Language, Identity, and Investment: Trajectories of Plurilingual Skilled and Well-educated Immigrants in Intercultural Quebec

Mehdi Babaei

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University, Montreal

Fall 2019

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Acknowledgement

Doing a Ph.D. was an incredible journey that I have experienced in my life. I have had the opportunity to think, read, discuss, and share my thoughts and ideas on an exciting research project over the past few years. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the support I have received in one way or another from several amazing people. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Ratna Ghosh, for her extensive knowledge and tremendous support during my doctoral studies. She is not only an excellent scholar, who has always inspired and guided me along the way, but also a wonderful and caring person. I was fortunate to get involved in various research projects led by Dr. Ghosh, while honing my academic and research skills.

My sincere appreciation extends to my committee members. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Patricia Lamarre, whose expert advice and constructive critique enormously contributed to the shaping of this dissertation. I would not have been able to complete this dissertation without Dr. Lamarre's tremendous support. I would also like to express my great gratitude to Dr. Teresa Strong-Wilson for her intellectual guidance and expertise, and for encouraging me to think, search, and learn about the narrative inquiry methodology. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Carolyn Turner whose pragmatic approach to research made me think about exploring various aspects of my research. My sincere appreciation goes to Dr. Mary Maguire, who kindly provided me with extensive feedback, and whose philosophy of research has always been inspiring. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Lise Winer who supported me to pursue this research project in its earliest form and encouraged me to stay on the right path.

I was lucky to have the support of a wonderful group of friends and colleagues during my doctoral studies at McGill University. I particularly want to thank Felipe

Mendez, who read and commented on earlier versions of my thesis as well as several subsequent chapters. Thank you, Felipe, for your generosity and massive support. I would also like to thank Ehaab Abdou and Catherine Levasseur who kindly reviewed and commented on different versions of my chapters.

Thank you to all my friends and colleagues for their kindness, trust, and companionship: thank you Costas, Sumanthra, Sara, Alice, Dil, Peter, Alison, Lauren, Chloe, Apple, and many other people for being a valuable part of my life. My sincere appreciation goes to all BILDers, my friends and colleagues, who inspired me in one way or another. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Mela Sarkar who made it possible for us to gather in such an excellent research group.

I also wish to thank my lovely family for their patience, enthusiasm, and unconditional support throughout this long process. I am grateful to my wife, Samaneh, for her love, kindness, cheerfulness, and her words of encouragement. We both decided to go on a doctoral journey at the same time, with our almost-four-year-old daughter, Lillian, accompanying us halfway through. Thank you both for your understanding and patience!

Finally, my heartful appreciation goes to the ten participants of the study who indeed made this dissertation possible. I am deeply grateful to them for their generosity, openness, trust, and willingness to share their stories with me: thank you very much, Anna, Aramesh, Dariush, José, Simone, Martina, Ruiyi, Chan Xin, Mostafa, and Olive! I was fortunate to have met such amazing people in my life.

Abstract

This inquiry has explored the trajectories of skilled and well-educated immigrants, their investment in language learning, identity construction, and integration in Montreal, Quebec. Quebec receives professional and skilled immigrants to build up its economy and to promote Quebec's identity and nationalism. The province of Quebec has adopted intercultural policies to recognize linguistic diversity. These efforts, however, have been framed within a French language framework – with the *Charte de la langue française*, known as Bill 101, making French the official and everyday language in Quebec.

Many immigrants who are selected through the Quebec Skilled Worker Program are well-educated and know multiple languages. Their plurilingual repertoires are further developed when they learn French and English in Quebec. This study has investigated the experiences of plurilingual skilled immigrants as regards their expectations and concerns through their investment in language and integration. Informed by poststructuralist advances, the study has sought to conceptualize the relationship between language and identity with ten skilled immigrants who had diverse social, cultural, and professional backgrounds. To that end, the research used a narrative inquiry methodology and relied on multiple tools, including semi-structured interviews, journals, photographs, and focus groups.

The findings revealed that participants perceived plurilingualism (after migration to Quebec) as cultural capital providing a sense of empowerment, which would result in the privilege of gaining easy acceptance in the new society and its labour market. Their unsuccessful employment scenarios and social adaptation, however, disproved (or challenged) an earlier assumption. Overall, examining participants' narratives brought out three themes which principally guided data collection: 1) investing in language

learning strategies and cultural capital; 2) re-negotiating multiple identities in mobility; and 3) expressing a desire for greater social receptiveness.

Adult Immigrant Language Learning Experience (AILLE), an analytic framework developed in the thesis, strives to fill the gaps in the existing research on the language learning trajectories of adult immigrants, and provides insights on the language learning and lived experiences of skilled immigrants in intercultural Quebec. The study has elucidated how immigrants' linguistic and social integration into the economic and sociocultural fabric of Quebec can be more seamlessly achieved. The thesis closes with a discussion of the implications of the research, along with offering actionable policy recommendations and directions for future studies.

Résumé

Cette thèse a exploré les trajectoires d'immigrants qualifiés et instruits, leur investissement dans l'apprentissage des langues, la construction de l'identité et l'intégration à Montréal, Québec. Le Québec accueille des immigrants professionnels et qualifiés pour bâtir son économie, ainsi que pour promouvoir l'identité et le nationalisme du Québec. Bien que le Québec ait adopté des politiques interculturelles visant à reconnaître la diversité linguistique, ces efforts ont été enchâssés dans un cadre linguistique français, dont la Charte de la loi française (loi 101), qui fait du français la langue officielle et de tous les jours au Québec.

Plusieurs immigrants sélectionnés dans le cadre du Programme des travailleurs qualifiés du Québec sont ainsi bien éduqués et le français et maîtrisent plusieurs langues. Leurs répertoires plurilingues se développent davantage lorsqu'ils apprennent le français et l'anglais au Québec. Cette étude examine les expériences d'immigrants qualifiés en ce qui concerne leurs attentes, en investissant dans le processus d'apprentissage linguistique. En s'appuyant sur les perspectives poststructuralistes et les approches identitaires de l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde, cette recherche vise à contribuer à la conceptualisation de la relation entre langue et identité chez les immigrants. À cette fin, la thèse se base sur une méthodologie d'enquête narrative avec dix immigrants qualifiés issus de divers milieux sociaux, culturels et professionnels. Plusieurs outils d'enquête ont été utilisés, notamment des entretiens semi-structurés et conversationnels, des journaux de bord, des photographies et des discussions de groupe.

Les résultats ont révélé que les participants percevaient le plurilinguisme (après la migration vers le Québec) comme un capital culturel conférant un sentiment

d'autonomisation (*empowerment*), ce qui donnerait le privilège d'être facilement accepté par la nouvelle société et son marché du travail. Leurs scénarios d'emploi infructueux et leur adaptation sociale ont toutefois contredire (ou remis en cause) cette perception. Dans l'ensemble, l'examen des récits des participants a permis de dégager trois thèmes qui ont principalement guidé la collecte de données: 1) l'investissement dans les stratégies d'apprentissage des langues et le capital culturel; 2) la (re) négociation des identités sociales et professionnelles en mobilité; et 3) le désir d'une plus grande réceptivité sociale.

Adult Immigrant Language Learning Experience (AILLE), un cadre analytique développé dans la thèse qui s'efforce de combler les lacunes des recherches existantes sur les immigrants adultes, en plus de fournir des informations sur l'apprentissage des langues et les expériences vécues par les immigrants qualifiés du Québec interculturel. Cette étude montre comment l'intégration linguistique et sociale des immigrants dans le tissu économique et socioculturel du Québec pourrait être réalisée de façon plus transparente. La thèse se termine par une discussion sur les implications théoriques et pédagogiques de la recherche, ainsi que par des recommandations d'ordre politique.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Chapter One: Setting the Scene

Locating the Inquiry

My doctoral study has sought to explore the language learning experiences of ten skilled adult immigrants in Quebec to understand their complex relationships with language, identity, and investment. My study has taken place in the province of Quebec, which holds a unique position in Canada due to its politicized language issue: Quebec is the only province where francophones are in the majority. The *Charte de la langue française* (Bill 101), adopted in 1977, makes French the official and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, and business in Quebec to make French the language of public spaces in daily life. The French language is thus a strong marker of *Québécois* identity (Gouvernement du Québec, 1977; Conrick & Donovan, 2010; Edwards, 2009; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Since the 1960s, Quebec has wielded power over its *own* selection process for immigrants intending to settle in the province and has been responsible for various policies and programs to facilitate their integration process through language learning.

Over ninety percent of immigrants to Quebec choose Montreal as their place of residence (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2018). This is because Montreal is the social, economic, and educational center of Quebec. My study has thus taken place in the Greater Montreal area, which hosts more than two hundred ethnicities and mother-tongue languages (Statistics Canada, 2017). While Montreal has historically been a bilingual city of French and English speakers, since the British conquest of French Canada in 1760, the city's economy had been dominated by an anglophone elite up to the 1960s. Quebec's

Quiet Revolution in the 1960s was the beginning of a surge in Francophone nationalism, and efforts to make French the language of business, school, and public administration (Levine, 1991). A large number of anglophones, hence started to leave the province for economic as well as political reasons, while the duality of French-English has remained a source of contention in the city.

Notably, the major wave of immigrants to Quebec upset this *linguistic equilibrium* of Montreal on the grounds that many immigrants tended to learn English. As the birth rate of francophones declined, the need to become a *host society* that integrated newcomers, resulted in implementing strict language policies by the Quebec government to preserve the French language (Levine, 1991). The ongoing site of struggle between French and English communities in Montreal has created a conspicuous yet often-politically-overlooked socio-cultural space for the third linguistic category – the *allophones* (those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French).

The interplay between languages in this triad has led to two notably profound consequences: first, francophones and anglophones are not only what Montreal is all about, and thus these terms may seem to erase all other languages by not naming them and lumping them all in a single category of *allophones.* Second, in the eyes of many Quebec francophones, a non-francophone is associated with being an anglophone, melding allophones with the anglophone category (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013). Therefore, any study on language in Montreal requires an understanding of the complex sociolinguistic dynamic and the immigrants' experiences in their daily lives (Lamarre, 2013). I particularly refer to Montreal, my research context, as a plurilingual, multicultural setting with diverse, complex, and varied nature.

Many of the immigrants chosen under the Quebec immigration selection program are *skilled* with high levels of education – a result of the high value placed on and points accorded to education in the Quebec immigration selection process. Well-educated immigrants are those who have completed at least their first level of tertiary (college or university) as defined by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2013). Between 2012 and 2016, Quebec received 259,305 immigrants in total with 142,814 immigrants under the skilled worker category. Overall, 47% of these immigrants had more than seventeen years of schooling, with 80% of them spending 14 to17 years at school (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2018).

Many of these skilled immigrants to Quebec are allophones (those whose mother-tongue language is neither English nor French) and have some degree of competence in English. This is because English is mainly the language of higher education in most institutions around the world. Thus, many arrive in Quebec with their mother tongue and English and then acquire French and become trilingual or plurilingual (Lamarre, 2013; Paquet & Levasseur, 2018). And this is what my doctoral project is about: I have been interested in exploring the narratives of migration trajectories, language learning, and identity construction experiences of plurilingual immigrants with higher education qualifications in a Quebec that is committed to interculturalism.

To recognize the cultural diversity of immigrants, Quebec has adopted an *intercultural* policy (as a response to Canadian multiculturalism), framed within the French language (Ghosh, 2004). It is thus vital to explore the plurilingual immigrants' life trajectories in the intercultural context of Quebec. Further, I wanted to learn and understand how the ten skilled immigrants in my research were *invested* in learning French, English, or both as an additional language; what barriers they encountered as

immigrants and language learners; and how their new identities were constructed and negotiated through their use of multiple languages.

Studies on language and integration of immigrants in Montreal have drawn mainly on the federal and Quebec governments' statistics, documents, and reports (Lamarre, 2013). More qualitative studies are needed to delve deeper into the lived experiences of immigrants by taking the individual aspect more seriously through striking a balance between the *individuals' life trajectories* and the *social* structures. That is, the individuals' lived experiences should be emphasized in language policy research (Shohamy, 2009). Highlighting individuals' experiences can be achieved through shifting weight from a normative, structural view to a complex and dynamic perspective, embracing their diversity and their layered experiences. Studies on immigration and language need more *personal stories* to be unfolded, heard, and transmitted to unpack the intricacies of immigrants' lived experiences and to enhance our understanding of mobility processes. With this in mind, my study explores, gives voice, and shares the narratives of skilled adult immigrants within the specific policy context of Quebec, bridging the gap between individual and social levels of analysis. It can also shed light on the complexities of language policy issues in politically and linguistically contested spaces such as Quebec.

Situating the Researcher

This section is about why I became interested in undertaking this inquiry. Similar to many other immigrants, I came to Quebec, as a skilled immigrant, with a set of expectations and plans. My expectations before immigration were partly shaped by my personal drive and largely by the information I had obtained on the immigration process through doing research on various websites and my communication with other

immigrants. I had realized that my prior professional experiences, as a language educator, may not have been sufficient or acknowledged in the host country, and that I might have to go through the process of having my former credentials recognized. I came with the knowledge that having Canadian job experience along with a Canadian educational degree (with an emphasis on *Canadian)* could pave the way for entry into the labour market. With this in mind, I planned to accumulate further educational and professional qualifications, while having my former academic degrees evaluated and recognized by the Quebec government, and my professional experiences and certificates by the Canadian government. I accumulated further symbolic and linguistic resources (Bourdieu, 1982) by participating in voluntary activities and learning the French language.

I was aware (or rather I was told by other immigrants) that no matter what career I was going to pursue, French plays a crucial role in the job-hunting process in Quebec. Thus, upon arriving in Quebec and similar to my fellow immigrants, I went through a full-time (and later part-time) *Francization program* – the Quebec government-funded linguistic and cultural program offered to newcomers through the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Quebec* (MICC). Intrigued by the experiences of my classmates and other immigrants, the subsequent experiences of learning French in Quebec, and the employment scenarios each faced, as well as my own reflexive thoughts on language, identity, and immigration, I decided to focus on the topic of the present inquiry in my doctoral program.

In the first two years after I immigrated, speaking about *language* and *job* shaped the majority of my conversations with people around me. Talking about language was everywhere, and still is. The discussion about language later expanded and included other

issues related to individuals' life trajectories. Topics such as job qualifications (or over-qualifications), language practice, discrimination, racism, and *Otherness* took center stage. I became intrigued, as a language teacher and language learner, to set foot in a complementary area – by becoming a language researcher. Reading the press and watching media, my first impression was that something was missing or not emphasized enough, that the assumptions and reports about the immigrants' language learning, integration, and belonging were underestimated or misrepresented, due to the adherence of those reports merely to numbers and statistics.

Coming from a pure quantitative background to the doctoral program, I was aware that numbers were not able to explain the complexities of the immigrants' lived experiences and the re-construction processes of their social or professional identities. Therefore, I came to the point that in order to build this bridge properly, I needed to take a fair position which would involve both areas – language learning as an individual phenomenon (a frequent topic of research in Applied Linguistics) and language learning as a social process (a concern for sociolinguistics/critical sociolinguistics). In my inquiry, I hold the position of both an insider (the *emic* perspective) and an outsider (the *etic* perspective). I believe the combination of both perspectives has provided me with the opportunity to view language learning from a broader perspective.

