for managing matters related to exclusion, discrimination and racism, exclusively with regards to internal municipal operations. The City of Montreal considers various forms of diversity (sexual, gender, cultural, ethnic, etc.) through the use of intersectional GBA+ (gender-based analysis) tools. There are various initiatives inspired by recent advances in EDI, including the *Plan directeur pour la diversité, l'équité, et l'inclusion en emploi* (Master Plan for Employment Diversity, Equity and Inclusion)⁴⁶ and a community of practice for EDI specialists.⁴⁷ Since 2011, the City of Montreal has been part of the Council of Europe's Intercultural Cities Programme, which supports the promotion of intercultural policies and programs at the municipal level.⁴⁸

Quebec City

Quebec City subscribes to the principle of living together, viewing it as the best way to frame its actions promoting diversity

and inclusion of all kinds. It also supports the idea that various kinds of inclusion are mutually reinforcing. Living together is premised on various communities coexisting peacefully with the aim of *making society*. Quebec City has an EDI program, which features two components: a municipal (institutional) component and an outward-looking citizen component (Krol et al., 2022, p. 429). The administration's efforts to "create a prosperous society, maintain and develop social cohesion and eliminate all forms of discrimination and inequality" (our translation) include belonging to the International Observatory of Mayors on Living Together, the *Projet Vivre-ensemble-Ville de Québec* (Living Together Project-Quebec City) and the *Vision du développement social de la Ville de Québec* (Quebec City Social Development Vision, 2013).⁴⁹ Living together provides an overall vision for the city, while the EDI approach is deployed internally as part of multiple strategic projects.

City of Repentigny

The City of Repentigny has prioritized diversity and inclusion at least since producing its first framework on living together in 2019. The City was recognized for its work in this field by the UMQ as a merit award finalist in its *Ovation municipale* (Municipal Ovation) program.⁵⁰ The City established an EDI program in 2020 and hired a social innovation expert to develop

46 <https://montreal.ca/en/articles/master-plan-employment-diversity-equity-and-inclusion-14942>

47 https://montrealinclusiveautravailleurs.ca/uploads/attachments/Communaute_de_pratique_EDI.pdf (in French)

48 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/montreal>

49 <https://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/citoyens/vivre-ensemble/diversite-equite-inclusion.aspx> (in French)

50 <https://umq.qc.ca/publication/repentigny-cadre-de-reference-interne-de-gestion-de-la-diversite/> (in French)

an overall “inclusive city” strategy.⁵¹ The City regularly organizes workshops to demystify sexual and gender identity, as well as an annual citizens’ forum on living together.⁵² It belongs to the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CCMRD). Its membership in this coalition, which in principle is simply a “network of municipalities invested in the fight against racism, discrimination, exclusion and intolerance” (<https://repentigny.ca>; our translation), speaks to the City’s stance on inclusion.

4.3 Discussion

Despite the very limited nature of the data presented in this analysis (see the description of the methodology in Section 2), we may nonetheless make some preliminary observations about diversity and inclusion policy in municipalities in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

In terms of similarities, there has been a tendency over the past decade for cities to take a stand against racism and discrimination. In some cases, there is also a recognition that racism takes the form of systemic discrimination, with policies and programs focusing on systemic methods of improving the situation (especially in Vancouver and Montreal). Some cities are notable for applying anti-racism approaches based on many years of relevant experience (e.g., Toronto, Calgary), but in other cases,

there has been rapid development in this area during the past few years (e.g., Ottawa, Montreal). While the cities surveyed in the study that have anti-racism policies or programs tend to focus on Afro-descendant populations, these initiatives are increasingly expanding to include other racialized minorities. We did not find any examples of anti-racism initiatives that systematically include Indigenous communities or First Nations peoples, except in Vancouver, which has incorporated the concept of reconciliation into its policies and programs.

All of the cities analyzed here have adopted a stance favouring diversity and inclusion. However, this is not necessarily reflected in the implementation of an EDI program or formal EDI mechanism. It is important to note that work on diversity and inclusion can be pursued independently of EDI, which is a very specific model generally associated with human resources management (see Section 3.5). In the past five years, a remarkable number of municipalities have begun implementing EDI or EDI-related measures within their administrations. This tendency is especially pronounced in Quebec (see Montreal, Quebec City and Repentigny). Given that EDI strategies primarily target employees rather than elected officials, it is sometimes difficult to verify the status of EDI within a municipal organization, since EDI policies and programs are not always released publicly. The City of Ottawa is an interesting example: the EDI model applied

51 <https://repentigny.ca/actualites-publications/la-ville-de-repentigny-lance-sa-strategie-pour-une-ville-inclusive> (in French)

52 <https://repentigny.ca/actualites-publications/forum-sur-le-vivre-ensemble-de-repentigny-une-deuxieme-edition> (in French)

in the municipality is evolving toward an approach that is more focused on gender equity and anti-racism.

In the documents surveyed for this study, the tendency to speak about “diversity” or “cultural diversity” (in Toronto or Calgary, for example) was much less pronounced in Quebec municipalities. In a study by White et al. (2018), this tendency was also observed in francophone cities elsewhere in the world. Similarly, in the documents published by predominantly anglophone cities in Canada, there were few references to “living together” or intercultural policies—subjects that are much more common in francophone cities (UNESCO, 2019). Around ten years ago, the *Association internationale des maires francophones* (International Association of Francophone Mayors; AIMF) established an international working group on living together in cities, and at around the same time, the City of Montreal created an observatory on living together to promote best practices in this area (<https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/en>).

While many cities in Quebec may be less likely to address the issue of racism or systemic discrimination compared to cities in the rest of Canada (a hypothesis that requires more research), it is also true that Quebec cities have made considerable strides in this area during the past ten years. What is less clear is the reason why francophone cities have more policies and programs on intercultural rapprochement (dialogue, intercultural meetings, twinning programs, intercultural meeting weeks, declarations on living together, etc.), while

anglophone cities seem to place greater emphasis on recognizing diversity (especially by recognizing the contribution of specific groups or ethnic communities). Studies conducted on this subject based on the pluralist model of White (2017) confirm this trend, at least in Quebec (Krol et al., 2022). The tendency to privilege intercultural rapprochement and minimize diversity-based approaches could be explained by the opposition between interculturalism (often associated with Quebec; see Taylor, 2012) and multiculturalism (more often associated with anglophone Canada; see Kymlicka, 2010). These two paradigms have been extensively debated over the past 20 years (Meer et al., 2016), at least in academic circles, and the debate has shown no signs of waning in recent years (Gonzalez, 2019; Sealy et al., 2024). In a recent article on municipal integration policies in Quebec, White (2023) explains that many municipal professionals are curious about the difference between the two models and wondering how to find the right balance between them in terms of policy and program implementation (also see Carpentier, 2022).

This study reveals other important differences between municipalities in Quebec and those in the rest of Canada. First, there is a difference in terms of funding structures. Under the Canada-Quebec Accord, Quebec receives funds from the federal government. The provincial government then distributes funding based on its own priorities. These include significant funds for Quebec municipalities (sometimes several million dollars for a period of two to three years) under agreements negotiated with the

Ministry of Immigration, Francization and Integration.⁵³ A portion of this funding is earmarked for creating and strengthening consultative bodies, which are increasingly taking on a leadership role (White & Frozzini, 2022). In the rest of Canada, there is sizable funding from the federal government, including a significant portion from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) via Local Immigration Partnerships or LIPs (Veronis, 2019). LIPs form a broad network of consultation and expertise with a strong presence in most regions of Canada outside Quebec, but they are not necessarily the responsibility of municipal governments.⁵⁴ The extent of the role played in these networks by municipalities varies depending on the context (e.g., the City of Ottawa; see Veronis, 2019 and 2024). In some cases, the city may play a leadership or coordination role (e.g., Toronto).⁵⁵ This observation may explain why cities in the rest of Canada surveyed here do not have much involvement in immigration-related issues (except, of course, with respect to asylum seekers and refugees). Other research would be required to confirm this hypothesis and understand the underlying factors that may explain the phenomenon.

Two other differences were observed. First, the phenomenon of working in silos seems

to manifest itself very differently in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. This issue, which is well-documented in the literature on municipal public policy (see White & Frozzini, 2022), likely impacts all municipalities in Canada at some level. However, diversity and inclusion policies in Quebec increasingly involve a cross-cutting or transversal approach. This means that many municipalities are taking steps to adopt an overall framework or policy, such as the City of Vaudreuil-Dorion's policy on living together (2023), the City of Sherbrooke's policy for a welcoming and inclusive city for people from immigrant backgrounds, refugees and undocumented people (2023) and the City of Laval's immigration and ethnic diversity framework (2021). Second, interviews with the cities in the rest of Canada revealed the relative absence of overall policies or frameworks (except in Vancouver, which has established an overall equity policy). This tendency has not been verified in cities outside of those discussed in this study.

The data presented in this section of the report (which could be described as policy outputs) provides a window into each city's reality based on the results of numerous processes related to municipal practice (Triandafyllidou et al., 2024; Veronis & Walter-Roberts, 2023; White & Frozzini, 2022).

53 For more on the Government of Quebec's *Programme d'appui aux collectivités* (Community Support Program), see Frozzini (2024).

54 There are also RIFs (*Réseaux en immigration francophone* or Francophone Immigration Networks) that carry out similar work in parallel for francophone communities. RIFs were created prior to LIPs by the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada* (Federation of Francophone and Acadian Communities of Canada).

55 The City of Toronto was the first municipality involved in the creation of LIPs. It took responsibility for one of the five LIPs in the Greater Toronto Area (Praznik & Shields, 2018). The same was true for the cities of Hamilton and Kitchener-Waterloo in Ontario (Luisa Veronis, personal communication).

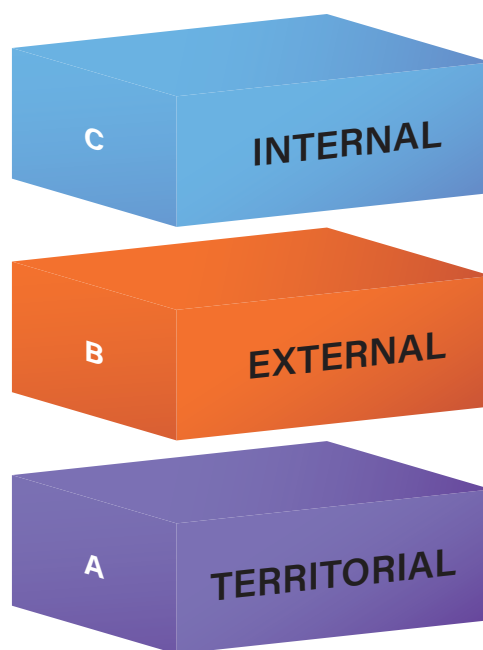
This is an important aspect of the inclusion work carried out by municipalities, not only because these initiatives represent the public face of cities but also because, to achieve these results, municipal governments need to engage a wide range of internal and external stakeholders, each with their own interests and concerns. In this sense, it may be said that the work of municipalities involves negotiation and mediation (Allard, 2022; also see Good, 2009, on the City of Richmond in British Columbia).

In the next section of the report, we will review the data generated during interviews conducted with professionals of various types who participated in the study (including professionals, EDI advisors and consultants, and city councillors). The research findings sometimes refer to specific policies and programs, which are the most visible aspects of municipal practice. However, they also provide further insight into two much less visible aspects: the procedural aspect of municipal practice and the perceptions of the professionals who are responsible for diversity and inclusion policy in their cities.

5. Diversity and Inclusion-Related Issues in Cities

Our exchanges with municipal professionals highlighted a number of important issues related to diversity and inclusion in the municipal context. Given the specific nature of each city (size, geographic location, history, etc.), it is not easy to gain an overall view of these issues, whether at the city, regional or national level. Rather than presenting the findings by region or sector, we decided to organize the material thematically, based on a systemic approach—i.e., by considering the different levels of municipal action. In this study, we have identified **three levels or types of municipal action: territorial, external and internal**. This method of organizing the data reflects the multi-level analysis commonly used in systemic approaches (see Graham & Andrew, 2014), but it also corresponds to various stakeholders' (elected officials, managers, professionals, service providers, clerks, front-line employees, etc.) understanding of municipal realities.

The **territorial level** applies to the local governance ecosystem, meaning the territory within the city's administrative borders. It covers a wide range of local stakeholders and communities, as well as the local ecosystem and local infrastructure. The **external level** mainly concerns partners in the field (community organizations, citizen associations, institutional partners, etc.), but it also covers residents or resident groups for whom the city acts as a service provider or employer. The **internal level** refers to stakeholders within the municipal administration, who work at either the policy level (elected officials) or administrative level (managers, professionals, service providers, clerks, front-line employees, etc.). Taken together, these different actors and elements make up the municipal environment.



Some of the issues discussed below may be present at multiple levels. For example, discrimination may take place at the territorial, external and internal levels. Other issues require the involvement of stakeholders at multiple levels, such as attracting and settling immigrant workers in regional communities, which cannot happen without collaboration between the city's economic development department or social diversity department (internal) and the business sector (external). There are issues that are specifically related to the role of municipalities (e.g., the degree of diversity in the municipal administration, the city as facilitator of consultative bodies), but cities are also responsible for social cohesion throughout the municipal territory (e.g., policies and programs aimed at strengthening living together in the city).

To focus on the realities faced by elected officials and municipal employees, we will provide a short description of each issue, accompanied by excerpts from interviews to illustrate municipal professionals' point of view. In the guide created as part of this project, we further explore each issue by presenting concrete solutions to keep in mind, suggestions to support organizational capacity-building in relation to the issue and some examples of promising practices in Quebec and elsewhere.

5.1. Territorial Issues

Territorial issues are probably the most complex, in part because municipal governments have limited control at this level—for example, over issues related to demographic changes or the state of the economy. So-called “territorial” approaches (which favour a holistic approach over a populational approach, while paying particular attention to disadvantaged or underserved areas of the city) are increasingly common in the municipal sector in Quebec.⁵⁶

5.1.1 Demographic and Economic Changes

Description: Research shows that the populations of Canada and Quebec have been aging for several decades and suggests that immigration enables the revitalization of the population (see Section 3 and Appendix A). In this regard, a major change is taking place in terms of the population's ethnic makeup. With the arrival of people born outside the province, the nature of diversity in Quebec is evolving rapidly.

[...] there are changes in terms of the municipal culture in order to better serve the population, because demographics have changed in the past 20 years. There are more and more first-, second- and third-generation immigrant people settling in the city. There are also more and more young professionals. It's also changing at the generational

56 For a description and analysis of these approaches, see the following recent publication by the *Conseil interculturel de Montréal* (Intercultural Council of Montreal): https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/page/conseil_interc_fr/media/documents/2023_avis-inegalitesterritoriales_fr_web.pdf (in French)

level. I can't look at it simply from an intercultural perspective; it's also really necessary to take an intersectional approach to properly understand the full complexity of what has been happening over the past 20 years. In this regard, yes, there are indeed more and more people from various Black communities who have settled here, but also more North Africans, Asians, and Latinos. In the city there is now an Islamic cultural centre which serves as a mosque. There are also more and more restaurants from different cultures. (EDI consultant)

With the **aging of the population, there are fewer working-age people, which exacerbates the shortage of labour, especially in certain remote regions far from big cities** (ISQ, 2022). This has multiple effects, including two worth noting: companies cannot find employees, which affects their productivity and growth, and there are fewer people who contribute to the community (through paying taxes and dispensing services). The combination of demographic changes and labour shortages has led directly to an increase in the number of people with temporary status. This has become even more pronounced since 2008, when the number of people arriving with temporary status exceeded those with permanent status (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2009). Many cities find themselves with a temporary-status population that changes their makeup at certain times of the year. Providing access to services is a challenge. While many of these people will leave again, others have

the option of staying in the city. However, due to the nature of their status or trajectory, this population has specific needs in terms of accessing services or gaining a basic understanding of work health and safety standards:

The reality is that these people who arrived here with **employer-specific closed work permits, for a variable period of time ranging from one to three years, are mostly men who come by themselves (...)** They also know that they need to take part in francization activities, which vary. They don't all start at the same level of francization, since people who acquired a basis in French when young, such as North Africans, will not necessarily start at level 1, unlike, say, people who come from Latin America. Their pathway is quite similar. Temporary foreign workers who arrive here live in housing, which is most often found for them by the company, for a variable period of time. They take francization classes, work and eventually look for an apartment where they can live on their own or with friends of the same nationality who they met here... And so, life goes on. (Local development advisor)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Azeredo, A.C., & Payeur, F.F. (2015). "Vieillesse démographique au Québec : Comparaison avec les pays de l'OCDE." *Institut de la statistique du Québec* 19, no. 3: 28.

Dennler, K.T. (2021). "Uncertain Future, Unsettled Present: Suspending and Embracing Engagement with Life among Newcomers in Toronto, Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 0, no. 0: 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1927684>.

Frozzini, J., Tremblay, É., & Arnaud, V. (2022). "Besoins et présence des travailleuses et travailleurs migrants temporaires dans les régions du Québec : Quelques éléments de description." *Revue Organisations & territoires* 31, no. 2: 85-96. <https://doi.org/10.1522/revueot.v31n2.1483>.

Garneau, S. (2022). *Migration et classement social. Enquête auprès de migrants marocains au Québec*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

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Payeur, F.F., & Azeredo, A.C. (2015). "Les scénarios d'analyse des perspectives démographiques du Québec, 2011-2061." *Institut de la statistique du Québec* 20, no. 1: 19-25.

5.1.2 Barriers to Inclusion

Description: Inclusion produces change and generates a sense of belonging in individuals and communities who are not associated with the dominant majority group. There are at least three types of barriers that can have an impact on the process of inclusion: socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic.

Among the socioeconomic barriers, for racialized and religious minorities, there is the difficulty of finding a suitable job (with predictable hours, a good salary, a permanent position, etc.) or simply having a job for which they were trained and selected by Quebec and Canada. There are many immigrants who work irregular hours and experience ongoing fatigue related to job security. The difficulty in finding affordable and adequate housing and the discrimination experienced when looking for a place to live are also barriers. These are in addition to—or by-products of—various other factors that have led to the housing crisis, including insufficient construction of affordable housing, limited oversight of the rental market and insufficient regulatory standards (Vande, Wiele, Nobert & Posca, 2023). It should also be noted that individuals from immigrant backgrounds may suffer from repeated forms of discrimination (see 5.1.3). Accessibility, both for housing and the workplace, is a barrier to inclusion for some people with disabilities as well. A person's sexual orientation may lead to humiliating comments and discriminatory behaviour. Finally, simply being a woman may make access to certain jobs much more difficult; disparity in salary for jobs with equal responsibilities is also an ongoing problem.

With regards to people from immigrant backgrounds, other important barriers include understanding how institutions work in the host society or understanding cultural norms related to civic participation. The isolation and solitude caused by a specific trajectory, particularly in remote regions, also need to be taken into consideration. To go from informing to reaching local communities, it may be necessary for municipalities to think seriously about alternative communication channels:

[...] how can we improve communication strategies so that we can reach people who are excluded from all the... how can I put this?... formal communication channels? On the news, I saw someone—I think it was a Swiss person—who started posting messages on TikTok and things like that. Of course, there are problems with TikTok at the moment, but given the labour shortage, there's no doubt that municipalities need to be creative and innovate. (Social development advisor)

Finally, there are difficulties related to the mastery of French. This barrier is particularly challenging for allophones. With the growing number of temporary migrant workers, this difficulty is becoming more and more common. It is a significant issue for cities, since francization traditionally does not fall under municipal jurisdiction. It is also sometimes difficult for seasonal or temporary workers to invest in learning French if they know that they will only stay in Quebec for a few months per year, especially if they are not expecting to return in subsequent years.

The immigration action plan is supported by funding from the Ministry of immigration. We have immigrants in our territory, and when I say immigrants, I'm only talking about newcomers or recent immigrants... We have programs in addition to what we've started to put in place, especially francization courses. We recently gave an account access number to recent immigrant parents to help them with their integration process. (Immigration project manager)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Battaglini, A. (2010). *Les services sociaux et de santé en contexte pluriethnique*. Anjou: Éditions Saint-Martin.

Brière, S., Auclair, I., Keyser-Verreault, A., Laplanche, L., Pulido, B., Savard, B., & Stockless, A. (2022). *Biais inconscients et comportements inclusifs dans les organisations*. Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval. <https://www.pulaval.com/libreacces/9782763752716.pdf>.

Eid, P. (2012). "Les inégalités « ethnoraciales » dans l'accès à l'emploi à Montréal : Le poids de la discrimination." *Recherches sociographiques* 53, no. 2: 415-450. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1012407ar>.

Frozzini, J., Gonin, A., & Lorrain, M.-J. (2019). "Dynamiques interculturelles en milieu de travail et associatif : Des enjeux incontournables pour une participation démocratique des néo-Québécois." *Communiquer* 25: 79-97. <https://doi.org/10.4000/communiquer.4071>.

Nair, N., & Vohra, N. (2015). "Diversity and Inclusion at the Workplace: A Review of Research and Perspectives." IIMA Working Paper Series no. WP2015-03-34.

5.1.3 Systemic Discrimination

Description: Discrimination takes on different forms (direct, indirect or systemic)⁵⁷ and is often perpetuated by unfounded prejudices or stereotypes that are expressed in various ways, including the implicit biases that we all possess in varying degrees (Brière et al., 2022). In their day-to-day work, municipal employees can observe this phenomenon from the point of view of their position within the institution, which may manifest itself in two ways: discrimination observed outside the municipal government (e.g., access to services, housing and transportation) and discrimination observed from within (e.g., presence of minority candidates among municipal employees and elected officials).

As I say, racism is systemic, so what I have tried to do since I was elected is to make sure there will be changes

at the policy level, because there are a number of policies that need to be revised. And I tried to make sure that the administration hired a consultant who will help them conduct an in-depth review of public administration policies... In my view, that's how they will be able to position themselves as leaders. (City councillor)

There's ordinary everyday racism, like owners who don't want to rent their property to someone or sometimes... tenants who put pressure on the owner by saying, "Don't accept this or that family, you can't allow people like that; we don't want single-parent families, we don't want immigrants, etc...!" (Immigration manager, recreation department)

In addition to these concerns, there is the question of how societies perceive diversity more generally, since cities do not exist in a bubble:

... a single city cannot change the perceptions of a society, so it's difficult. Even if the city is proactive, innovative and has great projects, what about the people? You can't shut off the city... As soon as you leave and go to another city, you'll see another reality. And what are the messages being conveyed by society in general? What are the

⁵⁷ According to the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (CDPDJ), direct discrimination is "carried out in an open and undisguised way." Indirect discrimination is more subtle. It is "when a seemingly neutral rule, standard, policy or practice is applied equally to all people, but significantly disadvantages one person (or group) because of their personal characteristics." Systemic discrimination "is when attitudes and decisions that are tinged with bias make their way into organizational models and institutional practices." (See the section on [discrimination](#)).

messages conveyed in the media, on TV, on the radio, in movies, in the culture at large? So you can't take a city in isolation, even if it's doing an excellent job. There will be external influences that interfere with what you have done. Of course, you have to do things, you have to work on it, but it needs to come from above. (EDI advisor)

This concern applies to the actions of the provincial government as well. Several professionals expressed the feeling that changes at the provincial or federal level may have a restrictive effect on relationships with diversity in their communities and in the workplace. There was also a tendency to question the receptiveness of the municipal administration and the host society in general:

Is the system ready? Since it's a very conservative environment, are they ready to be managed by someone from an ethnic community? Just because Montreal and Ottawa did it, that doesn't mean we can pretend we're ready. I'm not saying that we're not ready, but we can't allow ourselves to pretend that we are. (City councillor)

It is commonly thought that cities do not necessarily have any control over these elements, as the systemic nature of issues requires concerted action across multiple levels of government, which is not easy to guarantee⁵⁸. Several participants noted

difficulties related to the situation faced by specific groups, particularly visible minorities and racialized communities.