Focus of the Inquiry

In its quest to contribute to a vibrant and multi-cultural Quebec, the overarching aim of this project was to understand how the ten skilled immigrants of this study perceived and understood their language learning and lived experiences. My study was an in-depth exploration to understand the identities that ten plurilingual individuals constructed and negotiated as they learned French, English, or both in an intercultural

context, in which bilingualism (as in French-English) is of high value. I have explored these themes through a narrative inquiry approach to gain a deeper understanding of the informants' lived experiences in Quebec.

Guiding Research Questions

Informed by my own immigration experiences and my interactions with other immigrants, along with my understanding of the literature on adult language learning, identity, investment, and plurilingualism, I decided on the following four research questions that have helped guide this inquiry. These questions have allowed me to arrive at a deeper understanding of adult immigrants' language learning trajectories in Quebec:

1) What can be learned from the language learning experiences of ten plurilingual skilled immigrants in Quebec?

2) How do they perceive their experiences of constructing and negotiating identities through their use of multiple languages in intercultural Quebec?

3) How do they invest in their language learning and social and professional integration processes, as they strive to attain desired/expected career-employment opportunities/communities?

4) What are their understandings of their inclusion and adaptation processes in Quebec? Sub-question: What barriers do they perceive in their social and linguistic integration in Quebec and to their language learning (both French and English)?

Overview of the Thesis

In Chapter Two, I present a description of the immigration process to Quebec and Montreal, supported by contextual and descriptive data from quantitative and qualitative research, as well as the statistical data. In Chapter Three, I will elaborate on the conceptual framework and the most relevant theories and concepts to my inquiry.

Chapter Four presents the methodology and tools of inquiry used in this study. Chapter Five and Chapter Six detail the themes emerged from the participants' data and a discussion of findings based on the methodology, tools of inquiry, and the relevant theories. In Chapter Seven, I engage with and discuss the major themes related to the trajectories of the skilled adult immigrants in Montreal and their language learning experiences, based on the findings presented in Chapters Five and Six. Also, I will propose an analytic framework that can be used to study adult immigrants' language learning experiences. Lastly, I will conclude the thesis in Chapter Eight with summarizing the research, a discussion of the implications of the study, and suggestions for future research directions.

Chapter Two: Research Context

Chapter Overview

In the past, the *founding nations* of Canada were said to be made up of anglophones and francophones, characterizing the traditional view of Canada as a nation of *Two Solitudes* (MacLennan, 1945/2005) without reference to people of first nations who were already living in Canada. Over time, waves of immigration have created a diverse society with a variety of languages, ethnicities, and cultures, which no longer can be limited to *Two Solitudes* framework – English and French – and the relationship between these two languages.

While there has been a rise in the total population of Canada, the percentage of the anglophone and francophone populations significantly decreased due to the immigration of various groups of people to the Canadian provinces and a decline in the birth rates among established Canadians. It is predicted that by 2030, immigration will be the only growth factor for the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2008). Immigration, language, and integration will thus continue to be the main topics of research. Government agencies and policymakers will also need to accommodate and address the needs and expectations of newcomers and their successful social and economic integration.

As a result of the rapid growth of population and the changing face of diversity among communities, most immigration agencies and institutions have become very much aware of the diversity of populations immigrating to Canada. They would, however, need to change the way they look at the immigrants' needs, their integration and settlement experiences since the profiles of immigrants have undergone profound changes due to the

accelerated space-time compression (Harvey, 1989). Today's immigrant diasporas require that the diverse nature of languages, ethnicities, cultures, and religions be recognized and acknowledged. The increasing diversity encompasses ethnocultural diversity as well as the many ways in which people are diverse. It is thus essential to study how immigrants perceive the (re)construction and (re)negotiation of their social and professional identities, and the barriers which they encounter in their settlement and mobility processes.

The History of Immigration to Quebec

The Canadian Parliament originally had the absolute authority over immigration policies and regulations. The British North America (BNA) Act of 1867 granted the federal government the authority to impose the acts, laws, and policies on immigration to Canada and its provinces (Kostov, 2008). All provinces of Canada followed the Constitution Act of 1867 when the Canadian Confederation was established – a process by which the British Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec were united into one Dominion of Canada. Until 1950, the Federal government determined the immigration to the Canadian provinces by the policies and regulations which mostly attracted the British-origin immigrants from England, Ireland, and Scotland, among immigrants from other parts of the world (Gagné & Chamberland, 1999).

The BNA clause was that education would be confessional and a provincial jurisdiction. The BNA Act recognized the duality of religious persuasions in the cities of Montreal and Quebec and thus the two school commissions of Catholic and Protestant were established in each city (Malleas, 1984). In Montreal, the religious authorities, including the French Catholics and English Protestants, were responsible for public

schooling. The *Commission des ecoles catholiques de Montreal* (CECM) was the leading Catholic school board, and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM) was the chief Protestant school board in Montreal (Levine, 1991). During the 1960s, many immigrants were integrating into the English-speaking community mainly because of the city's school enrollments. Effectively, in the school system the French were Catholics and did not accept other religions whereas the Protestants took all religiois groups. Immigrant children were inhibited from schooling in the French-language sector, and immigrant parents had little choice between French and English schools. Non-Catholic immigrants had no choice other than sending their children to the English-speaking system, which was secular. The French-Catholic schools, however, put a heavy emphasis on the religious content of the curriculum, "transmitting the monolithic culture of French Quebec to succeeding generations of Francophones" (Levine, 1991, p. 144). The emergence of Bill 101 "turned Montreal's French language schools into crucibles out of which a new, multi-ethnic Franco-phonee Quebecois identity will emerge" (Levine, 1991, p. 144).

The *Quiet Revolution* of the 1960s marks a significant milestone in the rise of the francophone population in Quebec. Quebec has historically built up both its workforce communities and its francophone population with the help of the immigration of thousands of individuals from around the world. While the arrival of newcomers to Quebec was not new, there was a strong desire to integrate those immigrants. As a result, the Quebec francophones went from a minority group (in the sociological sense) within their own province to the majority group (McRoberts, 2008; Juteau, 2000). Since the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, the integration of newcomers to Quebec has been a solution for its low birth rate, which resulted in a change towards immigration in Quebec,

implementing new policies and legislations (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004). The Quebec Ministry of Immigration's action plan on diversity in Quebec is an example of such policies, which aimed at the integration of newcomers to a francophone *host society* aka majority group.

As Quebec's identity, nationalism, and independence came to the political fore, Quebec claimed authority in selecting immigrants. The Quebec government created the department of immigration in 1968, which encouraged individuals to immigrate and contribute to Quebec's development through integration into the majority francophone population (Gagné & Chamberland, 1999). The government's first attempt was to offer the francization program to new immigrants and their children so that they could be easily integrated into the Quebec school system (Gervais, 1994; Ghosh & Abdi, 2004).

In 1977, due to the perceived need to protect the French language in Canada and North America, the Quebec government adopted the Charter of the French Language known as Bill 101, declaring French as the official language of Quebec. This was an attempt to integrate allophones into Quebec society by mandating them to learn French. It was in 1978 that the governments of Quebec and Canada signed the Cullen-Couture agreement, giving further power to the Quebec province, and thus Quebec enjoyed the support of the Canadian Federal Government in the selection of immigrants (Gagné & Chamberland, 1999). By this agreement, Quebec developed new selection procedures and planning objectives for its own immigration system and designed its own immigration policy.

Quebec gained even more power due to the Canada-Quebec Accord of 1991 (also known as the McDougall Gagnon-Tremblay agreement), through defining its own immigration selection system which focuses on knowledge of the French language. The

Federal Government agreed to acknowledge and approve the selection of immigrants by the province of Quebec. It was thus granted autonomy to facilitate around fifty percent of the immigration to the province received through the economic category. As the only province with its own immigration department, Quebec has taken on full responsibility for the integration of new immigrants into its society (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004).

It was in the mid-1980s that the notion of *citizenship* entered the Quebec immigration policy. The Quebec government created a new society of plurality of cultures, embracing the notion of citizenship to help newcomers integrate into the Quebec society. It was done by creating social cohesion for all citizens, albeit under a dominant French language policy (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004). In 1995, the Department of Immigration changed into the Ministry of Relations with Citizens and Immigration (MRCI). The ministry changed its name again in February 2005 and became the Department of Immigration and Cultural Communities (MICC). MICC was recently renamed as the Ministry of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion (MIDI). These name changes signify the changing policies of the provincial government as regards the immigration challenges. These challenges included a more rapid rise in the immigration process to the province by receiving more francophones, more professionals for managerial and prestigious jobs, as well as a smoother process of integration and adaptation. All these challenges make it clear that research on immigrants and its implications are vital for the Quebec government.

Nationalism in Quebec. The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s was a turning point in Quebec's history for the French speakers to become *maîtres chez eux* (masters in their own home) (Oakes & Warren, 2007). Historically, French Canadians' survival relied on forming an ethnic nationality founded on traditional Catholic and rural values (Mathieu,

2001). The Quiet Revolution was both a rejection of the Catholic domination of every aspect of the lives of Quebec Francophones, as much as resistance to the power of the Anglophones who controlled the economy. Quebec demanded to be recognized as a nation which was different in language and culture from English Canada. As a result, new terms such as *Québécois/e* (to replace French-Canadian) were recognized as the symbol of nationalism, national liberation, and self-affirmation (Oakes & Warren, 2007). It was after 1967 that the French Quebeckers, distanced themselves from francophones outside Quebec, turning inward, within the boundaries of the province. The *maîtres chez nous* slogan of the Quiet Revolution expressed the new perception of social identity in Quebec and was further developed by the rise of a francophone middle class (increasing individual mobility) after the Second World War (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Immigrants were hence invited to integrate into and promote the Quebec national identity**.**

Similar to ethnic identity, national identity relies on both objective characteristics such as language, religion, or customs, as well as on subjective features including attitudes and perceptions, in order to make the nation as close to an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006; Oakes & Warren, 2007) or an ideal community as possible. Discussions on the nation and nationalism in Quebec often refer to the two models: *ethnic variety* and *civic variety*. As an extended form of an ethnic group, members in an ethnic nationalism share the same myths, history, memories, and culture. Civic nationalism, however, "unites people from various ethnic groups around common values and institutions, thus giving rise to a nation which is more territorial or political in nature" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 14; Renan, 1990). Though instead of embracing the ethnic/civic dichotomy, recent attempts have been made "to reconcile the two poles,"

replacing the *we-and-they* configuration with constructing an inclusive *us* (Oakes &
Warren, 2007, p. 15). Nationalism should not be seen in a narrow sense, and at the policy
level, "to be a Quebecois is not to be only of French extraction" (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004, p.
86). To pursue the objective of *inclusion*, the two concepts should be united despite their
minor differences.

Quebec has striven to attain its model of *citizenship* to construct a unique Quebec.
The ideologies of *Parti Québécois* (PQ)1 and Liberal governments further gave a boost to
the notion of liberal nationalism, which rejects the former ethnic definition of nationalism
(Gagnon, 2004; McAndrew, 2001), but rather "promotes a model of cultural pluralism
that represents a third way between the (French) republican and (Canadian) multicultural
forms of belonging" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 43). As a result, instead of accepting the
Canadian multicultural citizenship, a new discourse was launched on a unique form of
intercultural citizenship which hinges on engagement in intercultural dialogues.

Interculturalism in Quebec. Immigrants to Quebec come from a wide variety of
ethnic and cultural backgrounds. To address and maintain this diversity in Quebec, the
government has adopted a policy of interculturalism to acknowledge the variety of
cultures, but within the mainstream French language. Interculturalism originated from the
most important cultural change of the Quiet Revolution – a redefinition of the French –
Canadian nation, centred in Quebec2 (Bouchard, 2015). According to Bouchard (2015),

---

1The Parti Québécois is a sovereignist and social democratic provincial political party in Quebec, Canada.
The PQ advocates national sovereignty for Quebec involving independence of the province of Quebec from
Canada and establishing a sovereign state. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parti_Qu%C3%A9b%C3%A9cois.

2 The "French Canadians" of Quebec identify themselves as Québécois and form the cultural majority
within Quebec (Bouchard, 2015).

the interculturalism model is "a form of integrative pluralism... based on a search for balance that attempts to find a middle ground between assimilation and segmentation and… emphasizes integration, interactions, and promotion of a shared culture with respect for rights and diversity" (p. 32). Interculturalism means "a Quebec that will be pluralistic in outlook but francophonic through the medium of the French language" (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004, p. 119).

In Quebec, the preservation of the French language is the primary concern since English is widely spoken and used in many parts of the world, thereby many allophones tend to learn and use English rather than French (Conrick & Donovan, 2010). Many have also preferred to send their children to English schools when they had the choice (Bouchard, 2012; Georgeault & Plourde, 2008; Lamarre, 2007; Pagé & Lamarre, 2010).

Many skilled immigrants come to Quebec with English in their repertoire, alongside their languages of origin (Lamarre, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2016) (partly due to the dominance of English in higher education institutions and colonial history). In Quebec, the discourse on the politicized French language is closely related to the politicized context of interculturalism. Quebec has been critical of the Canadian multiculturalism policy, arguing that multiculturalism does not distinguish between the three main groups of Aboriginals, French speakers, and immigrant origins (Oakes & Warren, 2007), as reflected in the Canadian dualism versus Quebec pluralism (Juteau, 2000).

Quebec's intercultural policy is a response to "a denial of the distinct status of Quebec and its ability to govern itself as a host society" (Gagnon, 2000, p. 24). The two primary objectives of the interculturalism concept are "the respect of diversity and the orchestration of interactions between ethnic groups" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. xi).

Interculturalism aims to foster *dialogue* between various ethnic groups and cultural communities, yet this promotion of dialogue is taking place "within a common civic culture and a French-speaking framework" (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2002, pp. 325-329).

The intercultural model offers "an idealized discourse of community," where all citizens from various cultural and religious groups and ethnicities "come together to forge a common (linguistic) allegiance" (DesRoches, 2014, p. 357). This forged shared identity, however, disregards the individuals' identities in their communities at the expense of a broader intercultural community. Drawing on the consequences of Quebec's Commission on Reasonable Accommodation or a crisis of accommodation (Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012), the proposed Charter of Quebec Values, as well as Quebec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education Course, DesRoches argued that intolerance has been reproduced in the Quebec society. In other words, "[T]he mechanisms of intercultural community building, such as dialogue, have reinforced a discourse of intolerance by sanctioning spaces in which ethnic and religious minorities are cast as outsiders, troublesome to Quebec society" (DesRoches, 2014, p. 357).

It is crucial to study how the identities of individuals who make up the host society are constructed and negotiated. Quebec's immigration policy document *Au Quebec pour bâtir ensemble*, also emphasizes the importance of "being open to others as the host society and in developing harmonious intergroup relations" (Gouvernement du Quebec, 1991, p. 17). The dialogue proposed by *Au Quebec pour bâtir ensemble* is a mutual attempt, which requires "the efforts of individual members of the host society in welcoming new arrivals" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 138).

Given all the above, interculturalism is vaguely defined and does not explain how a *common public culture* is to respect diversity while at the same time maintain the predominance of French culture (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). While interculturalism claims giving equal access to all ethnocultural groups, discrimination, racism, and unequal participation are still evident in the educational and economic spheres (Chicha, 2009; Ghosh & Abdi, 2004). The trajectories of immigrants have become more complex in Montreal as a multilingual and multicultural city in the Quebec province (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014). In the next section, I present the specific setting of my inquiry and discuss the complex sociolinguistic nature of Montreal.