People say they're afraid to talk about blackness, colour, race, but I was listening at the beginning to what they saw as problematic... you can't talk about race, etc. Yes, logically, we're all human beings, but socially, there are many people who experience discrimination because of the colour of their skin or their physical features. (Recreation advisor)

It's discrimination, it's racism, and I spend a lot of time explaining to them what things mean. So I say that I will continue talking about race, because if we don't talk about it, we're denying the root of the problem. (Research officer)

Nevertheless, several participants referred to the impact of adding up small gestures and initiatives, which may have an impact at the municipal level and, via a snowball effect, on other levels of government. It is important to have a collaborative mindset to support other professionals in the field (education, companies, etc.) and internally (economic development, land use/urban planning, housing).

58 On this topic, see [the Guide](#) that accompanies this report, which offers many examples of solutions and promising practices for professionals in the municipal sector.

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- Azdouz, R. (2021). *Panser le passé, penser l'avenir : Racisme et antiracismes*. Montreal: Édito.
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- Thobani, S. (2007). *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

5.1.4 Segregation and Non-Participation

Description: Segregation and racism have long been issues in North America, and Canada is no exception (Backhouse, 2010; Reynolds, 2016). This issue calls attention to two distinct elements. The first relates to the fear that immigrant communities will shut themselves off and that this could have an impact on social cohesion. Let's not forget that the idea of social cohesion includes that of participation, and therefore the development of a feeling of closeness towards others. Thus, the fact of seeing groups with low social participation in the activities of the majority group (of the city or organizations) creates a malaise, even if several factors can come into play to explain this low participation (only having access to an underprivileged neighborhood, feeling excluded in various ways, etc.). Part of this malaise stems from the tension between the majority group's desire to remain "in its own right" and diversity policies that run counter to this desire. From this point of view, programming, communication and program development contribute to distancing more often than bringing people together. Along with this concern, there is the fear that the use of French will decrease, a phenomenon that may have an impact on the future vitality of the language. This concern comes from the **fear that people with the same background only communicate in their mother tongue, without using French (what is sometimes referred to in French as "ghettoization")**. The language question has long been connected to the survival of the francophone majority in Quebec, which represents a minority in Canada and North America.

The barrier to inclusion is the fact that people don't participate much in our activities. They're not interested in going out to meet others. If we hold meetings, we try to introduce people and encourage them to interact more, but people don't participate, which makes us wonder why it is that people don't participate in our activities or get involved with newcomers. (Local development advisor)

The second element relates to the connection often made between poverty and immigration. Ideas that associate immigrants and visible minorities with disadvantaged neighbourhoods frequently refer to newcomers who are attempting to stabilize their socioeconomic situation. This stability is generally achieved in the long term, with a certain degree of social mobility observed after a few years (e.g., obtaining a better job and therefore higher income, which is often followed by moving to a residential area with a higher average income). If there are traditionally working-class neighborhoods like Parc-Extension in Montreal that have long welcomed immigrant families, we have also been witnessing the gentrification of these areas for about twenty years⁵⁹.

You see the same thing here... Disadvantaged people are relegated to neighbourhoods where no one would really want to live. And over time, if those neighbourhoods become gentrified, those same people will be excluded. No one really knows where to

put them. It's not talked about much, but I would say that it's racial segregation; ghettoization is the result of racism. (Local development advisor)

Sometimes, you know, residential segregation may be voluntary. Some minority groups choose it because they want to live with others who are like them to have access to more informal social networks. (Research officer)

In addition to these issues, there are the problems of finding suitable housing or simply finding housing at all. The housing crisis in recent years is affecting more and more people, but it has an even greater impact on those whose situation is precarious, or on the way to becoming precarious.

We currently have a real lack of housing for workers, so companies buy houses. I call these houses group homes, because there will be ten people staying in the same house with one kitchen and that sort of thing. But at a certain point, after a certain number of months or a year, those people want to have their own personal space. Right now, there's a lack of housing. I'm not going to deny that things are tense in the city. It's being discussed with various developers to find alternatives. I recently spoke with a developer but didn't make any progress; the developer told me it was something they were looking into. I'm very happy about that, because I had the impression

59 Guay, E., Megelas, A. & Nichols, N. (2019). La gentrification contre le droit à la ville. Le cas de Parc-Extension. *Nouveaux Cahiers du socialisme*, (22), 198–204. <https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/handle/1866/25905>

that some developers had washed their hands of the situation, but one of them told me, “No, we’re working on it.” When will it happen? I don’t know, but housing is a pressing issue right now. (Local development advisor)

When it comes to housing, it’s kind of a work in progress, again because we’re not sure how far we can go. RCMs, cities and companies shouldn’t have to own housing stock while waiting for developers to build more. Facilitating, in another sense, means looking at how we can facilitate access to housing at the level of our municipal and para-municipal regulations. (Immigration project manager)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Cantle, T. (2005). *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
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- Labelle, M., Rocher, F., & Antonius, R., eds. (2009). *Immigration, diversité, et sécurité : Les associations arabo-musulmanes face à l’État au Canada et au Québec*. Quebec City: Presses de l’Université du Québec.

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5.1.5 Intergroup Dynamics

Description: Dynamics between human groups involve not just interactions but also other elements with regards to perceptions. For many, it is normal to want to develop closer relationships between people who share affinities or similar backgrounds. This phenomenon, known as homophily, is well-documented in the scientific literature (see Allport’s pioneering work on the contact hypothesis, Wood & Landry, 2008). People who see newcomers arrive in their area may view them as people who do not share these commonalities. Groups from the same country or region often cultivate relationships, while others gather because they share the same religion, language or other markers.

There is no sense that these communities mix with each other. Their social networks are largely formed based on their nationality. They recognize each other by the colour of their skin, mother tongue or religion, for example. They form networks like

these within their cultural group, or even their field of employment or company. You see a lot of small groups of friends whose friendships are formed because they're all workers at the same company. But North Africans and Latin Americans, for example, don't mix much outside of work. (Immigration project manager).

What they do is, they... the Moroccans will stick together. The Tunisians will stick together in one corner of the room, the Mexicans in another. They don't mix. Probably in the case of Mexicans and Moroccans, language is also a barrier. But from what I see, there's no tension, because the match was very friendly. (Recreation director)

Sharing a **common experience** or situation, such as belonging to a minority group, may lead to groups becoming closer. On this note, it was reported that relationships between immigrants and Indigenous people seem to be easier than those with people belonging to the "white majority."

[...] but I think there is less prejudice between Indigenous people and immigrants. They exclude each other less than they are excluded by white people. With everything that you saw on TV, everything you heard, everything that's happening, we had a residential school not far from here, and they experienced a lot of discrimination there. There's a lot of anger toward our population... but... for us, the main issue is to work on it. With everything that has happened, we are doing our best to introduce Indigenous people to our city.

The issues with Indigenous communities are very important. With everything that's happening at the moment, cities' priority is to deal with Indigenous communities and their needs. That's the mission of cities. (Local development advisor)

Besides affinities and the sharing of common circumstances or similar experiences, there are other factors that impact relations and, ultimately, inclusion. These factors include systemic barriers but also individual attitudes. The former are difficult to combat at the individual level, while the latter are often associated with a moral stance and personal history that is inevitably influenced by the surrounding environment.

Personally, I always say that my parents didn't make all those sacrifices for me to arrive here and impose limits on myself. So we have a certain freedom in our lives, but I have to admit that even my parents fell into the trap, which is why I say the problem is systemic. (Local development advisor)

Factors such as these will also help (or hinder) preparing the population for demographic changes and create an environment that is conducive to receiving and including newcomers.

There is a certain closeness...it has to be admitted that there was probably a segment of the population that was not totally prepared to have different neighbours until the community changed. So that may have created

certain social tensions in recent years. I'll say it that way. It's not so much because the people are racist or whatever. It's just a lack of awareness, a lack of education about the situation, and under-exposure to ethnic diversity. It's as simple as that. (EDI advisor)

I think the majority don't understand, and that's because of their culture and their values. I think most people don't understand what's happening, what the reality is. That's why you have to help them think critically, to make them aware, because for them, when I listen to what they're saying, there are many people who call others "savages." There's a lot of work to be done there. It's a question of intergenerational culture, of language that is commonplace in the population. We have to get them to think differently as soon as possible. (Local development advisor)

These quotes raise various issues such as a lack of training, education and awareness or simply a lack of previous contact between groups. These elements are important to avoid misunderstandings, but also to help bring about the necessary changes, both at an individual and institutional level; and, ultimately, to significantly limit microaggressions. It should also be remembered that, in some cases, actions go beyond microaggressions in the form of hostile or openly discriminatory acts. There are various approaches to promoting positive interactions between communities. These include, for example, festive events to promote diversity.

... I would really love it if we closed, say, the main street, if we blocked it off and held a festival in the street, a cultural festival where Quebecers could mix with the dozen other cultures we've got living together here. It's a lot for [a city of] 5,000 people. We've got Quebecers, French, Colombians, Mexicans. We could bring all these people together. (Recreation director)

Besides the elements already mentioned that favour positive relations between groups and, ultimately, social inclusion, interview participants mentioned the need to find solutions by "adjusting" to the needs expressed by new members of the community. In one case, interviewees from two different administrative regions had the same instinct when addressing a need that had been expressed by citizens:

It's our duty to adjust. I'll give you a very mundane example. There was a Moroccan who came to see us, because they wanted a place to pray. Okay, so what do we do about it? These Moroccans prayed something like five times a day. They want a place for it, so what do I do? I'm certainly not going to send them to the church. We found an empty room for them that wasn't being used for anything. There was nothing in it. And we suggested giving them the room. We told them to set it up however they wanted, to use it however they wanted, and gave them a key. We adjusted to their culture. (Recreation director)

We have a company that recruits Muslims, so we're now looking at setting up a mosque... There are two locations where we're working on it, because there are around 20 Muslims who have asked about it. We're looking to create an inclusive space at the municipal level so that we can work on establishing a mosque. We worked on a project with those people, which means it's possible. (Development advisor)

These examples are good illustrations of what is generally referred to as bidirectionality, or a "two-way process": Newcomers must make efforts to adapt, but the host society must also make efforts to adapt, so that it can accommodate newcomers properly. Responsibility is therefore shared and not imposed unilaterally.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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Sealy, T., Dupont, P.-L., & Modood, T. (2024). "Difference and Diversity: Combining Multiculturalist and Interculturalist Approaches to Integration." *The Sociological Review* 0: no. 0. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261241238585>.

Frozzini, J. (2021). "Interaction." *Anthropen*. <https://doi.org/10.47854/anthropen.vi0.51159>.

Krist, O., & Kauff, M. (2019). "Intergroup Contact Theory." In *Social Psychology in Action*, edited by K. Sassenberg & M.L.W. Vliek. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13788-5_10.

Saillant, F., ed. (2015). *Pluralité et vivre ensemble*. Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Samanani, F. (2022). *How to Live with Each Other: An Anthropologist's Notes on Sharing a Divided World*. London: Profile Books.

White, B.W., Grégoire, A., & Gouin-Bonenfant, M. (2022). "The Intercultural Situations Workshop: Indirect Ethnography and the Paradox of Difference." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 43, no. 2: 283-301. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2022.2041579>.

5.2. External Issues

The external issues in this section mainly concern people and communities who live and work in the city. In the municipal sector, the term “citizen” may be used to designate these people, but it is important to note that citizenship status (in the legal sense) is not shared by everyone. In various areas of municipal activity, the city also plays a role by delivering services to the population, either directly or indirectly. Examples include liaison officer programs in Montreal libraries (<https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/agents-de-liaison-montreal>) or action plans created by municipal police departments, which are increasingly common in Quebec.⁶⁰

5.2.1 Non-Participation

Description: There is no doubt that some communities do not use municipal services or participate in activities sponsored by the city, perhaps due to a lack of information, interest or fit (see White & Frozzini, 2022). Given that cities and RCMs have a mission to serve the entire population, non-participation is a major concern for professionals in the municipal sector. City employees wonder **why they are unable to reach certain communities** and want to know the best way to contact and inform these communities:

What I want to know is: how can we improve our communication strategies? The aim is to reach people who are a little more on the margins through--how should I put it?-- formal communication channels, informal networks, etc. We need to innovate and reach out to residents. (EDI advisor)

To address the issue of non-participation, it is important to evaluate service usage by various communities from immigrant backgrounds (including some who participate more than others). This type of assessment will make it possible to understand why some segments of the population do not use certain services and verify whether it is due to a lack of information or difficulty accessing information (which requires going beyond simply asking about communication formats) or a lack of interest because the services do not really address their needs. Analyzing non-participation is complex because each context is different and because each community is unique and perceives participation differently.

Now, if we talk about issues of inclusion and discrimination, I think the issue with inclusion is in attracting foreign workers to participate in our activities. (Local development advisor)

⁶⁰ Quebec City’s plan (in French): <https://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/citoyens/police/organisation/diversite/plan-daction.aspx>

Repentigny’s plan (in French): <https://repentigny.ca/actualites-publications/le-service-de-police-de-la-ville-de-repentigny-devoile-son-plan-daction>

Gatineau’s plan (in French): https://www.gatineau.ca/portail/default.aspx?p=guichet_municipal/police/communi-ques/communique&id=1010932972

It is important to recognize the additional efforts made by people in a minority situation. Minority communities and immigrants must often make an additional effort to have a seat at the table, to be recognized and to present their efforts to elected officials and employees. With regards to recognition by municipalities, the image of residents used by cities in their visuals and documentation is a good illustration of the city's vision and strategy with regards to diversity and inclusion.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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<https://www.journal.psy.ulaval.ca/ojs/index.php/ARIRI/issue/view/19>.

Kanouté, F., & Lafortune, G. (2014). *L'intégration des familles d'origine immigrante : les enjeux sociosanitaires et scolaires*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Putnam, R.D. (2001). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Tremblay, M., Frozzini, J., Agbobli, C., White, B.W., & Martin, N., eds. (2024). *Dialogue citoyen pour l'harmonisation des relations interculturelles*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Vertovec, S. (2021). "The Social Organization of Difference." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2021.1884733.

5.2.2 Consultation with Local Stakeholders

Description: Consultation with local stakeholders is an excellent means of ensuring that a city is responding to the population's needs. However, it can also be a source of tension if, for example, some participants think not enough is being done or if the process is not truly collaborative. Quebec has a long tradition of consultation, which necessarily brings with it certain challenges. Among these, we can mention at least three. First, there may be concerns about the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders: who is going to lead or coordinate the consultative work, to what extent will certain groups be involved (or not), and what are the real objectives of the consultation? In some contexts, local professionals are wary of consultative

processes organized by the city, while in others, the city is directly asked to play such a role. Second, consultation requires specific skills related to leading and mediating, and cities are not always recognized for their expertise in these areas. Finally, there are concerns about whether consultation will continue over time and about hyper-consultation, especially given that local stakeholders are increasingly solicited to participate in a variety of consultative processes. Despite these challenges, **consultation is viewed as a means of promoting greater social cohesion in the city** through interactions that may develop:

What we have done, basically, is that beyond our consultative meetings with all our organizations, there are moments when we interact directly with leaders and different communities, for the purpose of rapprochement, but also to identify solutions that will establish a relationship of trust and ensure better social cohesion throughout the city. (EDI advisor)

There are various ways of pursuing community consultation (local action networks, communities of practice, etc.), but in all cases it is necessary to adapt the approach to the local context and to clearly state needs or concerns (see Guide). If conducted properly, consultation may contribute to greater collective cohesion, since it is a means of involving community groups in various projects. This form of civic participation therefore cannot be overlooked—it makes it possible to hear what individuals and groups have to say, to better understand the issues and to move toward solutions

which would either not be considered or would lack the necessary legitimacy to take root. Along with various communities and target groups, it is important to involve decision-makers as well, meaning elected officials and influential figures in the community and any groups that are involved (or should be involved) in the field of local stakeholders. Providing public feedback to the community and partners should also be prioritized (see Guide).

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Andrew, C., & Legacy, C. (2013). "The Role of Partnerships in Creating Inclusive Cities." In *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*, edited by C. Whitzman et al., 90-102. New York: Earthscan.
- Blais, N., & White, B.W. (2023). "Les dynamiques de concertation au Québec : outil de développement local et espace 'néogène' de la cité interculturelle." *Sociograph* 61: 15-34.
- De Graauw, E. (2016). *Making Immigrant Rights Real: Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. <http://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/?GCOI=80140100805650>.
- Larouche-LeBlanc, S. (2019). "Le rôle des municipalités dans l'inclusion des minorités ethnoculturelles au Québec." *Periferia* 11, no. 3: 216-237. <https://doi.org/10.12957/periferia.2019.40437>.

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Veronis, L. (2019). "Building Intersectoral Partnerships as Place-based Strategy for Immigrant and Refugee (Re)settlement: The Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership." *The Canadian Geographer* 63, no. 3: 391-404. DOI: 10.1111/cag.12559.

5.2.3 Attracting Newcomers for Sustainable Settlement

Description: In most regions of Quebec, the problem of attracting and settling workers is a recurring issue that seems to have become worse over time, especially in recent years, when the economy has been marked by significant labour shortages. Further impacting this dynamic is the growing presence of temporary migrant workers, some of whom have the possibility of remaining permanently. Some cities have launched seduction campaigns ("opération de séduction") to encourage sustainable settlement in their region:

... you understand that I have to engage in a seduction campaign so that they will remain in the city... Because when they accept a job, they can decide to stay in one of several cities in the region.
(Local development advisor)

While attracting workers is often a concern, a growing number of municipalities are wondering about how to settle newcomers permanently. The issue of sustainable settlement is generally related to the **lack of services in various essential areas** for workers and their families: inexpensive and accessible housing, daycare services, supermarkets with a wide range of products, public transportation, nearby language courses, etc. For all these reasons, and because immigrants want to remain close to other members of their community, the vast majority of newcomers settle in major urban centres.

Recently, I contacted companies that are hiring foreign workers and I told them, "Ask your foreign workers what they would like to have in the local supermarket." We do have a supermarket after all. We're a small city, but we have a small supermarket. So the company sent me documents with photos, and we then gave these to the supermarket. They will take steps to stock products from the workers' country to prevent them leaving the city. The products will be available to them here. (Immigration project manager)

Attracting and settling newcomers are key elements for maintaining regions' vitality in light of the aging population and the difficulty of improving the low birth rate. This is a vicious cycle perpetuated by the lack of people capable of contributing to the community either socioeconomically or culturally. With a smaller population, there is less economic growth and fewer services, cultural activities, etc. For these reasons, receiving newcomers

properly and addressing their needs are crucial for attracting individuals and families and ensuring they settle on a long-term basis. A cross-cutting vision of the factors that favour or inhibit moving to a region and settling there permanently is necessary, especially given the lack of resources in regions far from Montreal and the province-wide housing crisis.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Arsenault, S. (2021). "L'accueil des réfugiés pris en charge par l'État dans les régions du Québec." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 53, no. 2: 1-21.

Arsenault, M., & Frozzini, J. (2024). Roles and Responsibilities of the Organizations Welcoming Immigrants in Remote Regions of Québec. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 62, 85-118. <https://doi.org/10.3138/ijcs-2023-0014>

Belkhodja, C., & Vatz Laaroussi, M., eds. (2012). *Immigration hors des grands centres*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Radford, D. (2019). "Responding to Rural and Regional Multiculture." In *Critical Multicultural Practice in Social Work: New Perspectives and Practices*, edited by S. Nipperess and C. Williams, 223-239. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

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5.3. Internal Issues

Internal issues concern both the political and administrative domains. Coordination between elected officials and civil servants tends to vary based on the nature of the issue and the specific culture of the municipality. In general, internal issues relate to the vision and functioning of the municipal organization, which explains the involvement of senior management and human resources departments. Given the strategic nature of internal issues (e.g., where diversity and inclusion are positioned within the municipal government, which professionals are responsible for promoting them), they require careful advance consideration and evaluation.

Political Issues

5.3.1 Political Positioning and Internal Commitment

Description: Elected officials in cities have differing perspectives on diversity, and there is not always consensus on how to promote social cohesion in a multiethnic context. For this reason, it is important to adopt a common framework. **The best way for cities to engage in promoting inclusive policies and practices is to seek support from all professionals and elected officials**, then leverage this consensus to ensure that policies and programs are not at the mercy of changes in personnel or political ideology. Regardless of their exact wording or approach, policy declarations or messages in favour of diversity have a positive impact on perceptions. Multiple interviewees in this project highlighted the gap between members of the administration

and elected officials. Participants emphasized the difficulty of pursuing inclusion without a clear mandate or strong policy position from elected officials. **In cities where there is no policy support, civil servants are obliged to circumvent the system to meet the needs of employees and the population.** Working in the shadows like this may have a negative impact on employee morale and on internal team dynamics.

When you talk about the city in terms of public administration, my opinion is that we're not doing enough. And we impose restrictions, we create laws and regulations to not do more than what we're already doing. (City councillor)

I don't want to have an equity policy that stays on a shelf—I **want it to be part of all the city's policies and all its programs**, even the way that it develops programs. The city has to consider all of its population. And I don't think it's enough for people to say, "We've hired an EDI specialist." What tools are you giving them to achieve their goals? (EDI advisor)

In cases where a strong, clear approach is adopted for the entire municipal government, professionals are generally more involved and actions are implemented much more efficiently.

It's quite busy, there's a lot going on right now, because I started the job relatively recently. Until now, there was

a lot of working in silos. I think everyone managed to adapt their departments based on their knowledge, which was limited, of how to handle cultural diversity. (Immigration project manager)

I think that really taking action and accelerating the transition was a big priority within Human Resources. Facilitating the process for handling complaints, transparency and recognizing employees from diverse backgrounds were important, they were priorities. (Research officer)

Some municipal employees recognize that work must start **internally before proceeding externally** (community organizations, etc.).⁶¹ There is an inherent logic to this: a municipality that contributes to exclusion internally (whether consciously or not) will be neither credible nor truly qualified when it tries to approach issues relating to minority communities in the city. It is also clear that municipal government employees need to be educated about the issues themselves before they can lead training or develop strategies for residents:

Cities have to look at what's happening internally before they can say they're going to set an example. External inclusion is important, but I have the impression that many cities are more focused on inclusion externally than internally. We were more about the issue of representativeness or just intercultural training, but now, internally, we have a

61 For a good example of this approach, see the City of Vancouver's equity policy: <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/eq-uity-framework.pdf>

more comprehensive approach to EDI.
(Local development advisor)

For those who work with residents, the message has to be written in a way that they can understand. I know that other cities have one ED&I strategy, but from speaking to residents and speaking to employees, I really saw that they have different needs. They're two different things. (EDI advisor)

The work of internal commitment is aligned with an institutional capacity-building approach (see the [Guide](#)). It involves a series of actions to be undertaken based on a cross-cutting vision that makes it possible to address various elements with a step-by-step plan covering the short, medium and long term.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Bekkers, V., Fenger, M., & Scholten, P. (2017). *Public Policy in Action: Perspectives on the Policy Process*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Carpentier, D. (2022). *La métropole contre la nation ? La politique montréalaise d'intégration des personnes immigrantes*. Quebec City: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Divay, G., ed. (2019). *Le management municipal. Un gouvernement de proximité?* (Vols. 1 and 2). Quebec City: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Fourot, A.-C. (2013). *L'intégration des immigrants. Cinquante ans d'action publique locale*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Gamba, F., Cattacin, S., & White, B.W. (2022). *Créer la ville : Rituels territorialisés d'inclusion des différences*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

White, B.W., & Frozzini, J., eds. (2022). *Villes interculturelles au Québec : Pratiques d'inclusion en contexte pluriethnique*. Montreal: Presses de l'Université du Québec. https://extranet.puq.ca/media/produits/documents/4261_9782760558335.pdf.