The Complex Sociolinguistic Dynamic of Montreal

Following the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, the language dynamic in Quebec represented "the underlying power structure… as a major factor in the reproduction of these power relations and in the making of a class divide, which was also a linguistic divide" (Lamarre, 2012, p. 2). The language dynamic that emerged since *la Charte de la langue française* made French the language of the workplace and social interactions. It also became "the terrain on which socioeconomic struggles would be waged and on which the future of French and a French Canadian collectivity, tied to the economic aspirations of a francophone middle and professional class, would be won or lost" (Lamarre, 2012, p. 2).

Historically and for several reasons, the immigrants to Quebec were mostly attached to the anglophone communities in Montreal (Lamarre, 2012). The Charter of the French Language (1977) mandated that the children of immigrants attend the French school system, with the hope of integrating immigrants into the French-speaking society and preventing their integration to English-speaking Montreal. While the integration of

immigrants is tied to learning French, it is more complicated than just knowing French.

According to Lamarre (2012), "[w]hat makes Quebec's policy statements on social diversity and on the integration of immigrants different from policies adopted elsewhere is the insistence on the place of language in Quebec" (p. 4). The debates on political models, language policies and planning are conceived and debated with Montreal in mind (Lamarre, 2012) – the largest city of Quebec and the second-largest French-speaking city in the world (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013), as well as home to 75% of Quebec's anglophone population and most of its immigrant population.

Following the conquest of *la Nouvelle France*, Quebec came under the rule of the British government. An English-speaking elite dominated Montreal's economy up until the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Initially, an English-speaking city, the exodus of francophones from rural regions moved towards the opportunities offered by industrialization. Known for being a bilingual city of English and French, the dominance of either of these languages can be divided by the period before and after the sixties. Before the sixties, English dominated the social interactions, and economic and business activities of the city, and held highly-paid managerial jobs in the independent English-speaking institutions (Levine, 1991, Warren, 2003). As a movement towards a "reconquest of Montreal" during the 1960s (as a response to the British conquest in 1759), the issue of Montreal's linguistic nature – *La question linguistique* – was raised by the French-speaking nationalists who aimed for Quebec independence (Levine, 1991). The language question in Montreal "dealt with linguistic survival and cultural affirmation" and rapidly transformed the linguistic dynamic of Montreal (Levine, 1991, p. 3).

Anglicization was considered a threat to the existence of French, therefore legislation aimed at *francization* penetrating the workplace, communications, and public education system. Since the 1970s, French has thus become an important requirement "for social and economic integration into the life of the city and the province" (Lamarre, 2008, p. 71). Following Quebec's Quiet Revolution, rigorous language policies, plans and programs were adopted, which aimed to promote and maintain French in social and economic spheres (Levine, 1991).

Due to the sharp drop in the birthrate in Quebec since the Quiet Revolution, the province needed to take in immigrants. The French-English bilinguals of a large number of immigrants of various linguistic backgrounds, who are now learning both French and English, have made the linguistic dynamic of Montreal more complex (Lamarre, 2013). Montreal has become the largest multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-racial city of Quebec, creating "two Quebecs" co-existing with the rest of Quebec: "Quebec's largest multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-racial city" which hosts a large number of immigrants, and "the mostly homogenous regions" (Chiasson & Koji 2011; Nieguth & Lacassagne, 2009; Stasiulis, 2013, p.188).

Immigrants coming from various ethnic and cultural communities have made the city an exemplar of a peaceful symbiosis of richly diverse communities, having multiple layers of languages, ethnicities, and religions (with more than 120 cultural communities and 150 different languages spoken). Montreal is now a place where there are diverse layers of ethnicities and languages within languages, creating a diasporic and hybrid features framed in multiplicity.
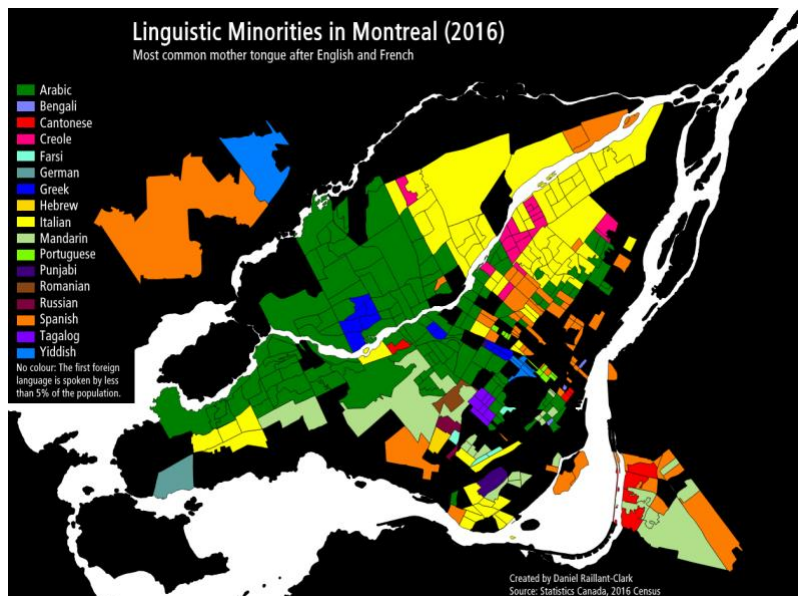
Figure 2.1 Linguistic minorities in Montreal. Source: Statistics Canada (2016).

There are also important geographic divides between linguistic groups in Montreal. Traditionally, the border between francophone and anglophone populations has been represented by Boulevard Saint-Laurent, stretching from south to north in the heart of Montreal (Lamarre, 2014). This boundary, however, has been blurred due to the rise in the city's cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity (Lamarre, 2007; Pagé & Lamarre 2010). Multilingualism is undoubtedly increasing in Montreal in public and private spaces of daily interactions (Bélanger, Sabourin, & Lachapelle, 2011; Germain & Radice, 2006).

Although Montreal is the second-largest French-speaking city in the world, the francophones form only about 60% of its population (Statistics Canada, 2016). The use of *only the French language at home* has been decreasing, while plurilingualism has been rising among immigrant residents (Heller, 2011; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003). Therefore, while Montreal is located in the province of Quebec geographically, from a sociolinguistic perspective, it is not comparable with the rest of Quebec, which is much

more francophone, as compared to Montreal's diverse, complex population. Many plurilingual immigrants choose Montreal as their place of destination.

Defining Quebec's Immigration Selection System

The 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord, which replaced the 1978 Couture-Cullen Agreement, gave Quebec more power for selecting its own immigrants (Oakes & Warren, 2007). Quebec's exclusive right to select economic immigrants (Skilled Worker, Investor, Entrepreneur, Self-employed) resulted in designing a point system which emphasized immigrants' educational qualifications and their knowledge of the French language, among others. Compared to the federal skilled worker selection factors, Quebec's point system is more detailed, including additional factors (e.g., connections to Quebec, and spouse/common-law partner characteristics). Immigrants who apply under the Skilled Worker category are selected based on the factors such as training, work experience, age, the knowledge of French and English, family ties with residents, the characteristics of the accompanying spouse, dependent children, the capacity for financial autonomy, and adaptability (see Table 1).

Table 1.

The Quebec Immigration points calculator: 2017–18 selection factors.

Factors	Points (up to)
Education	14
Area of Training	16
Validated Employment Offer	10
Work Experience	8
Age	16
Language Proficiency	22
Connections in Quebec	8
Spouse/Common-law partner Characteristics	17
Presence of Accompanying Children	8
Financial Self-Sufficiency	1

Note. Grid summary of the factors and criteria applicable to the selection of skilled workers Regulation of October 24, 2017, retrieved from https://www.immigration-Quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/immigrate-settle/permanent-workers/requirements-programs/index.html

All applicants to Quebec need to demonstrate proof of the French and English proficiency when applying to the Skilled Worker Program. In Quebec, the language knowledge of the principal applicant is evaluated based on French proficiency (a maximum point of 16) and English proficiency (a maximum point of 6). Prior knowledge of French, hence contributes to the higher chance of selection. The criterion of knowledge of French "is not eliminatory, in recognition of the fact that many Allophone and even Anglophone immigrants are likely, over the longer term, to contribute to the vitality and the Francophone character of Quebec" (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013, p. 17). Knowledge of French "remains an important element in the selection policy for skilled immigrants" (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013, p. 17).

Almost 77% of immigrants who entered Quebec over the past seven years had a mother tongue language other than French and English[3]. In the following section, I present the demographics of skilled immigrants who came to Quebec and became permanent residents between 2012- 2016, during which most of the participants of my study arrived in the Quebec province.

A Brief Synopsis of Skilled Immigrants' Demographics in Quebec

Over ninety percent of immigrants who came to Quebec between 2012 and 2016 intended to settle on the Island of Montreal. Out of around 143,000 permanent residents, 53% and 47% were male and female respectively. Approximately, 67% of the total immigrants were aged 25-44 years old. About 31% who became permanent residents during these years were francophone, only 9% were anglophone, and 42.5% reported

[3] Arabic (19%) was the language of origin for the majority of immigrants, followed by Spanish (10%), creole languages (7.4%), Chinese and Mandarin (9%), Farsi (3.1%), Berber (2.8%), Russian (2.3%), and Romanian (2.3%) (MICC, 2016).

being English and French bilingual, while 17.5% also reported that they knew neither English nor French (MIDI, 2017). Around 37.5% of skilled immigrants were from African countries (mainly North Africa, including Algeria and Morocco). It is because of the Quebec government's emphasis on knowledge of the French language, and in consequence, its tendency to receive immigrants from *la Francophonie* (of which many countries were previously the French colonies).

Indeed, the top five countries of origin for this period were France, Algeria, Iran, Morocco, and Cameroon. Except for France where French is the official language, the immigrants from Algeria, Morocco and Cameron are either francophones or francotropes[4] (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013). The only country which seems to be out of place in this list is Iran, where French is not used in the country, and English is taught as a second language at school.

As for the educational level of the skilled immigrants who came to Quebec between 2012 and 2016, over eighty percent spent more than 14 years at school. Almost 35% had 14 years (an associate of arts degree) to 16 years (an undergraduate degree) of education. Over 47% spent 17 years or more at school and obtained either a master's or doctoral degree. The top professional categories included management, business, financial administration, natural sciences, health sector, social sciences, teaching, administration, and arts (MIDI, 2017).

[4] Those coming from former colonies of France (Maghreb, Vietnam, Cambodia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and so on) and of Romance-speaking countries (Latin America, Romania, and so on) were more inclined to turn (from Greek *tropos* "turn") to French. Whereas, Anglotropes came from countries belonging to the English or American cultural area and thus became more easily integrated into the English-speaking minority of Quebec (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013).

Despite Quebec's formulated plans for receiving immigrants to the province, its attempts to keep those immigrants in the province have not been very successful. While the number of immigrants who entered Quebec has been rising since the early 1970s, the rate of *interprovincial migration* has been negative: the number of immigrants who left Quebec to other provinces of Canada exceeded those who entered Quebec. This phenomenon is often referred to as the *net interprovincial migration* or the difference between the number of entrants and leavers. The negative rate of the net interprovincial migration has resulted in a loss of population and the departure of many skilled immigrants to other provinces of Canada (Serebrin, 2018).

Francization services for immigrants in Quebec. In Quebec, knowledge of French is an essential criterion for the selection of skilled immigrants. The proven knowledge of French is the key to obtaining permanent resident status and employment. The government of Quebec has, therefore, offered the newly arrived immigrants part-time and full-time French language courses, both in the classroom and online (MIDI, 2015). The government has provided the francization program with the support of school boards, colleges, the recognized educational institutions, community organizations, and employers across the province. The francization program aims to increase participation among non-francophone immigrants as well as those who do not plan to enter the workplace so that they can access the economic, social, and cultural resources of Quebec society more smoothly (Government du Quebec, 2015).

The government has used two common frames of reference for francization: the *Programme‑cadre de français pour les personnes immigrantes adultes au Québec* [French framework program for adult immigrants to Quebec], and the *Échelle québécoise des niveaux de compétence en français des personnes immigrantes adultes* [Quebec scale

of French competency for immigrants]. These two tools were jointly developed by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion and the Ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche to "illustrate the government's desire to optimize the use of francization resources and ensure that equitable services are provided to all immigrants" (MIDI, 2015, p. 25). According to the government's document, *Together, We Are Quebec – Quebec Policy on Immigration, Participation, and Inclusion*, the framework "aims to achieve a level of language proficiency sufficient to work in a range of technical or vocational fields or to undertake vocational or technical training in French… [and to promote] full participation in society, which includes civic and cultural life" (MIDI, 2015, p. 25).

The francization courses are available for adult immigrants through two networks: the courses provided by the *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion*, and the francization services or French language programs administered by school boards under the *Ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche* (MIDI, 2015, p. 26). To ensure "high quality and complementary services," these two networks "provide comparable content and can each structure teaching as they see fit" (MIDI, 2015, p. 26). Immigrants and foreign students can also access the French programs at cégeps5 and universities to achieve sufficient language proficiency to undertake their graduate and post-secondary studies (MIDI, 2015). Francization courses are offered in three Stages (Stage I-Beginner Levels 1-4, Stage II-Intermediate Levels 5-8, and Stage III-Advanced Levels 9-12).6 The students who are admitted into a full-time

---

5 A French acronym for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*, known in English as a "General and Vocational College."

6 The complete descriptions and distribution of the courses can be found here: https://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/partners/francization-partners/descriptions-distribution.html.

francization course will receive financial assistance of $141 a week. Also, all students taking a full-time French course may be eligible for transportation and commuting allowances, as well as an allowance for childcare expenses.

In the next section, I present a selective review of studies on adult immigrants and their language learning experiences, identity construction, and their social and economic inclusion in Quebec.

Multilingualism, Identity, and Inclusion in Quebec

The *Office de la langue française* has declared French the language of day-to-day interactions in the workplace, education, commerce, and business. The use of other languages, however, is allowed alongside French (Pagé & Lamarre, 2010). The life in today's Quebec is different from the past three decades when the French language struggled for and gained considerable autonomy. Today many citizens feel the need to have a functional level of French-English bilingualism to maintain their connections with the outside world (Pagé & Lamarre, 2010).

While the maintenance and valuation of French is still the dominant discourse in the nationalistic discourse of Quebec's media, the value of French-English bilingualism is high and can be perceived as a form of *eliteness* (Paquet & Levasseur, 2018). Although French is a required factor to enter the Quebec job market, it is not a sufficient component to access the higher-status and more prestigious professions or even many service-related jobs (Lamarre, 2007; Paquet & Levasseur, 2018). Quebec's language legislation has been successful in promoting French in workplaces, yet in Montreal's workplaces, "French-English bilingualism is of high value" (Lamarre 2013, p. 1). Thus it is highly likely that many immigrants learn both English and French for a higher social and economic integration (Lamarre, 2013; Pagé & Lamarre 2010). French-English

bilingual practices are found in many Montreal workplaces and many immigrants also use their languages of origin in social and professional spheres, as well as in their interactions with family members and friends (Paquet & Levasseur, 2018).