5.3.2 Defining a Municipal Vision

Description: A city's vision may be expressed in various ways: laws, charters, declarations of principle, policy statements, frameworks, action plans, guides and manuals, toolkits, evaluation reports, etc. In some cases, cities decide to begin with a policy and develop administrative tools later, but this approach may lead to a lack of support, since the vision is imposed from above. A number of people interviewed for this project emphasized the importance of beginning by **developing a framework following an internal consultation process** (see section 5.2.2). Following this approach, the city's vision stems from the knowledge and practices of municipal professionals, which makes it possible to avoid being disconnected from what is happening in the field.

The idea is to obtain as much knowledge as possible before starting to implement things. I met with leaders of certain cultural communities to explore their needs in terms of integration. Now the ball is rolling and we're putting plans in place so we can learn about their integration projects as well. (Immigrant project manager)

Frameworks are important because they enable organizations to orient their activities in the short and medium term, **regardless of changes in personnel or political leadership**. Frameworks can also facilitate the planning and implementation of policies and programs, not just in terms of strategic planning but also day-to-day tasks and decision-making. Lastly, frameworks also provide a **shared language** that facilitates collaboration with stakeholders inside and outside the organization.

Whether they have a framework or not, many cities have spent years developing inclusion-related policies and tools. Municipal employees therefore try to move forward with the tools available to them, but the interviews also revealed that the work of inclusion takes time.

At the level of our department, we're also trying to put things into place. We have an action plan that we want to implement. There was also the cultural policy framework, which placed greater emphasis on diversity. We're trying with the tools, plans and policies we have, which we update as we go, because

these days, the shelf life of a policy is about ten years. (Local development advisor)

At multiple points during the interviews, participants mentioned **strategies to promote the involvement and engagement of elected officials and employees**. For example, they mentioned reiterating public commitment to inclusion by signing a declaration or adopting more inclusive vocabulary using a gradual approach, which makes it easier to avoid resistance.

Each year, we present a formal declaration on living together which is read during a city council meeting and signed by the council members. Each year, regardless of the administration, elected officials commit to upholding this strategy, investing money and resources into it and promoting it. (EDI advisor)

I suggested meeting with work teams and not speaking about discrimination and racism right away. That approach is a little too... blunt, let's say. A "softer" way is to integrate inclusion into subjects for work teams, professionals and senior managers to think about and discuss. Then, you can gradually look at what's happening on the level of policies, measures, programs, etc. that may be discriminatory after you have addressed inclusion. **Because, again, inclusion is a much broader subject.** (EDI advisor)

Regardless of the choice or the message, adopting a clear position has a positive impact on support and sense of belonging. Multiple studies have shown how the absence of a clear policy vision can lead to a lack of action by municipal governments due to increased anxiety, absenteeism and loss of motivation among employees. Apart from making declarations to drive change or updating the language that is used, actions will remain limited unless there is concrete financial backing to accompany statements about inclusion. However, as the following quote indicates, the context is not always favourable:

I wish there were partnerships that would eventually lead to the funding of actions in the municipal action plan, because there are no financial partners for the plan. So, as I was saying, this year we will create a budget for the actions planned for the next three years, but after that, we'll submit it to the city council. And it's up to them, based on the millions of requests they receive from all departments, to set priorities and say "OK, you asked for 100,000 but we can give you 20,000." Of course, they could say they're going to give us 150,000, but knowing that the pandemic hit municipalities hard and there are deficits to be made up, it's difficult to believe that there will be much development in the municipal budget. So we're gradually trying to set things up, to raise awareness and get as much funding as we can. (Local development advisor)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Divay, G., ed. (2019). *Le management municipal. Un gouvernement de proximité?* (Vol. 1). Quebec City: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Massana, M. (2018). "L'agir institutionnel en matière d'immigration et de relations interculturelles à la Ville de Montréal : une approche ethnographique." Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, Université de Montréal.
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5.3.3 Diversity in the Municipal Government

Description: To adopt an integrated, cross-cutting approach, cities should focus on access to equal employment on four levels: **diversity within the municipal administration, hiring process practices, retention of candidates from diverse backgrounds and management of diverse teams within the city.** If recruitment and hiring processes are not handled in a consistent, transparent manner, it may create the impression that the city does not recognize the contributions of people from diverse backgrounds and that it perpetuates discriminatory practices. The *Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans les organismes publics* (Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies), which came into effect in 2000, applies to any public organization with **over 100 employees, which includes 55 cities in Quebec.** It is intended to rectify systemic employment-related discrimination toward various minority communities. According to an analysis by the CDPDJ in 2017, no city in Quebec had reached the target of equal employment, but some cities have begun to make significant progress.

During the most recent elections in **November 2021**, a significant number of minority councillors were elected, and in some cities, there was an **increase in the number of candidates from racialized communities.** However, some participants also indicated that there has been a certain loss of momentum and that it is important

to have access to concrete tools that can be used to continue highlighting the value of candidates from diverse backgrounds in political bodies. Having diversity within a group opens up more possibilities by including multiple perspectives on complex issues, as the following quote indicates:

I have to say that the new city council is very aware of this issue, since there are many councillors from diverse backgrounds, and councillors from racialized communities as well, so they have a strong commitment to it. That allows us to go a little further than what was done [in the past]. (EDI advisor)

The City of Montreal has received awards related to gender equity, and its 2021-2023 Master Plan for Employment Diversity, Equity and Inclusion sets out concrete measures for hiring and inclusion.⁶² Despite the progress made in this area, the public service as a whole is lagging behind according to an assessment by the CDPDJ (*ibid.*).

I think there is room for improvement because the number of people from immigrant backgrounds in the city is still growing. Do we now really understand the issues related to integration and work for someone from an immigrant background? Maybe not. At the moment, other than companies that are actively recruiting temporary workers, I don't have the impression that there are many companies in the city that are hiring people from racialized communities,

62 See: <https://www.cdpedj.qc.ca/fr/actualites/lacces-legalite-en-emploi-ou-en-sommes-nous-au-quebec> (in French)

and municipalities certainly are not, at least I don't think they are. (Immigration project manager)

We make sure that moving up to management positions is also equitable, so there is more equality on those issues. There are strategies such as ensuring that a certain cohort of diverse employees are trained so that it will be easier for them to reach leadership positions, meaning management. (EDI advisor)

Most public institutions, including municipal administrations, are not representative of populations living in the city, especially at the higher levels of the administration where key decisions are made. It should not be forgotten, however, that employment equity is a process, and as with any process, the passage of time may favour the adoption of best practices internally. But the more time passes, the greater the risk that relationships of trust with various communities and target groups will suffer:

My impression is that in order for there to be more inclusiveness, there would need to be a more diverse range of people in decision-making positions. I think that's absolutely crucial. It's essential. So, for me, that's number one. (Research officer)

While there is still work to be done,⁶³ cities are trying through various means to inform applicants for positions about their desire to meet equal employment requirements. This information may take the form of an unambiguous statement in a job offer, as the following quote suggests:

It may seem trivial, but we added a note at the bottom of each job offer we post which explains not only that we comply with the equal employment access program but also that we follow the principles of equity, diversity and inclusion. We went a little further in how we phrase it to explain that it's an integral part of our values. (EDI advisor)

However, there is an urgent need for action to minimize, as much as possible, the impact that the lack of diversity in municipal administrations could have on the sense of trust, belonging and safety among marginalized groups over time, including racialized communities, ethnic minorities and people from immigrant backgrounds.

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63 See [the report](https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/2021-04-22/elections-municipales/a-la-recherche-de-femmes-de-jeunes-et-de-diversite.php) by the *Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Habitation* (Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing) and the following article (in French): <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/2021-04-22/elections-municipales/a-la-recherche-de-femmes-de-jeunes-et-de-diversite.php>.

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Administrative Issues

5.3.4 Anchoring Initiatives

Description: In most cities in Quebec, diversity and inclusion initiatives are the responsibility of recreation and community development departments. This is in large part because the social development approach favoured by professionals in this field requires professionals to take into account **the various forms of social and cultural diversity in the municipality**. This characteristic is **not often found in other departments, even though many of them** (police departments, fire departments, public works, etc.) have regular direct contact with residents. This situation presents challenges, including the following two areas where improvement is needed:

(1) professionals are far removed from policy decision-making processes

(2) the issue of diversity and inclusion rarely has cross-cutting status⁶⁴ (see quotes).

When employment diversity and inclusion-related matters are handled internally, they are the responsibility of **human resources** departments, even though human resources professionals do not always have the necessary expertise with populations from immigrant backgrounds or other minority communities.⁶⁵

64 It is similar to other policies, such as family policy, which should be cross-cutting but still have a long way to go in this regard.

65 Another department associated with human resources is the finance department, which handles all matters related to the budget and budget management.

...my colleagues [in other cities] are close to management, so they don't have to climb too far up the ladder before they reach the top; they are tight with senior management, and it's often senior management that guides the direction. (Recreation advisor)

Actually, we're trying to take a very cross-cutting approach, but unfortunately, when I put my immigration hat on I have to focus simply on immigration, setting the challenges aside, I say that immigration has to be cross-cutting...For instance, they say that we are in charge of the issue in our department, because someone always has to be in charge, but then colleagues in, I don't know, let's say the Land Management Planning Department will say to us, no, it's your responsibility, this is your issue—but we're talking about immigration, about human beings. Immigrants are human beings, they're citizens, so if you consider the population when designing spaces in urban planning, it includes immigrants. I have to think about them, and you have to include them in your planning as well, and if you add EDI, you have to add all the people who are excluded, or at least who tend to be forgotten. (EDI advisor)

Aside from the way that diversity and inclusion is positioned within the municipality, it is necessary to properly understand approaches that help make cities free of discrimination (GBA+, EDI, etc.). It is also important to understand how these

may be deployed in a balanced way so that they complement each other, but without abandoning the general principles of pluralist thought, as the following quotes suggest:

... they need to accompany us in this initiative, because I don't pretend to be an expert in EDI or diversity or anti-racism, since the approaches are very different. Promoting diversity and having an anti-racism approach or an EDI approach are not the same thing, so you have to find the right balance. (City councillor)

It's a bit like the 3D approach—diversity, discrimination, dialogue. And when it comes to discrimination, you have to work on all three, you can't just say **"we're only going to work on promoting diversity and forget that there are problems with discrimination,"** and you can't work on discrimination without recognizing the importance of diversity, without promoting diversity and creating spaces for interaction and dialogue. (Recreation advisor)

However, to effectively deploy these approaches, it is important to understand their limits and carefully choose the approaches to be used to reach the desired goals:

Yes, living together was very focused on safety and the feeling of safety and didn't really touch on other aspects of society. We tend to view living together in terms of feeling safe, but it's much more than that. Yes, you have to feel

safe, but you also have to be able to make a living and have a good life in a city. (EDI advisor)

To achieve this, as we mentioned earlier and as the quote below indicates, it is essential to clearly identify policy approaches and methods, as well as clearly distinguishing between what applies to internal development and what the city needs to address externally (i.e., residents' needs):

It's a nice vision. We can succeed in living together with a diversity, equity and inclusion strategy. Through meeting with residents and employees, I realized that our strategy really needed to have two approaches: an internal institutional approach for our employees, for our professionals, and a separate approach for citizens. (EDI advisor)

Several ideas exist with regards to the best way of handling the issues of discrimination and racism. In general, this involves using language that is more all-encompassing and therefore makes it possible to work on awareness and general training, before eventually addressing more sensitive issues such as systemic racism. This strategy consists of proceeding in stages (**talking about diversity first, then inclusion and finally racism**) and leading others along step by step (in a gradual manner) by educating individuals before implementing coercive measures. The idea is for all training activities and measures to be integrated into a broader strategy or action plan. This avoids situations where training becomes a kind of justification or alibi for continuing exclusionary practices or a one-off activity without a lasting impact.