Sociolinguistic studies on multilingual identities and plurilingual practices in Quebec have mostly targeted young adults' trilingual practices in their day to day interactions, where they combine the linguistic resources and styles of English, French, and other languages in different contexts (Lamarre, 2013; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004; Lamarre & Paredes, 2003; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007). Further research in this area has underlined the French-English bilingual practices or plurilingual practices among allophones in various local settings in Montreal and how individuals' identities are negotiated both within school environment and out of it (Lamarre & Lamarre, 2009; Maguire, et al., 2005; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). The literature on teens' language learning in Quebec also abounds with examples of French immersion programs (Roy, 2008) and *accueil* (welcome) classes (Allen, 2006; Steinbach, 2010). Furthermore, evidence for intercultural competence in language education (Lussier, 1997, 2005) is borne out by research that explored the attitudes and perceptions of immigrants towards French culture and the Francophones of Quebec (Luconi, 1995; Megre, 1998; Raymond, 1995). Recent studies on adult immigrants in Quebec have focused on the linguistic mobilities and linguistic integration of allophone immigrants (Bélanger, Sabourin, & Lachapelle, 2011; Pradeau, 2016; Pagé & Lamarre, 2010), and the francization and professional integration of immigrants (Gagnon & Dion, 2018). There is, however, insufficient research into the experiences of language learning and the identity construction of plurilingual skilled immigrants with a diverse background in Quebec.

Coming back to the language learning experiences of adult immigrants in Montreal, Amireault (2011), as an example, explored the cultural identity of 110 participants who were learning French in the francization program. Quantitative and qualitative survey instruments were used "to examine the different elements characterizing the redefinition of these newcomers' cultural identity" (p. 61) and to investigate how participants identified themselves to their own cultural groups as well as to the French-speaking Quebecers. Participants experienced a "*me-them* cultural duality referring to a hybrid identification" (p. 61). While some participants "maintain[ed] characteristics from their culture of origins and integrate[d] characteristics from their host culture," others felt "a cultural emptiness, not belonging anymore to their culture of origins but not belonging yet to their host culture" (p. 61).

According to Heller (2011), multilingualism in Quebec is appreciated to the same extent by francophones, anglophones, and allophones "as they jockey for privileged access to the francophone market constructed in Quebec, the bilingual market constructed by the state in response to Quebec's regional power, and the emerging importance of French and English in the globalized new economy" (p. 101). Immigrants in Montreal tend to retain their mother tongue languages to a larger extent compared to the immigrants in other Canadian cities (Anctil, 1996).

Even after two decades of implementing language policies, data from the Quebec government's statistics testify to a rise in use of the languages of origin among immigrants (Magnan & Lamarre, 2016). One reason, as Heller (2011) points out, is the immigrants' "construction of ethnic community solidarities and their exclusion from the anglophone and francophone groups whose struggle still dominates social life in the city" (p. 32). The preceding discussion implies that any interaction in society can be analogues

to a two-way street, meaning that both sides of the interlocutors involved in the *interaction* should make an effort to engage in a dialogue. In the case of immigration, the two sides are the immigrants and the residents of the host society. In the Quebec context, this highlights Piché and Frenette's (2001) notion of *social receptiveness* which indicates "the attitudes and efforts of the Quebec population with respect to immigration and intercultural relations" (p. 25). Put differently, "the linguistic choices of immigrants will be made all easier if the host society is open and welcoming to them" (Piché and Frenette, 2001, p. 25).

In the contested context of Montreal, where immigrants have some liberty to make choices in using English or French, the social receptiveness plays a prominent role in countering the anglicization of newcomers (Government du Quebec, 1977; Lamarre, 2012). Studies on language switch in Montreal also confirms that the bilingual French speakers may respond in English when immigrants want to speak and practise French with them (McNaughton, 2014). They might switch to English assuming that immigrants' French language skills are not sufficient enough to maintain a conversation in the language, which will, in turn, affect the construction and reconstruction of linguistic and cultural identities of immigrants.

If we look more broadly, research on adult immigrants' language learning and identity came to the fore with Bonny Norton Pierce's doctoral dissertation in 1995. Since then, many studies have explored the relationship between language and identity and their interconnections with race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and ethnic background (Curtis & Romney, 2006; Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Heller, 2007, Luke, 2009, May, 2008; Norton, 2013; Rampton, 2006). In her study, Norton (1995) explored the concept of the professional identity of five immigrant women in

Canada. One participant, Martina, who struggled with her social interactions in English with her co-workers, decided to change her relationship with them by adopting a different approach. Adopting the identity position of a *mother* rather than an *immigrant*, Martina claimed that she had the right to speak (Norton & Toohey, 2011). How Martina felt in her social interactions and how she repositioned herself with regards to her identity is an attribute that can be observed among many adult immigrants and has a direct relationship with their experience of inclusion or exclusion.

Studies on adult immigrants to Canada have focused mainly on the linguistic and socialization processes of immigrants' ESL experiences and their experience of developing professional skills as well as their employment barriers (Duff, Wong, & Early, 2000; Wong, Duff, & Early, 2001); the effect of premigration language capital and individual factors on language proficiency, along with the formal and informal opportunities for language learning (Adamuti-Trache, 2013); the volunteering experiences of adult immigrant L2 learners within English-speaking organizations (Dudley, 2007); and the experiences of identity construction in ESL classroom (Park, 2011). As for the FSL, earlier studies investigated the relationship between learner characteristics and achievement in French in classroom instruction in Montreal (d'Anglejan & Renaud, 1985). Coffey's (2010) study explored the life-story accounts of the symbolic value that language learners attach to French, and how situated repertoires are circulated and reproduced. Nunes & Arthur (2013) also explored the integration experiences of international students who wished to live and work in Canada as immigrants. Their participants were advised to educate themselves about cultural norms for social and work interactions in their job searching process, along with creating a professional network before completing their degree.

Skilled migrants have received considerable attention on how their experiences and trajectories "between sending and receiving countries encourage knowledge circulation and how this circulation contributes to development both at home and in receiving countries" (Canagarajah, 2014, p. 81). Language plays a significant role in the circulation of knowledge in the receiving country and the negotiation of immigrants' representations and identities, reflected in cultural, social, and professional spaces.

Integration, Access, and Employment

Trends in immigrants' integration in Quebec can be divided into two periods before and after the 1970s. Before the 1970s, more immigrants were integrated into the English-speaking communities. However, when the French population gained dominance during the 1970s, steps were taken to encourage immigrants to assimilate to the French-speaking majority, rerouting "the children of immigrants away from English schools and into Quebec's French school system" (Lamarre 2012, p. 3). In Quebec, "[a]ll immigrants must go through an integration process that requires strong commitment and a willingness to acquire the knowledge to fully and actively participate in society" (MIDI, 2015).

According to the document *Together, We Are Québec, Québec Policy On Immigration, Participation, And Inclusion,* successful integration requires that all immigrants, similar to all other Quebecers, "have equal access to jobs" (p. 8). Employment "helps immigrants meet their needs and those of their families," as well as "helps them to fulfill their potential, expand their social network, and develop French language skills" (MIDI, 2015, p. 8). Successful integration requires both immigrants and society's mutual commitment. For immigrants, integration involves "a period of transition that requires a great deal of learning and adjusting" (MIDI, 2015, p. 8). Society must also "adapt to its populations' growing ethnocultural diversity and provide

immigrants with the necessary conditions for successful integration and equal access to shared resources" (MIDI, 2015, p. 8). That said, integration is particularly linked to *individual mobility* – a person's "decision to dissociate him or her-self from the ingroup and assimilate to the dominant outgroup" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p.8).

As discussed earlier, Quebec's interculturalism aimed to achieve an ideal integration model within its pluralist society by adopting the policy of interculturalism. In Montreal, immigrants, like all other citizens, can choose whether to live in the English or French populated areas or neighbourhoods dominated by their ethnic communities. Linguistic considerations thus play a role in immigrants' mobility and their integration process in many ways.

To portray the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors of integration in the multilingual context of Montreal, Calinon (2009) examined the impact of linguistic policy measures on preserving the French language. The study drew on research conducted in the francization program and explored the cultural and linguistic skills developed by the immigrants at the end of the program. Based on immigrants' degree of linguistic autonomy and their social mobility, the findings of Calinon's study revealed that immigrants' French language proficiency had an impact on their *feeling* of social integration. The higher French proficiency is associated with greater social integration and spaces of sociability, yet integration is an issue even for francophone immigrants (Fortin, 2003). Along similar lines, Blaser's (2006) research validated the view that immigrants' ethnic attribute might impact on their positioning in the labour market. The researcher employed a longitudinal methodology to explore the effect of linguistic competence on the immigrants' economic integration.

Highlighting the economic performance of immigrants, Renaud (2006) emphasized

that *access* to the job is the pre-requisite for immigrants' integration. Comparing the "post-landing employment" with the "pre-landing levels of education [which] is measured through the Quebec selection grid," Renaud (2006) analyzed the "requalification process of immigrants under the economic category" (p. 375). He argued that more than ninety percent of skilled workers secure a job within five years since the requalification process needs to occur over time (Renaud, 2006).

That said, systematic discrimination and the rate of disqualification among highly skilled immigrants have been widely reported in Quebec's workplaces (Chicha, 2009). Put differently, the reality of Quebec's labour market bears little relation to the immigrants' expectations before landing. That is, the professional identity of immigrants is (re)constructed in a province where the labour market has been staggering for a while. As a result, many immigrants have been leaving Quebec to other provinces. There have been many instances of highly skilled immigrants who ended up doing lower-status professions or the jobs that were completely different from their areas of expertise. Among the factors that are at play when immigrants face challenges in finding a job, the language barrier has always been a burning issue. In a qualitative study, insufficient French language proficiency and linguistic insecurity are reported to be the main challenges in finding a job (Paquet & Levasseur, 2018).

Another point of contention is that *access* to opportunities and investing in resources is not always easy. Immigrants with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds find it more or less challenging to integrate themselves into the new society. Some immigrants heavily invest in becoming part of the mainstream social and economic communities, while others might remain isolated in their *ethnic bubble* for the reasons including parental responsibility and linguistic insecurity. Also, as shown by Gauthier

(2016), the socio-economic integration of highly skilled immigrant women in Montreal is strongly linked to their perceived obstacles and challenges in their day-to-day interactions.

Bousmah, Grenier, and Gray (2018) studied "whether the distance between an immigrant's mother tongue and an official Canadian language (English or French) has an impact on his/her economic integration into the labour market" (p. 1). The data yielded by their study provided convincing evidence that the linguistic distance between an immigrant's mother tongue language and French or English has an impact on their language choice at the workplace. They also found that their participants gained "higher payoffs from using English at work than from using French and that the higher payoffs occur for jobs" where English is the dominant language and French is practised occasionally (p. 28).

In the broader literature, adult immigrants often take three strategies as regards their identity construction and language learning processes (Cervatiuc, 2009). These include generating a self-motivating inner dialogue as a counter-discourse to the social marginalization paradigm expected by the native speaker community or to avoid multiple marginalities (Han, 2012); finding ways to gain access into the social networks of native speakers in order to improve communicative competence and secure meaningful employment; and applying for a symbolic membership in an imagined community of successful plurilingual and bicultural adult immigrants (Cervatiuc, 2009). The *power dynamic* which is exercised within these strategies can be broken down into two categories of external and internal. Immigrants' internal power and the locus of control may increase their self-confidence and result in more engagement in social interactions (Cervatiuc, 2009).

In Quebec, this external power which is represented through an emphasis on French proficiency is still an essential determinant of selecting new immigrants and accelerating their integration process through the *francization* program. The problem, indeed, begins with the term *francization* itself (with *francise* as the root and *–ation* as the suffix). The definition given by The *Oxford Dictionary* for *francization* is "*In Quebec cause (a person or business) to adopt French as an official or working language*." Dictionary.com offers an even stricter definition: "*to force to adopt French customs and the French language*." Thus, Francization – in its most basic sense – denotes *forcing someone to learn French* and *to be French*. As in Foucault's words, human beings do not stand for limitations and generate a *counter-discourse* (a way of thinking that opposes an institutionalized discourse) (Ghosh, McAndrew, & Babaei, in press). In the case of Quebec, this counter-discourse has manifested itself as the departure of many skilled immigrants for reasons including the requirement of the French language. With this in mind, the story of every immigrant offers vital implications for their expectations and direct experience in the host society.

Qualitative inquiries have proven to be a useful means to serve this purpose. Han (2012), for instance, conducted an ethnographic inquiry on one participant called Yang and argued that "language constitutes an important terrain where socioeconomic inequality and immigrant identity are negotiated, resisted but reproduced" (p. 147). More so, "immigrants' language problem is primarily an issue of access and legitimacy, both of which are not under immigrants' control" (p. 147). Unlike previous studies, which explored the social and cultural identity of immigrants, Han's study focused on the professional identity, which is an essential form of identity among newcomers. It is because finding the first job plays a crucial role in immigrants' lives and their willingness

to learn the language and join a language group. This study showed that the positive construction of professional identity could enhance immigrants' communicative competence and their confidence in the new society.

Participation in social activities is not always a hurdle that immigrants need to tackle. One common way of entering the social domain has been community membership or being part of a community of their choice and interest. In their study on two hundred Latin American adult residents in two Canadian cities, Toronto and Montreal, Armony, Barriga, and Schugurensky (2004) found that almost all individuals of their research actively participated in communities such as religious organizations, political parties, school councils, and advocacy committees. Also, many respondents referred to heightened awareness, respect, and appreciation of cultural diversity in Canada. Most immigrants would significantly experience learning about politics and citizenship in the host societies through a link they would make to their own culture, past experiences, and personal networks.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a description of Quebec and Montreal as the contexts of my inquiry. I described how Montreal has changed drastically following the passage of Bill 101. I argued that the language policies and regulations in Quebec might not be able to explain the diverse face of Montreal and the rise in its plurilingual residents. The debate between anglophones and francophones may no longer be the topic du jour because allophones, as the third category, have taken center stage in language-related discourses in Quebec. Looking at the history of immigration to Quebec, I described the demographics of skilled immigrants to Quebec and a discussion on the prominent literature on adult immigrants' experiences of language learning and identity

construction. I presented arguments to emphasize that research on skilled and well-educated plurilingual adult immigrants in Quebec has been left largely unexplored. Also, more research is needed to explore their experience of constructing identities through their use of multiple languages in relation to the dominant ideology of interculturalism.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I review the existing theories and concepts that are pertinent to my inquiry. I begin by discussing how I frame language and multilingualism as informed by what has been called poststructuralist advances (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003), and the implications of the Multilingual Turn in language education (May, 2014). I discuss how adopting a poststructuralist approach in conceptualizing the relationship between language and identity (Block, 2007; Hall, 1990, 1992; Norton, 2013; West, 1992) can elucidate immigrants' perceptions of their integration and their language learning process, as well as the complexity of the relationships between human agency and structure. Within a poststructuralist framework, I have drawn on identity theories in second language learning and the concept of *investment* (Bourdieu, 1991; Norton Pierce, 1995; Darvin & Norton, 2015). To better understand the role of language in immigrants' lives in the face of increasing globalization, I discuss how individual immigrants (re) negotiate new identities in relation to their mobility processes, constructing their imagined communities (Anderson, 2006).