Foregrounding inclusion scares people less than saying you're going to tackle racism and discrimination, because that means you have identified them from the outset as a department where there may be discrimination and racism. People will become defensive right away, and they won't necessarily collaborate on the initiative, but if you focus more on an inclusion vision, on how we can be more inclusive, then one thing will lead to another and you will end up tackling the issue of discrimination, racism, etc. (Social development advisor)

... but we really want to use inclusion to open doors and break down prejudices, to identify practices that may be discriminatory, that may be counter to what is desirable in a welcoming and inclusive municipality. (EDI advisor)

...so you go to a colleague and tell them that, and then they say, "So you think that in my division, in my department, there are problems." But you can't prove it, so it's better to take a softer approach and let one thing lead to another. It's even possible that during discussions, they will be the ones to bring things up, they'll say, "But maybe that practice is not inclusive, maybe it discriminates against certain people." They may face the facts themselves, without us having to point the finger, so I think that approach can be more successful in getting people to buy into the initiative. (EDI advisor)

However, **to encourage people to discuss sensitive issues in the long term and eventually bring about real change, the vision and approaches need to be strongly anchored from the start.** They must be **formally and clearly specified in policies** to ensure that employees and elected officials will be likely to use them as leverage:

... it needs to be anchored and really formally established. For that, what we're doing is, we're changing our policies, our visions, our strategies. That includes changing our policy on respecting others so that it specifically says you cannot discriminate, on the basis that you cannot discriminate in the workplace. That was not really clearly stated in the original respect policy. (EDI advisor)

We have our answer... to put it another way, we identified levers to promote inclusion, which are visions, strategies and policies. Has it been clearly stated in our vision and anchored in our strategies and policies? This is not totally clear... (Local development advisor)

Once needs are properly reflected in the tools available to a city, strategies such as EDI and GBA+ will be more useful. They serve as a kind of lens or stance enabling the city to move forward with concrete actions:

For me, EDI is not that different from the fight against racism or discrimination. It's about both identifying the forms of racism and discrimination and intervening through measures aimed

at reestablishing a kind of equity, at diversifying our workforce and ensuring our measures are inclusive. (EDI advisor)

What is the challenge? That's the lens that we use to fight racism and discrimination. There's a lot of interest in that. It's also the tool that we use for GBA, and it's complemented by EDI. It's really a position, a lens, a way of intervening, of understanding and identifying, then taking action against racism and other forms of discrimination. (Research officer)

Once cities have already carried out preliminary awareness and training work, moving on to more visible (or "concrete") actions will eliminate the sense that diversity and inclusion are only being discussed theoretically or as window dressing, as the following quote suggests:

There were a lot of theories, a lot of things that were done in terms of theorizing, a lot of thinking. But they wanted us to start taking action, they wanted concrete actions. (EDI advisor)

Sometimes, it is necessary to explain the role of these tools and strategies for taking action in order to achieve the objectives set by the city:

That's how I sold the city on the idea of equity, diversity and inclusion, which is the foundation of living together in the city. Ultimately, the definition of living together that we decided to use was "harmonious cohabitation by people and groups." But to reach that kind of living together, you need a strategy, you need

something concrete, so our diversity, equity and inclusion strategy puts things in place to reach that goal. (EDI advisor)

The way these elements are explained is vital and must not be taken lightly, since describing situations dealing with racism and discrimination is always difficult.

Well, it's easier to talk about diversity and inclusion, to avoid causing awkwardness. On the other hand, if you want to make a difference, if you want your ideas to have a lasting impact, the discussion needs to be straight to the point. It's important to talk about racism and discrimination. You can't just pretend that they don't exist. (Recreation advisor)

There's a fear of saying things directly, which I feel too. It's like another language. That's one of the things I noticed when I arrived here. There's really a fear. Discrimination wasn't even discussed. You couldn't say that there were specific communities that required particular attention. There was a lot of talk about inclusion, and that's still happening. But in terms of dealing with specific needs, it's an important issue. (Recreation advisor)

... I think at that level, people are not aware, I don't know if it's conscious resistance. It's not active resistance. The issue is to change that culture. When you're working on inclusion, you have to consider the specific details that lead to discrimination and exclusion. (Social development advisor)

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5.3.5 Cross-Cutting Initiatives

Description: For diversity and inclusion policies to be effective, they must go beyond party lines, geographic boundaries and specific sectors. They should be integrated into a management model involving various city departments. The principle of transversality is important for many reasons, not only to coordinate practices but also to **avoid placing all the responsibility for diversity and inclusion on one team or department**. In other words, it is necessary to engage all a city's departments so that they will integrate the overall policy vision, which should be adapted and reflected in the specific practices of each department.

To achieve living together more successfully, we must be able to embody these principles internally. To understand what we have done, we adopted performance indicators, and we identified five major areas corresponding to the city's situation... always based on a social innovation approach, then conducted a systemic analysis of the situation... It also includes risk management in terms of ethics, transparency and inclusive leadership. (EDI advisor)

In any program or activity that you tell me about, think about how to integrate the entire population, women, equity, and the principles of pluralism. For me, that's what real inclusion is about—for example, creating a diversity committee. (Local development advisor)

Policies must be cross-cutting to avoid being set aside or becoming obsolete.

I don't want an equity and inclusion policy—it will be a policy on a shelf that no one uses. But if I get involved in financial policies, in procurement policies, in policies on how we provide services to residents, each of those policies can be a little inclusion policy. (EDI advisor)

Diversity and inclusion policies have been most successful in cities where the **mandate comes from sufficiently high up within the organization**. This enables the policies to be applied in a cross-cutting manner to close the gaps between departments and between the administrative and political sides. It also helps give municipal employees peace of mind.

The system is not made for that... It's so cross-cutting that if you change your policies, I don't have to worry about whether the city is only doing business with white companies and entrepreneurs or whether the city is open enough, even if it's a white entrepreneur. I don't have to wonder, I don't need to know about it. (City councillor)

They will develop a plan. I let them develop their own plan, because each department has its own action plan and the way that human resources deals with residents is very different from the police department, communications or civic interaction. I concentrate on the teams that are ready to create their action plan and implement it. I work with them... There are essential departments that need help moving forward and other departments who will sow the seeds themselves. It comes from two places, because the city has said that each department must develop an action plan. In some departments, the entire plan is for their employees to take training courses, but that's okay, you have to start somewhere. (EDI advisor)

As the last quote suggests, it is important that the specific context of each municipal department is not overlooked, and departments need support to ensure there is genuine transversality across the entire municipal administration. Moreover, it seems that there is a domino effect where **some departments will take inspiration from others that are leading the way in implementing changes.** A degree of humility is also required to recognize the expertise of others and favour participation by everyone involved. As the quotes below mention, having diversity and inclusion ambassadors in various departments makes it possible to enhance the impact of awareness-raising activities and effectively take the specific context of each department into account:

I told them that's why I didn't come to them with strategies that were already finalized—I wanted them to suggest things. I told them, "You are the experts in your field, you can tell me what to do in order to change things." I'm not an expert in communications, I'm not an expert in human resources, I'm not an expert on the police department. (EDI advisor)

Organizational change, version 2.0: changing the culture or mindset. That means I always serve as an ambassador who initiates the process, who wants to promote and talk about it, while they're the ones who determine the final message. (EDI advisor)

If there is a lack of transversality, strategies may be implemented to mitigate its absence. Some cities have prepared guides, while others emphasize the messages to be delivered:

That's why we developed the guide, to reach various departments that sometimes, unfortunately, work in silos. There's no point hiding that fact. Also, even though we are all in the same organization, we don't know exactly what the other departments are doing. Senior management is aware, but not necessarily the other departments. (Social development advisor)

Sometimes, I reprimand my colleagues for saying nothing. Maybe I'll tell them,

"You should talk about inclusion like this," or they forgot about an analysis I told them about. I know I can be annoying, but I like to say that repetition is the mother of learning, so if I have a chance to repeat the message, I'll repeat it. (Recreation advisor)

The research suggests that political will to promote diversity and inclusion exists, but it must also be expressed in concrete, measurable ways internally and externally. In this regard, informative communication is necessary to properly explain the decisions, policies and processes that are implemented:

I had a consultation during which people told me they want the city to set an example, to demonstrate leadership, to show that it's intercultural, but it has to actually show it. (EDI advisor)

Are we effectively communicating all the measures that we're taking, are we communicating the roles and responsibilities incumbent on each of us—especially the managers in charge of this transition? We're doing a lot to raise awareness among managers, but is it actionable? (EDI advisor)

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5.3.6 Issues and Orientations with Regards to EDI

Many participants in this study expressed a desire for their city to invest further in EDI programs and tools to first tackle the matter internally:

I think that the lens of equity, diversity and inclusion is the best. For me, at any rate, it's the best approach for reaching all those people, to reach the most cut-off people, the most vulnerable people, or historically marginalized groups, who are part of that. (Recreation advisor)

However, they often wondered how to deploy or operationalize EDI:

You know, EDI is almost like a trend now, but we don't want it to be just a trend. We want it to be something that lasts, that remains, because it's necessary, it's important... The only thing that my colleagues, particularly in human resources, were talking about was the equal employment access program. Most cities are subject to this program, which sets targets for them to reach. It's an administrative matter, it has to be done. I didn't feel that people were committed to EDI because they believed in it; it was because they didn't have a choice. (Recreation advisor)

In this study, we identified various factors that may help municipalities avoid the pitfalls often associated with EDI approaches:

➤ Viewing EDI as an organizational transformation strategy

EDI approaches were conceived to facilitate changing organizational cultures. Implementing EDI therefore requires an organizational analysis and an action plan focused on internal change:

It means that we're revising our staffing tools. We're looking at how to better integrate people into the organization. We're also in the process of rolling out an inclusive leadership development plan. We're going to provide tools with an approach that's just as integrated as our disability approach. (EDI advisor)

If we want to achieve living together more effectively, we must be able to **embody these principles internally**. To understand what we have done, we adopted performance indicators... a compass to make sure that we're not off base. (EDI advisor)

➤ Establishing a clear vision that properly explains EDI

It is important to avoid EDI competing with other approaches and, in some cases, doing too much too soon. There is a need to consider its relationship with other models or tools that are already being used. Some people who were interviewed view EDI as a reflex, while others see it as a lens or an umbrella:

Honestly, for me, EDI is like an umbrella covering all these approaches. The idea of an EDI approach covers all of it, because it is much broader... It's an umbrella covering multiple visions... without overwhelming [the other models], because I think they are important. You have to keep them, but they must be under the umbrella and support it. I think that makes them even stronger and more impactful. (EDI advisor)

It's my lens, it's how I understand everything. For each measure, it's also a framework for intervention, a frame of reference. (Recreation advisor)

➤ Avoiding performative EDI

EDI is a fashionable concept that has been adopted by a wide range of institutions and companies. While some have in fact implemented meaningful changes, others have opted for a more performative approach that has little or no impact. A performative approach consists of adopting certain aspects of EDI without consulting or involving the target communities. This kind of EDI is generally not subject to evaluation and does not involve different municipal departments via a cross-cutting approach.

Likewise, a checklist-based approach generally delivers poor results, particularly because it is too **focused on results rather than processes**. With this kind of approach, decision-makers will become more disconnected from the real needs of employees and citizens:

I really believe that they are not listening enough to real needs... I think they don't realize how important that is. (Research officer)

It always stays at the level of talk. So yes, no one is against doing the right thing. Everyone says yes, but at the same time, there isn't necessarily anything being done on the ground. (Recreation advisor)

Sometimes, there's a tendency to stick with what's easier. We've diversified our workforce, right? But even though we have diversified, are our practices really based on an equity approach? (EDI advisor)

➤ Anticipating resistance and forming a plan to overcome it

There is no denying that some municipal administrations are worried about EDI, not only because it is a new approach but also because it requires organizations to reflect in depth about their internal practices and ways of doing things. Therefore, besides resistance from some elected officials, employees in various municipal departments may also take a negative view of change.

It's me who is pushing equity, diversity and inclusion. I have to push it at the highest levels. It's not always easy, but we presented it to the city council and to managers. The director is aware of it. But there has been no public announcement or press release. (EDI advisor)

As a city, we first want to demystify the whole thing, to explain what it means to professionals and managers in other departments. What is EDI? That's something that we anticipate doing eventually, conducting training for managers and professionals, for various teams, to see how we can improve our municipal practices and make them more inclusive. (Social development advisor)

One strategy for overcoming resistance is to avoid the use of guilt. Blaming people in the majority group can cause them to shut down and become defensive:

People thought it was their fault, but I told them, "What we're doing is evaluating practices. For sure, we're going to find things that are not equitable, but it's okay—we're not the ones who wrote those policies; they've been there for years." Removing that sense of guilt from people can help: "Oh, he said it wasn't my fault." (EDI advisor)

The idea is to show that all stakeholders need to be actively involved because they are part of the solution and that various professionals have the power to make changes to professional and institutional practices. However, it is important to remember that resistance may be explained by other factors, such as believing that EDI is a passing trend or having a poor understanding of what it entails. The presence of a new person on a team or in an organization (especially if they come from outside) who insists on making changes may also be viewed as an

annoyance by employees with their own areas of expertise and established ways of working.

5.4 Capacity Building

Capacity building takes place not only at the individual level but also at the team level (by sector or discipline) and at the level of the municipal organization as a whole. Training is an important part of the changes in mindset that are needed to facilitate inclusion in and by the city. However, training is not sufficient on its own. It must be accompanied by changes at the level of the organization's day-to-day functioning.

5.4.1 Training and Support

Description: Understanding and documenting situations raises the possibility of improving internal capacity. However, there are valid questions about the ability to change behaviours and criticisms of organizations' dependence on external resources:

If we want to change, to influence people, to change behaviours, to focus on a behaviour or motivate someone, it's up to the individual to change their behaviour, because you can't change it for them. It starts with emotions and feelings. What I see everywhere is that there's a lot of information, a lot of videos, a lot of consultants. But what does it change? (EDI advisor)

When you're always working with external agencies, it's difficult to retain what is learned and make it permanent. There was a desire to make what we were doing permanent, so that it would really become part of the city's DNA. That's why we finally chose an internal resource to do that work. (EDI advisor)

These comments indicate the need to develop internal expertise addressing the various levels of competency that need to be developed and the attitude that municipal employees should develop:

I think that you have to develop an open mind as much as possible, you have to develop a sensibility, an ability to discern something even if it's a little more hidden. Sometimes it's difficult to see forms of discrimination in the workplace, so you need a sensibility, an ability to listen, a sense of empathy. Those are really individual abilities that are very difficult to acquire. (Immigration project manager)

Besides developing expertise, employees also need support so that what is being proposed in terms of changes will be properly explained to them. Ultimately, informative communication, concrete actions and careful follow-up offer multiple advantages. These three elements reflect the idea of changing the way of doing things so that no one is excluded while considering the municipal employees already in place and giving everyone the tools they need to succeed.

If an employee tells us that "he" is a she, you have to explain to employees how to address her. You have to give them some kind of training, make decisions and raise awareness on the subject. You have to implement a policy, because there is work to be done. Each thing that you need to implement requires that you do research and that you think about what is good for your city, because we don't just want to copy and paste what is being done elsewhere—it has to really reflect our community. (EDI advisor)

Each small decision must lead to some kind of training and awareness. For example, there's self-identification—you have to explain why it's important. (Research officer)

These remarks highlight the importance of front-line employees' interactions with the public and with each other. Cities are also increasingly aware of the need to conduct internal training in order to better address the needs of the public.

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5.4.2 Mechanisms for Documenting Issues

Description: Municipal professionals are increasingly focused on issues related to diversity, equity and inclusion. In this context, **cities must rely on facts rather than isolated anecdotes to develop strategies for intervention and organizational change.** Professionals are often looking for tools and support resources that reflect the realities on the ground. Despite growing awareness, there are very few cities that have adopted formal mechanisms for documenting situations or incidents that may have an impact on social cohesion and service delivery. It should be noted that documenting the various types of incidents is a problem faced by all municipalities. This issue is further complicated by the fact that the various professionals within the municipal administration do not share a common language for describing either the nature of the problems to be documented or the best way of resolving them. During interviews, multiple participants spoke about the need to document discrimination incidents for both residents and employees.

...is there a mechanism within the city to document situations and intercultural dynamics related to discrimination or racist incidents? Is the city aware [of what is happening]? Are they being documented? I would really like to have that information. (Recreation advisor)

When an official documentation mechanism does not exist, the emphasis is on departmental initiatives:

It depends which department you're talking about. For example, when a complaint is made, the forms of workplace harassment will be documented, then there will be an investigation into the employee-employer relationship. More and more, in other areas, an attempt will be made to document incidents... So, yes, we're trying to document all these things that are by their nature a little more difficult to identify, or to create reports, etc. There's really an effort being made to do this almost ethnographic work, but it's difficult. It's difficult to implement it, it's difficult to train people to see these issues, but that's the direction in which the city is headed. (Research officer)

Documenting situations is intended as a means of understanding what is happening in the field during interactions between people and thereby making it possible to take action in the short, medium and long term. In principle, this strategy also promotes internal awareness and may even favour change, as the following quote suggests:

If our teams don't take care of people internally, if we don't give them the right tools, if we don't listen, then at the end of the day, we don't have a process for escalating and de-escalating issues, we have a work environment that cannot absorb change, which literally does not have the capacity for the healthy management of change. (Local development advisor)

These situations raise a related issue: the importance of taking care of people as well as coordinating initiatives, favouring more effective intervention in evolving contexts and making processes truly transparent:

Things are in motion, so it's a work in progress. Up to now, everyone has done a little, in their own area, without necessarily knowing if they were the right or wrong person to do it. And the massive wave of immigration here is mainly made up of temporary workers. There was a massive influx of workers in recent years, just before the end of the pandemic, which we now have to deal with. They have different needs as well. (Immigration project manager)

There are various bodies in the city for addressing external discrimination, including the legal department and the ombudsman, so we certainly have authorities to handle those complaints and to investigate and intervene. What needs to be done and continue being done is to really make that process as transparent as possible, to inform everyone, to create tools so that people will understand and have confidence in the city's ability to deal with their complaints, to reduce forms of discrimination and to educate people in the workplace or within specific populations. (Research officer)

Various possible mechanisms have been proposed, including those that distinguish between the documentation of intercultural situations and the documentation of complaints (see [Guide](#)).

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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6. Toward More Inclusive Cities

6.1 Some Observations about Inclusive Municipalities

The findings presented here are based on the data that was collected and analyzed in a specific context. As we discussed in the methodology section, this study has various limitations, such as the sample of cities that was selected for analysis and the potential biases of the participants, who are mostly recreation and leisure or EDI consultants for Quebec municipalities. Further research is necessary to determine whether these findings are applicable across municipal sectors and across the various categories of professionals who work for municipalities throughout the region or the country.

The *first key observation* is the complexity of the issues that cities face. Some of these are at the “macro” or territorial level, while others relate to the internal functions of the organization or of specific departments or professions. Many of these issues fall outside the jurisdiction of cities (e.g., intervening in response to sociodemographic changes or systemic discrimination) and require **broad collaboration to identify appropriate solutions**. While some issues fall within the jurisdiction and mandate of cities (e.g., reduction of working in silos, policy leadership), others, such as the global rise in racist discourse and hate speech, may undermine broader efforts toward inclusion undertaken by municipalities.

The *second observation* made during our discussions with municipal professionals was the existence of a **genuine desire to make cities more inclusive**. This is evident in various actions undertaken by a number of municipal administrations, as well as in the work of municipal employees in the field and by external professionals in this area. Project participants mentioned the complexity of the issues they deal with in their day-to-day work, but also the alliances that have formed around the promotion of diversity and inclusion, both inside and outside the municipal government.

The *third observation* is the fact that the professionals and managers we met are constantly in search of creative solutions. This **solution-focused mindset** is evident in their involvement in **various groups for sharing knowledge, their capacity-building efforts and their pursuit of external expertise**. Innovation is facilitated by collective action and consultation, which make it possible to develop solutions that address specific local needs and may be reused elsewhere by adapting them to specific local contexts. Of course, there is always some resistance to innovation and the transformation of municipal practices, both externally and internally. The interviews we conducted clearly showed the difficulties faced by municipal professionals faced with these challenges.

The *fourth observation* concerns the importance of **collaboration between civil servants from cities of varying sizes** and consideration of the very different realities that exist at different places throughout the territory. Going beyond special interests and promoting collaboration, including committing resources and recognizing local expertise, should be emphasized even more in the current context of complex systemic issues (climate change, housing crisis, labour shortage, etc.).

The *fifth observation* is that cities use a variety of approaches (EDI, GBA+, etc.) in their work on diversity and inclusion. Municipal professionals are unsure of the relevance of certain approaches and how well they understand them. At the same time, there is **competition** between approaches—a situation that often occurs when different professionals or departments work in **silos** or when there is **a gap between the administrative and policy levels**. For this reason, it is important to have a full understanding of each approach so that municipal activities will **complement one another**. It is also vital to consider all aspects of diversity in any strategy that the municipal administration wants to implement (action plans, framework, activities, etc.).

The *sixth observation*, which relates to the previous one, is that **employees are often in need of support** in implementing changes aimed at transforming institutions or organizational cultures to make cities more inclusive. A corollary of this observation is the need to recognize and ensure the security of people in inclusion-related positions, especially people from minority or racialized

communities. It is therefore essential that elected officials take action to ensure that initiatives are consolidated and positions are created, but they also need support and assistance, as not everyone understands municipal issues in a multiethnic context to the same extent.

6.2 The Guide for Inclusive Municipalities and Their Allies

The analyses and thoughts presented in this report provide a general understanding of issues related to diversity and inclusion in the municipal context in Quebec and Canada. The Guide, meanwhile, combines information from various sources for various other purposes:

- Providing context on the **role of municipalities** in the context of rapid demographic change and diversification: how cities can help make their territories and administrations more inclusive, along with some resources for understanding diversity and inclusion in the context of the “local turn” ([see Guide](#)).
- Identifying **five cross-cutting themes** based on research about diversity and inclusion in cities that were identified during the research conducted to develop the guide ([see Guide](#)):
 - From exclusion to inclusion
 - Fighting against discrimination
 - From living together to doing together
 - Articulating a municipal vision
 - Implementing municipal policy

The overview of each theme contains explanation sections summarizing specific issues. For example, the theme of discrimination contains a section on the representativeness of diversity within the municipal administration and a section on racial profiling. The theme of living together, meanwhile, contains sections on the housing crisis and issues related to collaboration.

These explanatory sections serve a practical purpose and are each organized according to the same four-part “routine”: 1) potential solutions, 2) internal capacity building, 3) questions to keep in mind, and 4) promising practices. Each section provides tools and suggestions for professionals who are ready to take concrete action.