Bakhtin's Social Theory[7] (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984, 1986) has offered valuable insights into language researchers' understanding of learners in the contexts of complex social relations. I discuss how Bakhtin's theories of language and Bourdieu's theory of capital have enabled us to unpack the ways in which immigrants participate in and negotiate the

---

[7]It is worth noting that Bakhtin is not regarded as a post-structuralist thinker, because most of his work was written before the emergence of poststructuralism. Yet his writings have heavily influenced the subsequent poststructuralist theorists. In this sense, both Bakhtin and Bourdieu's ideas are closely aligned with the poststructuralist approaches.

practices of the different communities they belong to (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), informing their subjectivities and identities. To explore the experiences of the skilled immigrants with regards to their expectations, concerns, and acquisition of certain capital, I have drawn on Bourdieu's forms of capital including economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The reason that I have drawn mainly on Bakhtin and Bourdieu is that while these theorists work within various disciplinary frameworks, they are concerned with both individual and societal domains. My inquiry has aimed to integrate the individual language learner with broader social structures (Norton, 2013).

The conceptual framework of this inquiry offers a multilayered and multidirectional approach for studying the trajectories of skilled immigrants between sending and receiving countries and within intercultural Quebec. A brief description of each of the relevant concepts and theories and their applicability to my research follows a discussion on the importance of labelling.

Labeling Matters

Having a systematic vocabulary is important in a research area because "the concepts we use to make sense of the world direct both our perception and our actions" (Wenger, 1998, p. 8). In this section, I thus clarify what I mean by the terms and concepts I use in my inquiry. This is because "knowing about knowledge claims and field labels is an important means by which we can control practice and identities" (Gunter, 2004, p. 21). In other words, the problem may not be that we, as researchers, do not know what is going on in a research area, but we may not have very systematic ways to talk about the same experience, resulting in different ways of understanding the concepts (Wenger, 1998). In the following paragraphs, I seek to clarify my positions on the theories and concepts I have used in my inquiry.

I begin with clarifying my view on *language* itself. I do not see *language* as a discrete system – as psycholinguists do – and as a fixed, constant, and monolithic entity. Rather, I see language as holistic, fluid, and framed in multiplicity (Nickolas & Starks, 2014). In this regard, second language and first language are not two different phenomena. What I see is a *language repertoire* – linguistic or verbal repertoire (Gumperz, 1964) – and the learner adding to that language repertoire through learning an additional language. In my inquiry, immigrant participants who learned French, English, or both have developed a plurilingual repertoire.

Concerning Second Language Learning (SLL)*,* I hold the view that the term *second* does not mean the order of things: second as it is after *first (*Block, 2007). Instead, by *second* I mean any additional languages learned further to one's knowledge of one's mother-tongue or native language – referred to as additional language learning. Thus, when I mention L2, I mean a language that is added to one's linguistic repertoire at some point in their life.

I was interested to understand how the immigrant participants of my inquiry used their multiple languages and how they functioned as plurilinguals in Quebec (Lamarre, 2013). I was curious to know how they described their linguistic repertoire (Gumperz, 1964) – the range of languages, including dialects, sociolects, *parler bilingues*, circulating in the different communities they belonged to, as well as how their *communicative repertoire* (Gumperz, 1972) – the combination of ways individual immigrants use language(s), and other means of communication (such as gestures or dress) – are developed in a multilingual, multicultural context. A communicative repertoire is defined as "the set of broadly defined but highly-structured communicative resources available to each individual" (Nicholas & Starks, 2014, p. 33), and refers to

various kinds of resources that an individual deploys in order to communicate with others. A communicative repertoire includes resources that are linguistic, stylistic, or verbal in nature (Allwood, 2001; Gumperz,1972). Thus, communicative repertoires are shared experiences of individuals when they socialize and construct similar repertoires in different ways. The more features individuals share in their communicative repertoire, the more effectively they are able to communicate (Nicholas & Starks, 2014).

Other terms that need to be clarified are *multilingualism* and *plurilingualism*. Drawing on the Council of Europe's definition, Cenoz (2013) makes a distinction between these two terms and explains that plurilingualism is the "repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use," while multilingualism is understood as "the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one variety of language" (p. 5). Plurilingualism highlights "the focus on the individual as the locus and actor of contact" (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p. 138). That is, multilingualism is a demographic fact in which people speak many languages but may or may not be able to speak one another's language. On the other hand, plurilingualism is the ability of people to speak several languages.

The individual participants of this inquiry were skilled and well-educated adult immigrants who came to Quebec in the ten years prior to their participation in the study. By skilled immigrants, I refer to those immigrants with high levels of education and experience in their fields. Since the immigrants of this study were also well educated, I came up with skilled and well-educated. I chose the term *skilled immigrants* as the participants in this study had both the relevant education and work experience.

Lising (2017) presented an argument concerning the terms skilled migration and other dichotomous terms such as skilled/unskilled, white/blue collar, and high-/low-skilled:

> a debate in the literature also abounds with regard to who qualifies as a 'skilled' worker – is it someone who has the appropriate higher education qualification, or one who has the necessary training and experience on the job, or both? In other words, should 'skilled migration' be about skills obtained through higher degree education or simply through (a long-term) training prior to commencement of work or on-the-job training? (p. 297)

The distinction between skilled and unskilled workers is not often clear in research studies, nor government statistics are "often consistent in their account of the typology of skilled migrants in the respective country" (Lising, 2017, p. 297).

Finally, my inquiry has also explored how allophones (those whose mother-tongue language is neither English nor French) interacted with the other two categories: the francophones (French speakers) in particular, and with the anglophones (English speakers) in certain circumstances.

Language and Multilingualism

The current studies on language and language learning have markedly shifted away from viewing language through the monolingual theories to bi/multilingual lenses (Heller, 2007; May, 2014). In the eyes of dominant monolingual pedagogies which are influenced by the structuralist school of thought, language is viewed as a monolithic, ideal, measurable, and normative entity (Heller, 2007; May, 2014). Many scholars in the areas of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied-sociolinguistics have distanced themselves from the perspectives of structuralism and have drawn on the poststructural notions of language, language learning, and learners (Block, 2003; Canagarajah, 2017; Heller, 2007; May, 2003; Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2003;

Pennycook, 2003; Weedon, 1997). Poststructuralism regards individuals as being multiple, dynamic, and changing over historical time and social space (Norton, 2013). As opposed to structuralism, it also takes a wider perspective by considering diversity, power relations, and the identity construction of language practices (Duff, 2007).

As a leading poststructuralist thinker, Foucault distinguishes between the notion of *discourse* in linguistics and from a poststructuralist perspective. Discourses of class, gender, and ethnicity are significant subjects in a poststructuralist view, and "offer(s) an alternative way of understanding ideology" (McNamara, 2012). Identity, discourse, and ideology are essential concepts in my inquiry and will be elaborated at length in the following sections.

In language education, the advocates of poststructuralist approaches believe in looking beyond the linguistic competence of learners and include the broader social categories, where the recognition of power cannot be understood through the structural categories of class, ethnicity, and gender. Indeed, poststructuralism believes in a multileveled world with complicated framings, hybrid, and ever-changing, rather than a world with the fixed universal rules, unchanging human behaviour and social phenomenon. This view on language highlights the notion of language as a social practice. In this respect, my understanding of language learning is reflected through the lenses of a *multilingual/plurilingual repertoire* to reread adult immigrants' language trajectories in complex social settings (Blommaert, 2010; May, 2014).

The Multi/Plurilingual Turn

Over the last decade, language scholars have attempted to resituate multilingualism more centrally in language learning research (Block, 2006; Burck, 2005; Heller, 2007; Kramsch, 2009; Lamarre, 2003, 2013; May, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Pavlenko, 2014;

Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weber & Horner, 2017). Followed by this growing trend, the multilingual turn and multilingual subjects have gained momentum in studies on adult immigrants (May, 2014). Owing to the growing awareness of ongoing trends such as globalization (Appadurai, 1996) and super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), and the rapid emergence of societies with hybrid and dynamic features, many scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and their subdivisions, have criticized the dominant *monolingual* theories and pedagogies. All these scholars concur with the move towards a bilingual/multilingual lens – the Multilingual Turn (May, 2014) and the study of bi-plurilingualism as a social phenomenon – distancing themselves from views of language as monolithic, an ideal and normative entity. This profound shift can be seen in the work of scholars in SLA (May, 2014; Ortega, 2014), TESOL (Canagarajah, 2014; Norton, 2013), and bilingual education (Garcia & Flores, 2014; Heller, 2007).

May (2014), for example, draws on Bourdieu, principally the concepts of *field, habitus* and *practice* (which I explain in detail in the following sections) to argue that SLA and TESOL have not favoured an additive bilingual approach but have, rather, been monopolized by linguistic-cognitive approaches to language learning. In line with May, Block (2014) has addressed the two concepts of *embodiment* and *multimodality* as essential elements of multilingualism and argued that even monolinguals switch between register and styles and use experience-based schemata in their language systems. Both May and Block have thus rejected the notion of monolingualism and have advocated greater attention to multidialectalism and multimodality among learners of additional languages. In other words, we are all plurilingual.

Canagarajah (2014) also reported on his study of skilled African migrants and their multilingual practices, proposing the term *translingual practice* – in which people learn

from their language use. He used Bourdieu's concept of habitus to argue that multilinguals have another form of competence – a *performative competence* – which is "a more complex language awareness and metalinguistic competence through practice that does not treat languages as separate but rather takes their multilingual repertoire as a starting point" (May, 2014, p. 4). The emphasis is on "the repertoire—the way the different language resources constitute an integrated ever-expanding competence in such contact zones – combining effective language use and learning in the process" (May, 2014, p. 4).

Like Canagarajah, Norton (2014) has drawn on her research with multilingual learners in South Africa, Canada, Pakistan, and Uganda to argue that literacy practices in multilingual settings exist beyond the relationships between text and reader, student and teacher, and classroom and community. She explored how learners construct their relationships and negotiate identities, and how these negotiations affect their language-learning process. According to Norton, learners can actively engage in a variety of literacy practices if they have a sense of ownership over meaning-making, a phenomenon which is also strengthened when learners are in positions of relative power and when their social, cultural and linguistic identities are validated in pedagogical settings. Informed by Canagarajah and Norton's studies, I have also aimed to examine the trajectories of plurilingual skilled immigrants with significant educational capital. Whether this capital counts in their language learning or not is a question that I will address in the discussion chapter.

To sum up, all these studies present a critique of dominant monolingual theories and pedagogies and provide important insights into the various subdivisions within bilingualism, multilingualism and applied linguistics generally. Drawing on these

scholars, I also hold the position that it is essential to adopt a bilingual/multilingual lens in studying immigrants' lived experiences, distancing ourselves from views of language as a monolithic, ideal and normative entity.

Mobility as a Framework

Parallel to the multilingual turn, a *mobility turn* (or *mobilities paradigm)* has been a topic of discussion among many scholars in the past two decades (Buscher, Urry, & Witchger, 2011; Canagrajah, 2017, Faist, 2013, Urry, 2000). The mobility turn highlights the significant relationship between language and migration (Canagarajah, 2017), and has received considerable attention due to economic, technological, social, political, and geopolitical developments, augmenting the space/time compression proposed by Harvey (2005) a cultural geographer, but currently being explored in applied linguistics.

The relationship between language and migration highlights the emergence of a neoliberal economy which relies heavily on production, marketing, labor- forces, and therefore acknowledges "mobile workers, capital, and products, facilitated by cross-border flows" (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 3). As Canagarajah (2017) puts it:

> Talented people from diverse countries are encouraged to move across borders by industries in developed communities to contribute to their technological innovation. Language and communication become important for this domain as well, as workers from different nationalities collaborate in shared workplaces and production and marketing networks. (p. 3)

The neoliberal economy has thus shifted the trend in selecting immigrants, moving towards *tertiarization* (Heller & Duchene, 2012), a change from using immigrant workers for the sole purpose of industrialization to hiring skilled and educated immigrants who can *think outside the box* and who can promote innovation and branding (Canagarajah, 2017). Therefore, "language repertoires have become an important form of human capital in neoliberal forms of mobility" and have created a new form of *discourse* (Canagarajah,

2017, p. 3). In this sense, mobility is not restricted to the movement of human agents but includes the circulation of other resources, objects, capital, products, information, and knowledge (Canagarajah, 2017).

Conceptualizing Identity

    Identity, ideology, and discourse. For the past two decades, a plethora of studies within the fields of language education and sociolinguistics has evinced a growing interest in the relationship between language and identity. Under the influence of post-structural thinking, the earlier scholars introduced new forms of identity to characterize the *individual* or *selfhood* in the postmodern era (Bauman, 1988; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; West, 1992). My understanding of identity has been informed by the conceptualizations of identity as they link individual experience to the larger social structures. In this regard, my stance on identity accords with West (1992) who conceptualized identity as connected to "desire for recognition, association, and protection over time and in space" (p. 2). According to Bauman (1988), identity in late modernity denotes that:

> [e]veryone has to ask himself the question 'who am I, 'how should I live', 'who do I want to become' – and at the end of the day, be prepared to accept responsibility for the answer... Self construction of the self is, so to speak a necessity. Self confirmation of the self is an impossibility. (p. 62)

Bauman's words above imply that identity is formed relationally and is defined through the interaction process in social settings. Self-construction is defined as one's cognitive and affective representations of one's own identity. Self-confirmation or self-verification implies that people want to be known and understood by others in relation to their beliefs and feelings. An individual's identity is therefore represented by both constructs of self-construction and self-confirmation.

From cultural and social standpoints, Hall (1990) and Wenger's (1998) views on identity offer significant insights. According to Hall (1990) identity is "a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 222). Representation, in Hall's view, is "the positions from which we speak or write – the position of *enunciation*" (p. 222). For Hall (1990), identity refers to "critical points of deep and significant *difference*" or what Hall and Du Gay (1996) called the "crisis of identity," which in turn "constitute 'what we really are'; or rather – since history has intervened – 'what we have become'" (Hall, 1990, p. 225).

Wenger (1998) has framed identity from a social cognitive perspective and has noted that "who we are lies in the way we live day to day, not just in what we think or say about ourselves" (p. 151). In this definition of Wenger, there is a close link between identity and practice. For Wenger (1998), "identity in practice is defined socially not merely because it is reified in a social discourse of the self and of social categories, but also because it is produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities" (p. 151). In this sense, "[w]hat narrative, categories, roles and positions come to mean as an experience of participation is something that must be worked out in practice" (p. 151).

Elaborating on the link between identity and practice, Wenger (2000) introduced the three notions of *engagement, imagination,* and *alignment* in the process of belonging. Engagement refers to "doing things together…" and the different ways in which "we engage with each other and with the world [which] profoundly shape our experience of who we are" (p. 227). Imagination signifies "constructing an image of ourselves, of our communities, and of the world, in order to orient ourselves, to reflect on our situation, and to explore possibilities" (p. 227). Alignment is about "making sure that our local

activities are sufficiently aligned with other processes… [in] a mutual process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations, and actions" (p. 228).

Wenger's notion of engagement is in accord with Davies and Harré's (1999) notion of *positioning* defined as "the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines" (p. 37). Through positioning, individuals situate themselves and are situated by others at the same time. Through the immigration process, individuals constantly position themselves in new social environments.

Wenger's concept of imagination and Davies and Harré's concept of positioning are well-connected to Benedict Anderson's (1983) *imagined communities*, in which language learners "adopt 'imagined' subject positions (identities) in 'imagined' communities of speakers of the language they are learning" (Block, 2007b). The concept of *imagined identities* proves useful in understanding the immigrants' experiences in their imagined social and workplace communities (Kano & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001; Norton & Gao, 2008; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

Notably, Norton Pierce's study in 1995 heightened the need for further research on adult immigrants' language learning with a focus on identity and the social categories of race, gender and ethnicity. Norton (2000, 2013) defined social identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for future" (p. 5). An individual's discourse is influenced by how others see him and how he sees himself. This social identity also denotes that *power* is an indispensable element of social interactions between language learners and native speakers.

To explore how identity is constructed and negotiated in different contexts, many language researchers have focused on immigrants. The reason, in Bauman's words, is that "no thoughts are given to identity when 'belonging' comes naturally" (Bauman, 1999, p. xxx). In other words, the immigration process creates major conflicts in immigrants' lives. Once individuals move across geographical and sociocultural borders, they enter a period of struggle, and this is because their previous stable life and feelings have undergone considerable changes (Block, 2007).

The other reason goes back to the modern conceptualization of *selfhood* in new times that I discussed at the beginning of this section. The modern age has offered the individual with a variety of *choices* which they have to make during difficult situations of their life. Immigrants are likely to face more life-changing choices than others and have to make decisions about those choices. Those decisions are directly connected to the multiple identities that they construct and reconstruct. Therefore, as an important source of insight in language learning and, in particular, in sociolinguistic research, these new forms of identifications are leveraged across many studies on the social aspects of adult immigrants' language learning. Recently, the main research ideas and findings of the well-known scholars in this field were collected in *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* (edited by Siân Preece, 2016).

Ideological becoming. In Bakhtin's social theory of utterance and his dialogic theory, language is examined through a study of the social life of members of different social groups: "language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speakers' intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294). For Bakhtin, the words of language cannot stand alone and do not belong to the speakers only:

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language…, but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. (p. 293)

Bakhtin has placed emphasis on the social interactions in various social contexts by recognizing the multiplicity of voices and perspectives through his concept of *dialogism*. Central to Bakhtin's social theory is the dialogic view of social interactions which conduce various social values. In Bakhtin's (1981) view "[the] word is born in a dialogue… is shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object…[and] forms a concept of its own object in a dialogic way" (p.279). From a social and dialogical standpoint, it is thus understood that the words of language are manifested through communication and the interactions between its interlocutors. This also means that the speaker's thoughts and feelings are conveyed through *communication* by language that is socially and dialogically determined.

In my inquiry, Bakhtin's concepts of *dialogic view of language*, *ideological becoming,* and *authoritative and internally persuasive discourses* are particularly relevant to enriching our understanding on how the plurilingual skilled immigrants perceive the interactions between the members of society and how their perceptions could shed light on the various ways they use the multiple languages in their linguistic repertoire in various social, cultural, and educational spaces.

An integrally related term to the concept of identity is Bakhtin's (1986) *ideological becoming*. From a Bakhtinian perspective – as proposed by Bakhtin Circle (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Moraes, 1996), including Medvedev and Voloshinov – the *ideological becoming* refers to "how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas"

and what Bakhtin called an "ideological self" (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p. 5). Drawing on the Bakhtinian sense of ideology, I use the term *language ideologies₈* defined as "representations whether explicit or implicit that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard, 1998, p. xxii). Ideological becoming thus "refers to developing ways of viewing the world, belief systems, positionings and values, and their interacting and aligning with others" (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 52).

The definition of ideology in Russian (the original language of Bakhtin's writings) does not necessarily include the political element of the term. However, developing the idea-system and ideological becoming would inevitably embrace the political systems. In other words, from immigrants' language learning and language use vantage point, the choices that individual immigrants make about learning a language are both social and political. By extension, the concept of ideological becoming transcends the setting of individually-confined values or ideas and would entail "the development of the whole person and his or her complex of ideas and concepts, including political ideas, but not to the exclusion of other parts of the idea system" (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p. 5). For Bakhtin, this also means that the relationship between individual and social is mutual, and thus vital: the individual growth depends on the social context, and the social context is influenced by the individual.

---

8 The meaning of the word *ideology* in English is different from its original term (ideologija) in Russian. The English cognate of *ideology* connotes 'political', whereas in Russian it "is simply an idea-system" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 429). This idea-system is determined socially and entails "the concrete exchange of signs in society and history" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 429). Bakhtin argued that words and discourses reveal the ideology of their speakers. In this sense, the speaker "is an ideologue and every utterance an ideologeme" (p. 429).

In the politically contested context of Quebec, the political decisions are prominent. As a result, the immigrants' choices about whether to learn French or English or both, and whether to make efforts to learn French in Quebec, would have an impact on their social positions, their settlement status, their career prospects, as well as on the government's decisions about immigration policies. From an individual perspective, immigrants would have to make informed and uninformed decisions, at times, as to what type of language to learn and then what language to use in various social spaces. They would also have to decide whether to assimilate into or move away from those spaces. Notably, those decisions if not always, are affected by political or socio-political issues.

Another point that needs to be discussed is that ideological becoming takes place in the *ideological environments* (Bakhtin/Medvedev, 1978) or the *contact zones* (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 14). In the case of immigration, these ideological environments are represented in the family, workplace, or other communities to which the immigrants belong. The ideological environments function as mediators to develop the immigrant's ideological becoming by providing opportunities and resources (Freedman & Ball, 2004). In a diverse environment, different individuals have different voices, and thus how individuals respond to each other plays a crucial role in developing their ideological becoming.

Bakhtin (1981) argued that "the process of assimilating our consciousness to the ideological world" is possible through "the process of assimilating the words of others" (p. 341). This view highlights the social aspect of learning, in a sense that, the person's ideological becoming is developed through social interactions. While Bakhtin indicated that social interactions are filled with tension and conflict, he argued that these struggles are essential for people to foster new understandings (Freedman & Ball, 2004). In Bakhtin's (1981) view "our ideological interrelationships with the world" (p. 342) are

influenced by the struggle to assimilate the diverse voices, which can be categorized as authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse.

Authoritative discourse vs. internally persuasive discourse. Adult immigrants are always engaged in dialogues that are socio-politically situated within multiple power relations. Therefore, language ideologies are continually constructed and reconstructed in discursive interactions at the macro and micro levels (Maguire, 2005). Immigrants respond and react to the power relations of the receiving society and their socio-cultural, socio-political discourses.

From a Bakhtinian perspective, the official discourses are viewed as the authoritative discourse. Bakhtin (1981) defined authoritative discourse as "hierarchically higher" and "the word of the fathers." It is called authoritative because "its authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse... [and] its language is a special… language" (p. 342). Thus, the authoritative discourses are "generally acknowledged beliefs and voices of authority" (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 53), represented in religious, political, or moral discourses (Bakhtin, 1981).

On the other hand, the internally persuasive discourse, which is in contrast with the authoritative discourse, is "tightly interwoven with one's own word… is half-ours and half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 345). Internally persuasive discourse is the everyday discourse about one's beliefs and ideas in response to the authoritative discourse (the dominant discourse in society). As opposed to the authoritative discourse, the internally persuasive discourse is creative and productive and "does not remain in an isolated and static condition" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345). In Bakhtin's view, an internally persuasive discourse could enter "into an intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourses" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 346; italics in original).

In the macro-context of Quebec, the authoritative discourse includes the government practices such as legislation (e.g. Bill 101) and Acts (e.g. the Official Language Act of 1974), as well as the linguistic categorization of francophone, anglophone and allophone. The micro-level, however, implies that immigrants go through the process of (re)constructing identities. This means that immigrants hover over the discourses of authority and the multiple internally persuasive discourses that are diffused around them.

The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), as the authoritative discourse in Quebec, offers newly arrived adult immigrants the government-funded linguistic and cultural program, widely known as francization, if their French language proficiency is not sufficient to work in Quebec. A common internally persuasive discourse centers around the challenges that are at play for a large number of immigrants as to whether or not to attend the francization courses. The upshot has been the increasing number of dropouts at early stages due to the need for the immigrant to earn a living, among other reasons. There is also the possibility of leaving Quebec for other Canadian provinces for various reasons including low success in obtaining employment in Quebec and thus seeking more or better career opportunities elsewhere. In recent years, integration challenges, along with the high rate of unemployment among skilled immigrants, have made media headlines (Hendry, 2018; Paperny, 2012; Scott, 2014; Serebrin, 2018; Welsch, 2014), and revealed a large number of skilled immigrants who have left the province. The oppositional discourses of immigrants are also in line with what Foucault (1980) called a counter-discourse (a way of thinking that opposes an institutionalized discourse), as human beings do not always stand for limitations and generate a counter-

discourse in response to the dominant institutionalized discourse (or the authoritative discourse).

It is worth noting that the authoritative discourse often does not undergo further examinations due to the symbolic credit granted to its authority – its authority is taken for granted without questioning the consequences of its measures or if one sees no alternative. From a research perspective, it may not be easy, if not impossible, to directly examine the effectiveness of authoritative voice. It is possible, however, to indirectly take a critical look into its impacts by taking the internally persuasive discourses into consideration.

The anthropologist, Rosaldo (1993), once said that it is crucial to listen to what people say about themselves to avoid stereotyping, which in turn, leads to ignorance. My inquiry pays attention to the internally persuasive discourses of a group of skilled individuals – a discourse which has crucial implications for the authoritative discourse, but which is largely left under-researched. It is vital because it can fill the gap between the policy and the practice through enhancing our understanding of immigrants' lived experiences – their daily experiences in their daily lives – which has not drawn the attention of policymakers.

Conceptualizing Investment

Social context, disposition, and practice. In the previous section, I explained how Bakhtin's dialogical view of language and his concepts of ideological becoming and discourse are beneficial for understanding the experiences of immigrants in diverse socio-cultural contexts. Immigrants negotiate power struggles and take positions with regards to different socio-cultural environments. Power relations influence how individuals position

themselves in their social worlds and act as an intermediary between individuals'
positioning process and the different discursive practices that are at play in society.

Pierre Bourdieu has contributed to our understanding of power relations in various
social contexts, as well as the relationship between language and symbolic power.
Principally, his concepts of *field*, *habitus,* and *practice* provide valuable insights into our
understanding of the relations of learner agency and symbolic power to different *forms of
capital*, and how they can be converted in local contexts. Bourdieu (1991) has provided
ways of noticing the power relations in a specific context and how power operates
through cultural reproduction. He referred to *cultural fields* as the places in which people
have access to cultural capital, use, and produce them.

Bourdieu (1977, 1984) stressed the unequal relationship between interlocutors and
how power plays an essential role in shaping and structuring speech (discourse). For him,
the value that is attributed to speech is only understood when the person (speaker) is
recognized. That is to say, the speaker cannot be understood unless the broader networks
of social relationships are regarded. The speaker wishes not to be understood, but to be
"believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648). Yet a speaker's
ability to "command a listener" (p. 648) is unequally distributed since the symbolic
power relations exist unequally among the interlocutors. A complete definition of
competence, hence entails the "right to speech"9 or "the power to impose reception"
(Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648). In this regard, language plays an essential role as a medium of
power in social contexts, and as an instrument to exercise power. Drawing on Bourdieu's

9 Bourdieu's "right to speech" was later translated by Norton as "the right to speak" (Norton, 2000, p. 8).

conceptualization of linguistic exchanges "*par excellence*" (1991, p. 37), I adhere to his view that language is tied to symbolic power: *the soft power which entails actions that might be discriminatory in the exchange of social value that takes place between the members of a social field.*

How Bourdieu framed the *social context* in his approach is especially worthy of note. Bourdieu used the term *field* (champ) "as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by their distribution of different kinds of resources or capital" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 14). In his writings, he also used the terms *market* or game somewhat metaphorically instead of *field*. A field or market is a structured space organized by different types of resources or capital and "is the site of struggle in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it" (p. 14). The field is connected to a network of production, circulation, and appropriation of services, goods, or knowledge (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu (1986) noted that a field is formed of different forms of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic, along with linguistic capital (as a sub-category of cultural capital). Linguistic capital, in Bourdieu's view, is more than just the mastery of language as "what speaks is not the utterance, the language, but the whole social person" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 653). Linguistic capital thus refers to the individual's linguistic practices, and language knowledge and skills, as well as its value in relation to specific fields or markets.

Almost all immigration contexts are dominated by linguistic ideologies and hierarchical valuing of linguistic resources. Likewise, the contested nationalism in Quebec and the multicultural, multilingual terrain of Montreal, has created a field – a site

of struggle which is dominated by the political ideologies of language, in which immigrants are often faced with constraints upon investing their cultural and linguistic capital. The skilled immigrants in Quebec are equipped with knowledge, skills, and higher qualifications to cope with these constraints. However, this might not happen easily as the relationship between the field and the agents involved in it, is a complex one. It is complex because the needs, expectations, and demands of the agents may not be recognized by the field (I have expanded on this point in the capital and investment section).

To understand the relationships that exist in a specific field, Bourdieu (1991) used the concept of *habitus* – derived from Aristotle – signifying "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (p. 14). The concept of habitus implies that there are ways of accessing different forms of capital in social contexts and social interactions, derived from both the prior experiences and current positions of individuals. Dispositions "generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously coordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (p. 14). For Bourdieu, social reproduction is the result of how people are brought up and the cultural/social capital they are born into. Bourdieu lived in France where class hierarchy is much more rigid than in North America.

Bourdieu further indicated that the dispositions which form the habitus are "inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable" (p. 14). As a set of durable dispositions, habitus is connected to the individuals' history of practices as well as their positions in a field. Habitus tends to orient people's actions and their tendencies in certain ways and is derived from "an experience and also a possession, a capital" (Bourdieu, 1985, p.13). It is also a source of motivation and is "objectively organized as strategies

without being the product of a genuine strategic intention" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 73).

Individuals are equipped with established habitus which influences their motivation,

objectives, and behaviors when entering a new field – a process which involves struggle

for power or control over the resources they possess as well as accessing different forms

of capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In other words, a social space is a field which is

not static but highly mobile due to power struggles ensuing from different forces that are

exerted in the field.

Habitus also refers to the physical embodiment of cultural capital or "the embodied

dispositions – ways of viewing and living in the world – that influence, shape, and even

frame our choices and actions" (May, 2014, p. 12). That is to say, habitus entails the

deep-seated habits, skills, and dispositions that people possess through their life

experiences. To explain the concept of habitus, Bourdieu used the sport metaphor,

referring to it as a "feel for the game." In Bourdieu's notion of "feel for the game," the

"game" refers to the field. Bourdieu argued that the social world is formed of various

distinct arenas or fields of practice such as art, education, religion, etc., with their own set

of rules and knowledge. Each field is independent from others with its own set of

positions and practices, as well as its struggles for positions as people circulate their

capitals within a particular social domain. For Bourdieu, field is a specific site of

reproduction (economic, cultural, or intellectual reproduction), with its own "logic of

practice" – and is "specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields" (Bourdieu

& Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Also, fields are "essentially relational," meaning that "any

individual or collective action undertaken in the field will have implications (positive

and/or negative) for all others within that field" (May, 2014, p. 13). The resulting

practices in the field is thus a mixture of the interconnections between the structure of the field and the habitus involved (Bourdieu, 1984).

In Bourdieu's view, the ultimate practices in a field are the consequences of the interrelationship between the structure of a field and the habitus of the agents engaged in that field (Bourdieu, 1984). For immigrants, these interrelationships between field and habitus are represented in their linguistic practices, including their multilingual practices (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003) or their translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2014). The interplay between field, habitus, and practice is complex, and therein lies the reasoning behind the need for more research, particularly in a research site with political and ideological tensions as in Quebec.