For example, here is an excerpt (“Questions to keep in mind”) from the issue of collaboration in the section of the Guide on living together:

1. Does collaborative work done by the city correspond to institutional priorities and the city’s vision with regards to diversity and inclusion?
2. Has the city deployed the necessary resources (human, logistical, and financial) to support and sustain collaboration?
3. Is the collaboration mandate clear and are the collaboration principles shared by all stakeholders at the table?
4. Is there a mechanism for documenting and highlighting actions arising from collaboration? (See [Guide](#), Section 2)

➤ Suggestions for **implementing diversity and inclusion policies and programs**. This section of the guide presents step by step the elements required for a municipality to develop, implement and evaluate an overall inclusion strategy:

- A series of considerations related to organizational development, including documentation, training and support mechanisms and the evaluation of policies and programs. There are examples of promising practices for each element presented. (See [Guide](#), Section 3.1)
- While recognizing that each municipality faces different issues, we nevertheless propose a “model” pathway for cities that want to implement an inclusion strategy. This explains the various elements to include and provides a recommended order for the various steps along the way. (See [Guide](#), Section 3.2)
- Examples of pathways taken by several municipalities in Quebec.

➤ **Ten proposals** for inclusive municipalities. These proposals draw on the collective intelligence generated by the research project, including observations by the professionals and researchers who were involved and the analysis of the reviews and interviews that were conducted. The proposals serve as important reminders before undertaking an initiative and as principles and practices for implementing an integrated inclusion strategy for municipalities across Canada. (See [Guide](#), Section 4)

➤ A list of practical resources and tools to help with planning and implementing an inclusion strategy. (See [Guide](#), Section 5)

7. Resources

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Complementary Statistics

Number and Distribution (in Percentage) of the Immigrant Population and Recent Immigrants for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, Quebec, 2021

Geography	Total population	Immigrant population		Recent immigrants (2016 to 2021)	
	Number	Number	%	Number	%
Quebec	8,308,480	1,210,595	14.6	202,740	16.7
Matane	18,020	210	1.2	35	16.3
Rimouski	52,480	1,185	2.3	375	31.6
Rivière-du-Loup	28,675	480	1.7	140	28.9
Baie-Comeau	25,720	320	1.2	45	14.1
Saguenay	157,895	2,065	1.3	420	20.3
Alma	29,320	260	0.9	45	17.0
Dolbeau-Mistassini	14,725	120	0.8	40	33.3
Sept-Îles	27,155	490	1.8	170	35.1
Québec	817,105	54,860	6.7	14,310	26.1
Sainte-Marie	12,640	320	2.5	65	20.3
Saint-Georges	33,990	615	1.8	205	33.6
Thetford Mines	26,430	470	1.8	90	19.1
Sherbrooke	220,105	16,725	7.6	4,145	24.8
Cowansville	14,285	485	3.4	55	11.5
Victoriaville	50,550	1,580	3.1	335	21.2
Trois-Rivières	155,535	6,355	4.1	1,460	23.0
Shawinigan	47,640	1,010	2.1	250	24.8
Drummondville	98,570	3,700	3.8	985	26.6
Granby	88,250	4,420	5.0	935	21.2
Saint-Hyacinthe	57,575	4,295	7.5	1,235	28.8
Sorel-Tracy	40,455	1,015	2.5	125	12.3
Joliette	50,165	2,120	4.2	500	23.6
Montréal	4,206,455	1,022,940	24.3	162,260	15.9
Salaberry-de-Valleyfield	41,200	1,310	3.2	215	16.4
Sainte-Agathe-des-Monts	19,415	1,090	5.6	120	11.0
Lachute	13,360	320	2.4	25	7.8
Val-d'Or	33,420	740	2.2	235	31.8
Amos	18,215	230	1.3	85	36.2
Rouyn-Noranda	41,285	750	1.8	220	29.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

Top Places of Birth of Immigrants, Quebec, 2016 and 2021

	2016			2021		
	Number	%	Rank	Number	%	Rank
Immigrant population	1,091,305	100.0	...	1,210,595	100.0	...
France	81,225	7.4	1	93,160	7.7	1
Haiti	80,960	7.4	2	86,105	7.1	2
Algeria	59,460	5.4	4	72,835	6.0	3
Morocco	60,700	5.6	3	68,870	5.7	4
China	49,555	4.5	6	52,500	4.3	5
Italy	51,025	4.7	5	43,975	3.6	6
Lebanon	39,140	3.6	7	42,280	3.5	7
Philippines	24,405	2.2	12	31,345	2.6	8
Colombia	25,575	2.3	10	29,670	2.5	9
Romania	28,695	2.6	8	27,515	2.3	10

Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

Immigrant Population by Non-Official Language Spoken Most Often at Home, Canada, 2021

	2021		
	Number	%	Rank
Immigrant population	1,210,595	100.0	...
Arabic	118,395	9.8	1
Spanish	87,975	7.3	2
Mandarin	35,705	2.9	3
Italian	25,400	2.1	4
Haitian Creole	23,900	2.0	5
Romanian	22,535	1.9	6
Russian	22,115	1.8	7
Vietnamese	17,065	1.4	8
Portuguese	15,800	1.3	9
Yue (Cantonese)	14,860	1.2	10

Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

Population by Generation Status and Median Age, Quebec, 2016 and 2021

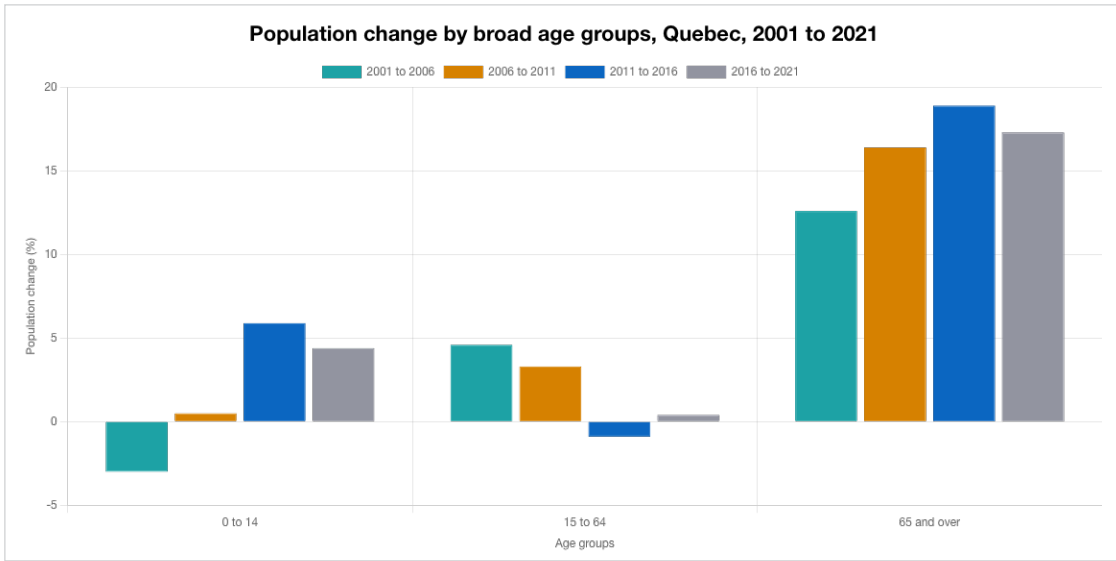
	2016			2021		
	Number	%	Median age	Number	%	Median age
Total population in private households	7,965,455	100.0	41.6	8,308,480	100.0	42.4
First generation (born abroad)	1,204,895	15.1	43.2	1,471,845	17.7	42.8
Second generation (born in Canada with at least one parent born abroad)	792,085	9.9	22.0	883,485	10.6	21.2
Third generation or more (born in Canada with both parents born in Canada)	5,968,475	74.9	44.0	5,953,145	71.7	45.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

Immigrant Population by Visible Minority Group, Quebec, 2016 and 2021

	2016				2021			
	All immigrants		Recent immigrants (2011 to 2016)		All immigrants		Recent immigrants (2016 to 2021)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Population in private households	1,091,310	100.0	215,170	100.0	1,210,600	100.0	202,740	100.0
Visible minority population	645,170	59.1	151,700	70.5	758,840	62.7	147,580	72.8
South Asian	53,270	8.3	8,200	5.4	62,765	8.3	12,960	8.8
Chinese	64,615	10.0	11,585	7.6	66,445	8.8	11,455	7.8
Black	178,970	27.7	52,935	34.9	218,735	28.8	48,645	33.0
Filipino	23,395	3.6	5,470	3.6	29,955	3.9	8,000	5.4
Latin American	97,300	15.1	19,895	13.1	108,470	14.3	13,050	8.8
Arab	144,415	22.4	37,810	24.9	176,555	23.3	38,010	25.8
Southeast Asian	37,130	5.8	2,935	1.9	38,375	5.1	3,205	2.2
West Asian	25,000	3.9	8,440	5.6	30,440	4.0	6,795	4.6
Korean	4,480	0.7	865	0.6	5,390	0.7	1,435	1.0
Japanese	1,830	0.3	385	0.3	2,025	0.3	385	0.3
Visible minority, n.i.e.	5,655	0.9	1,405	0.9	6,555	0.9	1,100	0.7
Multiple visible minorities	9,115	1.4	1,770	1.2	13,120	1.7	2,550	1.7
Not a visible minority	446,135	40.9	63,475	29.5	451,755	37.3	55,155	27.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2022



Source: Statistics Canada, 2022

Appendix B

Interview Guide

Questions for Interviews with Cities/RCMs in Quebec

Job-related information

1. What is your position within the city and what duties are associated with it?
 - a. Which division/department do you belong to?
 - b. How long have you held this job?

Perceptions of the city/RCM, discrimination and inclusion

2. How would you describe or define discrimination and inclusion?
3. How would you describe your city/RCM with respect to inclusion? How do you view the city's efforts/actions to promote inclusion?

Problems faced and expectations

4. What are the most important issues with respect to discrimination and inclusion in your city/RCM?
5. What barriers to inclusion have been identified by the city?
6. Imagine the ideal municipal administration. What should be done to enhance inclusion?
 - a. What actions should be prioritized to make the city more inclusive both internally (governance, etc.) and externally (rapprochement with communities, policies, etc.)?

7. What actions should be prioritized in small and medium-sized cities?
 - a. Are there priorities for the type of population that is present (recent immigrants, visible minorities, etc.)?

EDI programs

8. How much interest is there in developing EDI within your organization?
 - a. Did any specific factor or factors trigger the development of these policies/programs?
9. What are the populations targeted by EDI policies?
 - a. Are there population groups that are given little or no consideration?
 - b. Do people from immigrant backgrounds (born outside the country) represent the main target for your policies or are they seen as one population group among others?
 - Are the various legal (immigration) statuses of these people taken into account?
 - c. Do racialized communities represent a target for your policies or are they seen as one population group among others?
 - d. Is there an intersectional vision (taking into account the various overlapping aspects of an individual, such as age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, etc.) when thinking about policies and action plans for various minority groups?

10. How can EDI help you in your work?
 - a. What is your conception of EDI?
11. In your opinion, what types or categories of competencies are required for EDI?
 - a. Is relevant training offered to the city's employees?
12. What do you think of the differences or complementarities between the EDI model and other models adopted by your organization (living together, intercultural)?
 - a. What concrete impacts do you associate with EDI, living together and intercultural approaches?

Structure and internal/external functioning of the city/RCM and implemented policies/actions

13. What is the city's vision of inclusion?
 - a. How are questions of racism or racialization addressed within the city?
14. What is being done within the city/RCM to promote inclusion (inclusive practices, plans, programs, etc.)?
 - a. What elements/resources are most important to guarantee inclusion in your city/RCM?
15. Within your organization, are you able to work on inclusion-related issues in a cross-cutting manner (with support and collaboration from all departments)?
 - a. If you tend to work in silos, what is being done to improve this dynamic?

16. What is your organization (the city) doing to recruit people belonging to minority groups or people belonging to groups specified in the *Loi sur l'équité en matière de l'emploi*?
 - a. What is your organization doing to retain them?
17. What is the city doing to prepare the police and other front-line departments to take inclusion-related issues into account?
18. What concrete actions are being taken to reach out to the diverse communities present in the city/RCM?
19. Do you have mechanisms for documenting intercultural situations or dynamics related to discrimination or racist incidents?
 - a. Are your policies, action plans or training courses developed by taking these into account?
 - b. Does the organization provide support to employees who experience these situations?



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