Social participation, learning, and access. Lave and Wenger's (1991) *communities of practice* can help us better formulate the concept of habitus within the social contexts. A community of practice is defined as a group of individuals who come together to share similar interests, goals, or a profession, through regular interactions with the aim of developing knowledge and expertise (Wenger, 1998). The individuals of a community thus "come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 464). Because of this mutual endeavour, there are "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations-in short, practices" (p. 464). Learning is thus situated "in the context of our lived experience of participation in the world… [and] is a fundamentally social phenomenon, reflecting our own deeply social nature as human beings capable of knowing" (Wenger, 1998, p. 3). To better understand the concept of communities of practice, it is important to delve into the three notions of *social participation*, *situated learning*, and *access* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). These concepts enhance our understanding of immigrants' language

practices as they are integrating and establishing themselves in the new communities of the receiving country.

First, *social participation* refers "not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities" (Wenger, 1998, p. 4). Individuals adopt certain subject positions in their various communities of practice, including family, school, social groups, and so on. Not all individuals can have direct access to the communities of practice they expect to participate in. There are rules of entry that need to be considered for individuals joining different groups. In a case of a welcoming context, the first rule is a *legitimate peripheral participation*, which is achieved through "mutual engagement with other members, to their actions and their negotiations of the enterprise, and their repertoires in use" (Wenger, 1998, p. 100). In this definition offered by Wenger, there are no power relations or inequalities. Participation always begins peripherally once the individual is granted enough legitimacy as a potential member. Participation, however, might not begin at all if the individual is not regarded as legitimate or if s/he does not participate as a form of resistance.

To be a member of a particular community of practice and participate in its practices, the individual needs to acquire certain and appropriate *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1984), including linguistic capital. In the case of immigrants, cultural capital is associated with educational resources, behavioural patterns, qualifications, affiliations to certain institutions, and so on. Therefore, as a form of justification to provide enough reasons for being a member of a new community of practice in the adopted country – metaphorically to announce their candidacy – immigrants need to have similar or

sometimes beyond the amount of cultural capital that is considered a norm in the new society. Immigrants in all new contexts face the challenge of performing-participating in a new community of practice which might require forms of capital they do not have.

Lave and Wenger (1991) argued that "learning is an integral and inseparable part of social practice," and that legitimate peripheral participation, implies that the participants of communities *engage* with the practices of their communities – this engagement is *learning* (p. 31). Therefore, a view that is based on communities of practice represents a shift from learners as individual language users to the leaners as members of social communities. Lave and Wenger have called for a focus on social structures in communities, and a variety of learners' positionings rather than an emphasis on individuals' *uptake* of a knowledge or skills.

Second, Lave and Wenger (1991) argued that the concept of *situated learning* supersedes the conventional notions of "learning in situ" or "learning by doing" (p. 31). Learning is viewed as a situated activity once "learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skills requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community" (p. 29). In this respect, learning "as legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice" becomes an "integral and inseparable aspect of social practice" (p. 31), which, in the case of immigrants, could occur through the process of *apprenticeship*.

Apprenticeship learning practice intends to pave the way for newcomers to apply for full membership in the workplace communities with a clear understanding of their environments (e.g. the workplace environment). However, I also hold the view that power relations are differential and thus the notion of apprenticeship generates a

dichotomy of *master-apprentice* or *expert-novice*, in which those who have already established themselves in the society and have achieved stability, are considered *the masters* and the newcomers are *the apprentices*. As a common practice, on the pretext of not having adequate experiences or being legitimate to become a member of a particular workplace community, the experts (i.e., the long-standing members of the community who grant membership), might ignore the recognized qualifications of the newcomers, which have already granted them entry into the country or province through the immigration process.

Third, Lave and Wenger (1991) put forward that "the key to legitimate peripherality" is the *access* that newcomers strive to gain to join a particular community of practice and "all that membership entails" (p. 100). Access "includes engaging with the technologies of everyday practice, as well as participating in the social relations, production processes, and other activities of communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 101). Due to power relations and power structures, not all newcomers have equal chances to access opportunities and resources in a community of practice. Institutions and organizations might restrict the immigrants or prevent the access route for taking the occupational opportunities through, for instance, their discriminatory hiring policies. In the case of language practices, access to social interactions could be restricted, for example, by having negative attitudes or reinforcing racial stereotypes in mutual communications.

Despite its pertinence to explore how immigrants participate in communicative activities and social interactions, how they learn the necessary skills, and how they access the opportunities and resources, the communities of practice suffer from some apparent drawbacks. Principally, they gloss over the important questions of what constitutes the

criteria for legitimate participation, how the immigrants' membership is monitored, what is the process of granting membership in certain situations, and what role power structures play in the immigrants' processes of integration and adaptation to the new communities. Inspired by my reflections on these unanswered questions, I moved forward in my inquiry to better understand the participants' perceptions, their lived experiences, and their language practices. Before launching into the conceptualization of *investment*, an elaboration on the forms of capital is due next.

Capital and investment. In Bourdieu's (1986) view, individuals can access the forms of capital in different fields. Capital "is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). Bourdieu's different forms of capital include economic, cultural, symbolic, social, and linguistic capital. Economic capital includes the material capital or properties and entails monetary powers and profits in the form of currency, shares, stocks, and other properties. Economic capital is "self-interested" and can be exchanged for other forms of "non-economic" capital (Bourdieu,1986, p. 46).

Cultural capital is the "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications," and exists in three forms of *embodied*, *objectified*, and *institutionalized* states (Bourdieu 1991, p. 14). The embodied state is realized "in the form of long lasting dispositions of the mind and body." The *objectified* state is represented "in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)." The *institutionalized* state refers to "a form of objectification [and] confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is

presumed to guarantee" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 47). Examples of cultural capital are the educational resources such as reading materials and other instruments as well as the educational qualifications.

In my inquiry, the language proficiency scores in IELTS (International English Language Testing System) or TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), or TEF (Test d'Evaluation du Français), as one of the points based on which skilled immigrants are selected in the immigration selection system, are forms of acquired cultural capital. Cultural capital can be transferred from one individual to another and is context-specific (i.e., field or market-specific and is used in specific contexts). As the embodied form of cultural capital, linguistic capital is the mastery of language and is defined at the individual level (Bourdieu, 1990). Linguistic capital has an impact on one's habitus – the set of dispositions which bridge structure and agency – and is affected by the context in which it is acquired. It is also linked to social class in Bourdieu's view as well as social class and the right linguistic resources, in Heller's (2003, 2007) view.

Skilled immigrants in Montreal become plurilingual when they learn English and French in addition to their mother tongue languages as well as other languages that they know at the time of immigration. Plurilingualism is thus a form of cultural capital, acquired in a multilingual, multicultural context. One's cultural and linguistic capital includes one's skills, qualifications, knowledge, and other acquired competencies which could promote one's status in society. Not all resources are valuable, and their value can shift depending on the context, field, and market (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003).

Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships… or to membership in a group" (p. 51). Social capital

denotes that the individual gains recognition as a member of a social group. Social capital can be acquired through networking among the members of the group. This also means that there are institutional relations among the members of a social group which demands the commitment to participate in the group activities. These groups and their activities can be found in workplaces, schools, community centers, and so on. The connections that immigrants make as members of various communities are regarded as acquiring social capital within the boundary of each community.

Symbolic capital refers to the "accumulated prestige or honor" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 14), and is a form of capital that "the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17). In other words, symbolic capital includes honorary titles or prestigious achievements which can be acquired through the conversion of one capital into another. For example, when higher educational qualifications – as part of cultural/educational capital – result in successful careers. For immigrants, however, this equation does not always work out, meaning that, having higher educational qualifications does not necessarily lead to holding decent jobs (as it is the case among many skilled immigrants in Quebec). Quebec nonetheless is not unique in this respect. Many immigrants in North America find their qualifications obtained in their home countries are not accepted, and they land up working in jobs that do not utilize their expertise. What makes Quebec a more challenging workplace context is that the English language (ESL) is often necessary in professional positions, but it is not sufficient.

Notably, the different forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, linguistic, and symbolic) can be acquired, exchanged, and converted into other forms of capital depending on specific contexts and conditions, yet "economic capital is at the root of all

other types of capital" (Bourdieu,1986, p. 54). In other words, economic capital directly impacts the outcomes that other forms of capital may produce. Also, the conversion of economic capital into social capital, for instance, "presupposes a specific labor, i.e. an apparently gratuitous expenditure of time, attention, care, concern" (p. 54).

Time expenditure plays a vital role in the transformation process of economic capital into other forms of capital such as cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). Put differently, the outcomes that different forms of capital might produce can occur only over a certain period – oftent longer than anticipated. When immigrants enter the educational institutions to obtain new or additional credentials through paying the tuition fees, their economic capital is transformed into the cultural capital. Some educational programs might require that the individuals spend quite a few years of studying, which "from a narrowly economic standpoint, this effort is bound to be seen as pure wastage," yet "in terms of the logic of social exchanges, it is a solid investment, the profits of which will appear, in the long run, in monetary or other form" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 54). It is in the hope of obtaining such profits that immigrants invest in learning an additional language.

For Bourdieu (1986), "the transformation of this capital and to delay entry into the labour market through prolonged schooling, [is] a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term" (p. 54). This explains the re-schooling process of skilled immigrants in the receiving country, which promises to prepare them for better employment prospects. The process of conversion, however, might also "increase the risk of loss (particularly the intergenerational loss)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 54). For example, the cultural capital of immigrants which aims "to attain full efficacy, at least on the labor market," is recognized "only when validated by the educational system" (p. 55). That said, many immigrants are aware that they will not attain in the new country the social

status they had in their home countries and for which they are qualified. But, their hope is that their children will have that chance. It is thus intergenerational investment and strategy – with a cost to the first-generation parents.

In Quebec, almost all immigrants who wish to enter the job market need to have their educational credentials evaluated and recognized by the government. The end result is that the *évaluation comparative des études effectuées hors du Quebec* (comparative evaluation for studies done outside Quebec) issued by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, might not recognize all or part of the immigrants' credentials (context-specific), requiring them to take further complementary courses or even retrain (in the case of medical doctors). The cultural capital acquired by the skilled immigrants "can be distinguished according to their reproducibility or, more precisely, according to how easily they are transmitted" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 54). And although many newcomers learn the rules of the field to gain permission for entry, their practices, resources, or competencies might not be recognized or accepted or even acknowledged by the field.

The symbolic power in the social space impacts the immigrant individuals' activities and behaviours, as *power* is only exercised when recognized and legitimated in the social space (Bourdieu, 1991). This is because power is socially, culturally, and symbolically created and legitimated through the constant relationships between social agents and structure. These relationships pivot around the values that the social networks typically hold, and thereby the negotiations over either placing or keeping those values would inevitably result in inequalities.

Another point of contention is that the knowledge of both English and French in Quebec is believed to open up more career opportunities for the skilled immigrants,

compared to those who know one language only – either English or French. Being plurilingual is therefore considered as gaining the necessary linguistic and cultural capital, which, in turn, generates symbolic capital. In my inquiry, I wanted to see to what extent this is true and if the reality contradicts this premise.

Defining investment. Many scholars reported Bonny Norton Pierce's (1995) doctoral thesis as the turning point in reframing and retheorizing language and identity research, and the conceptualization of investment (Block, 2007; Kramsch, 2013; Morgan & Clarke, 2011). In her study on the five immigrant women who came to Canada from various cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds, Norton Peirce (1995) found that successful language learning is not necessarily an outcome of having a high level of motivation. She has argued that motivation is a psychological theory and thus is not able to address the issues of learners' identities and the relations of power in broader social structures which language learners often encounter.

Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, Norton Peirce (1995) proposed the sociological concept of *investment* rather than *motivation* to elucidate the complex relationships between language learning and practices. As I discussed in the previous sections, Bourdieu (1977, 1984) argued that cultural capital – including the educational resources, credentials, and other qualifications – consists of values that are exchangeable as regards a variety of social fields. Language learners acquire a broad range of material and symbolic resources by investing in learning another language to increase the value of their cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2000, 2013, 2014). It also allows learners to re-assess their sense of self in their present and future communities.

Drawing on the data from her two participants, Eva and Martina, Norton Pierce (1995) argued that "the individual language learner is not ahistorical and unidimensional

but has a complex and sometimes contradictory social identity, changing across time and space" (p. 25). The concept of investment helps us understand the relations of power between language learners and the speakers of the target language, as well as how language learners negotiate their complex and multiple identities. The question to be asked then changes from "are students motivated to learn an additional language?" to "are students and teachers invested in the language practices of a given classroom and community?" (Norton, 2000, 2012).

In a recent article, Darvin and Norton (2015) have fleshed out the concept of investment arguing that the conditions of late modern globalization, featuring digital media spaces, mass migrations, and the neoliberal ideologies, have created a new social order in which mobility and superdiversity have "constructed new issues of structure and learner agency" (p. 21). Drawing on their study of two language learners, placed in different social and cultural contexts, they have constructed a model of investment encompassing the three concepts of *identity*, *ideology*, and *capital* (see Figure 3.1).
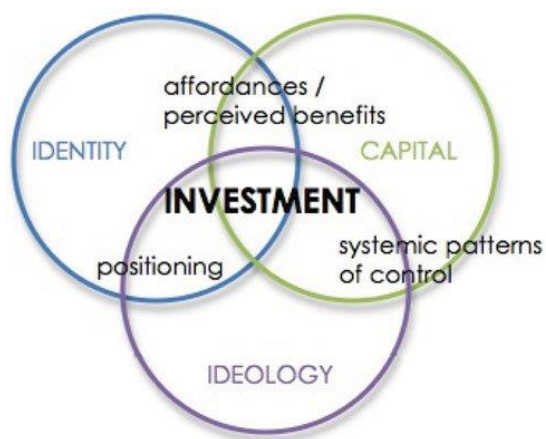
Figure 3.1. Darvin and Norton's 2015 Model of Investment

In their model, *identity* is defined as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 4). They argued that a learner's desire is shaped by habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), which in turn opens up "new possibilities for the future" through imagination (pp. 25-26). These future possibilities include being "part of a country or a peer group, to find romance, or to achieve financial security," which make "language learners invest because there is something that they want for themselves" (p. 26), and for the communities of practice they hope to join. In this regard, identity and investment are integrally related (Norton, 2013).

According to Darvin and Norton (2015), neoliberal ideology with its emphasis on profit and market forces is deeply ingrained in both "systems of governance" and "in ways of thinking" (p. 26). Neoliberal ideology is a consequence of neoliberalism – a term used to describe "the complex and dynamic changes that have occurred in many countries since the 1970s that have led to political and economic rearrangements and redistributions of power in favour of capital and governance over labour" (Chun, 2017, p. 558). Immigration, mobility, and cultural dynamism are essential outcomes of globalization and are heavily influenced by political economy. Therefore, "there is a need to redress what is surely an imbalance, and to foreground neoliberalism as the dominant economic ideology today with repercussions for all manners of activity in which we engage" (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012, p. 82).

Ideology needs "to be understood not as a static, monolithic worldview, but as a complex space where ideational, behavioural, and institutional aspects interact and sometimes contradict one another" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 27). The realization of power in various contexts can be interrogated through the exploration of the concepts of

ideology and capital, which help discern how learners negotiate the relations of power –
how they acquire or lose power. The dominant culture of the receiving society is often
sustained by hegemonic practices (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Language learners "resist
this hegemonic pull" which requires them to "identify and navigate systemic patterns of
control and understand how ideologies operate" (p. 27), and thereby impacts on their
investment process.

According to Darvin and Norton (2015), learners learn a language for certain
benefits: "to gain meaningful employment, to enter into university, or to develop new
skills" or even "to make friends" or "pursue a romantic relationship" (p. 28). They use
their different forms of capital which they have accumulated through "their personal
histories and lived experiences" (p. 28). They always negotiate these various forms of
capital since capital needs to be converted depending on the fields and dominant
ideologies. For Darvin and Norton (2015), this conversion process is "a site of struggle"
as "capital valued in one place is radically devalued in another" (p. 28). For example, the
linguistic capital of the learners is in a struggle with the language policy and ideologies of
the dominant culture.

Darvin and Norton (2015) conclude that "the interplay of identity, ideology, and
capital" enables the researchers "examine the dynamics in which learners invest in
language and literacy practices of classroom and communities" (p. 29). The learner's
investment in a language is tied to the acquisition of a wide range of symbolic and
material resources which result in higher value in their cultural capital and social power
(Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Several studies have used Norton's constructs of identity and investment in the
North American contexts (Bearse & de Jong, 2008; Cummins & Early, 2010; Haneda,

2005; McKay &Wong, 1996; Potowski, 2004; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). Pittaway (2004) argued that Norton Pierce's concept of a language learner's investment "should figure centrally in how instructors address the needs of adult learners in ESL classrooms" (p. 203). He suggests that future research focus on various concepts of investment such as social identity, human agency, and legitimacy.

Language learning strategies. In her Strategic Self-Regulation (S2R) Model of language learning, Oxford (2011, 2016) has theorized and described various strategies used by language learners. In her model, the self-regulated L2 learning strategies refer to "deliberate, goal-directed attempts to manage and control efforts to learn the L2 (e.g., Planning, Evaluating, Obtaining and Using Resources, Generating and Maintaining Motivation, and so on)" (Oxford, 2011, p. 11). Oxford distinguishes between skills and strategies in the following way: Unlike skills that are "automatic and out of awareness," strategies are "intentional and deliberate" (Oxford, 2011, p. 12). Strategically self-regulated learners are those who "approach challenging tasks and problems by choosing from a repertoire of tactics those they believe best suited to the situation and applying those tactics appropriately" (Oxford, 2011, p. 13). Her new S2R model includes further elements such as *self-regulation, agency and autonomy*, *growth mindsets, self- efficacy, resilience, hope,* and *internal attributions for success* (Oxford, 2016, p. 65). I will explore some of these notions with the participants of my inquiry and will describe the strategies they used based on Oxford's S2R model.

Cognitive, affective, and sociocultural-interactive strategies shape the main strategies in Oxford's model. *Cognitive strategies* are used for constructing, transforming, and applying L2 knowledge (e.g., Activating Knowledge for a language task). *Affective strategies* are applied to create positive emotions, attitudes, and

motivation. *Sociocultural- interactive (SI) strategies* assist the learner with communication, sociocultural contexts, and identity (Oxford, 2011).

Learners can benefit from strategically self-regulated learning in classroom communities of practice or other communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Novice learners, for example, can learn effective strategies from the expert (master) learners. In this inquiry, I have further investigated the concept of investment through the strategies that immigrant language learers used in a contested context which adds to the complexity of the interplay between identity, ideology, and capital.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the key concepts and theories in relation to language and plurilingualism, identity, ideology, capital and investment, as well as language learning strategies. I have explained how the poststructuralist thinking has helped me conceptualize language learners as regards the globalization processes. I have discussed that Bakhtin and Bourdieu do not view language learning as a process of acquiring a set of rules or vocabulary of a standard language. Rather, they offer a different perspective which entails that meaning-making is at the heart of language learning and is achieved through appropriating others' voices and is a social process in which the learner is a social actor. I also explained how plurilingualism results in a sense of empowerment and is considered an asset in today's globalized economy. The inequality of power and capital among interlocutors grants some individuals privileges and puts others at a disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1991).

My inquiry has explored the power relations, negotiation and renegotiation of identities in the multilingual, multicultural context of Montreal. I have discussed how I need to frame the different ways in which participants develop new identities as

plurilinguals, and how their discourses and resources are acknowledged, legitimized, or rejected by the dominant discourses of identity and nationalism in Quebec. Practices are shaped by discourses and shape discourses bidirectionally. Informed by the theories of identity, capital and investment, I have described how my inquiry has aimed to probe the participants' use of multiple languages in their plurilingual repertoires through their social interactions and how they perceive the role of power in this process. Finally, I have argued how the concept of investment needs to be critically examined in *the sites of struggle* where the neoliberal ideologies lead to the new neoliberal identities.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I present the methodological approaches used and the rationale behind using the narrative inquiry methodology to answer the following research questions: 1) What can be learned from the language learning experiences of ten plurilingual skilled immigrants in Quebec? 2) How do they perceive their experiences of constructing and negotiating identities through their use of multiple languages in intercultural Quebec? 3) How do they invest in their language learning and social and professional integration processes, as they strive to attain desired/expected career-employment opportunities/communities? 4) What are their understandings of their inclusion and adaptation processes in Quebec? And what barriers do they perceive in their social and linguistic integration in Quebec and to their language learning (both French and English)?

I also describe the data-gathering process along with the multiple tools of inquiry used in generating data. Narrative inquiry was used to collect, generate, and analyze data on participants' language learning and lived experiences, as well as their perceptions and perspectives on their identities and positionings. The use of multiple tools of inquiry helped elucidate language ideologies about how the ten informants of my study perceived and constructed plurilingual identities and how they operated as plurilingual individuals in Quebec. Data was collected through various methods such as semi-structured interviews, participants' journals and photographs, documents, and focus groups. These methods were designed to examine the informants' experiences, identities, investment, as well as the obstacles they encountered in learning French and English as their additional

languages, and in their social and economic integration processes. A description of the methodology and various methods of data collection process follows.

Why Narrative Inquiry Methodology?

In her book *Identity in Narrative - A study of immigrant discourse,* De Fina (2003) raises vital questions about the study of immigrants and their identities: why it is important to study immigrants and what advantages a qualitative-based examination would offer in understanding the migration processes and immigrant identities. In response to these questions, De Fina asserts that a study on immigrant identities provides "insights into aspects of a phenomenon that is amply debated but largely under-analyzed," thereby "help[ing] defeat overgeneralization and stereotyping and show the complexity of immigrant realities and experiences" (De Fina, 2003, p. 3). Narratives can thus offer ways of unfolding individuals' stories and their experiences in relation to the collective social representations and ideologies. Highlighting the importance of the narrative, she indicates that narratives "represent the point of intersection between the expression of individual feelings and representations and the reflection upon and construction of societal processes, ideologies and roles" (De Fina, 2003, p. 7).

The word *narrative* is from Latin *narrat-* (related), (told), *narrare* (to tell), and *narrativus* (telling a story). A narrative is thus a form of knowledge that catches the two sides of narrative, telling as well as knowing (McQuillan, 2000). A narrator is one who knows and tells. While there is a difference between narrative and story, these two terms are often used interchangeably (Kim, 2016). A story is a detailed organization of narrative events organized by a structure, not necessarily in chronological order, and includes a beginning, middle, and end. A story connotes a *full* description of lived experience, while narrative denotes a *partial* description of lived experience. The story is,

therefore, a higher category than narrative, that is made of and rely on narratives (Kim, 2016).

As discussed in Chapter Three, the life of an immigrant is filled with challenges, complexities, and dilemmas, which cannot be easily captured by quantitative approaches. While many studies on immigrants' language and integration experiences have used government documents, reports, and statistics, relying on the findings revealed by surveys, questionnaires, among other statistical tools, there is a need for ethnographic work in Quebec on issues of language and immigration (Lamarre, 2012, 2015). In Montreal, many studies on immigrants have relied on the quantitative methodologies or a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. My inquiry, conversely, aimed to obtain "in-depth narratives and opinions on the ways skilled migrants negotiate language differences in intercommunity relations" (Canagarajah, 2014, p. 81).

The complex nature of human experience and the issues surrounding it cannot be captured through statistics and empirical methods only (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Therefore, there is a growing need to embrace more qualitative-based approaches and methodologies in studying immigrants. The emergence of the *narrative turn* in the social sciences and humanities marked a rejection of positivist modes of inquiry (Riessman, 2005). Inspired by the narrative turn in the sociolinguistic research, scholars such as Capps and Ochs (1995), Gee (1986, 1991), Labov (1982), and Linde (1993) were among those who originally used forms of narrative inquiry in their works.

Narrative inquiry is all about providing "researchers with a rich framework through which [we] can investigate the ways humans experience the world depicted through their stories" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p.1). The personal and social stories of research

participants are captured through a storytelling approach and will shape the whole story of their life (Mishler, 1999). My inquiry has focused on how adult immigrants recount their experiences in their new social and cultural milieus. My study on adult immigrants also explored how plurilingualism was practiced among these individual immigrants in their interactions with anglophones and francophones in the Quebec society. In my research, I used the narratives of participants to better understand their stories of their experiences. I used the participants' narratives based on their oral accounts in the interviews which involved their telling stories in response to the prompts and questions. Participants' stories about their photos and their journal entries also shaped part of their narratives.

I view narrative research as a way of organizing human experience through the participants' representations of individual and social life stories. Experience, as a phenomenon of research, is an essential element within narrative inquiry. It is through the study of narrative that we come to understand the different ways human beings experience the world (Connelly & Clanindin, 1990; Dewey, 1938). The notions of *experience* and *human centeredness* are interconnected in narrative study. Narrative "records human experience through the construction and re-construction of personal stories" and thus "is well suited to addressing issues of complexity and cultural and human centeredness because of its capacity to record and retell those events that have been of most influence on us" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p.1). Human centeredness is what distinguishes narrative inquiry from other methods of qualitative research as those methods regard the *human element* in research, rather than the centrality of a person's experiences.

In sociolinguistic research, narrative refers to "ways of ordering experience, or constructing reality" (Bruner, 1986, p. 11), which highlights the relationship between *self* and *narrative*, in a sense that "narrative is simultaneously born out of experience and gives shape to experience" (Ochs & Capps, 1995, p. 19). The immigrant participants of my inquiry engaged in a process of retelling their experiences and reflecting upon their self-awareness of their lived experiences. They also engaged in their perceptions of their surrounding worlds in an array of past, present, and future, as represented in their stories (Denzin, 1989).

A poststructuralist view of narrative moves away from the epistemology of positivism and instead embraces multiple ways of being and living. The poststructuralist perspective along with a focus on the complexities, interconnectedness and unpredictability of human experiences, inform my stance on the narrative inquiry. In this sense, Bakhtin's (1981) concepts of *polyphony* "a plurality of independent, unmerged voices and consciousness" (p. 6), and *chronotope* (time and space) prove useful. The concepts of polyphony (multiple voices) and chronotope underline the importance of studying individuals' lives as social beings, placed in specific time and space. In this respect, narrative inquiry is in line with a poststructuralist philosophy as it places considerable weight on the individual and the complex nature of human beings – an attribute which cannot be explained through the structuralist-dominated approaches.

Narrative inquiry is hence concerned with the *multiplicity of voices* that are involved in individuals' stories. This accords with Bakhtin's *multi-voicedness*, which implies that the relationship between language and one's community of social and cultural participation proves to be integral of the narrative approach (Bruner, 1990). Bakhtin's social theory of language underlines the multilayered aspect of an individual's

viewpoints of the world in relation to other speakers in a particular context, in an ongoing dialogical process through language (Bakhtin, 1981).

As a researcher, my goal has been to unpack the meanings of participants' experiences through the collection and analysis of different episodes of their lives. Stories and storytelling are common tools in a narrative inquiry and represent the essence of narratives. The narrative inquirer "begins to compose field texts… [such as] photographs, field notes, and conversation transcripts to interview transcripts" (Clandinin, 2006, p. 47). In the following sections, I describe how, as a narrative inquirer, I engaged with participants' narratives to unpack the meanings of their lives in Quebec.

Personal Narrative Research

My approach to narrative is informed by the works of scholars such as Mishler (1995), Riessman (1993, 2008, 2015), and De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008, 2015). Mishler (1999) called for a shift to our attention in both theory and research "from the assessment of "personality variables" to the study of discursive genres, including "personal narratives and life stories, within which identities are produced and performed" (p. 17). For Mishler (1999) "narratives are identity performances," indicating that "[w]e express, display, make claims for who we are – and who we would like to be – in the stories we tell and how we tell them" (p. 19). As a researcher, I needed to decide how to elicit, retell or represent the stories of the participants, and how to put those stories in the narrative forms that best represent the research data. I consider myself as a *mediator* (Abbot, 2002)*,* bridging the *told* and *telling* in a narrative process (Mishler, 1995). Before doing so, however, I needed to choose the right genre for my narrative inquiry. Riessman (2013) noted that many narrative studies do not pay attention to the notion of *genre*, which highlights the importance of form in a narrative inquiry.

I arrived at the *personal narrative research* as the genre best suited to my inquiry because it offered valuable insights for exploring participants' experiences and actions, and the possible reasons and meanings for their actions through narrative forms (Mishler, 1999). In personal narratives, one's personal lived experiences are told in relation to the social, cultural, and historical contexts (Chase, 2003). My goal of using personal narratives was to understand how my participants constructed and interpreted their life experiences. In order to best portray and acknowledge the participants' narrative accounts and interpretations, their experiences were explored within broader socio-cultural, socio-political contexts. Personal narratives involve the socially situated actions in which the identities of individuals are defined and expressed through the ways they position themselves and others in their networks of relationships (Mishler, 1999). Moreover, through a self-reflective process, I actively engaged in the participants' narratives via an *emic* perspective. As Strong-Wilson (2005) so aptly noted, the narrative researcher is responsible for properly portraying the narratives, including their public aspect and their various dimensions such as "the cultural myths, assumptions, predispositions and stories that inform the particular details of a life, as well as the way in which a life is shaped once written down as a story" (p. 228).

Narratives are emergent and are negotiated by the interlocutors in a narrative practice. Viewing narrative as social practice implies that narrative should be examined at both micro local level of interaction and the macro-levels encompassing social actions and relationships (De Fina, 2003, 2009; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). In this respect, the notions of *social practice*, *genre*, and *communities of practice* are integral to this new understanding of narrative. Narratives are shaped by contexts, but also create new contexts by "mobilizing and articulating fresh understandings of the world, by

altering power relations between people, by constituting new practices" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 3). As an emerging genre, narrative accounts are "a sense making process, realized in different narrative formats, punctuated by negotiations between teller and audience" (De Fina, 2009, p. 246).

I would like to explain briefly how the conceptual framework and the methodological approaches in the present inquiry are linked. I begin with *genres* which refer to the modes of action and the key part of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977), including "the routine and repeated ways of acting and expressing particular orders of knowledge and experience" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 383). Genres include the personal and social resources that people use for constructing and structuring narratives in interviews or *ways of telling* (Hymes, 1996). Also, viewing narratives as part of the communities of practice highlights the fact that narratives are shaped within "communities of people who, through regular interaction and participation in an activity system, share language and social practices/norms as well as understandings of them" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 384). It is also important to explore the linguistic practices and resources to understand how individuals construct and negotiate their identities in the narrative genre. This is because identities are connected to practices and resources of a context (Norton & Toohey, 2011). In the following sections, I present the procedures used for generating and interpreting the narrative accounts of the participants of this inquiry.

Recruiting participants

This inquiry was an attempt to take the research out of the strictly individual level to situate it and understand it at the social level. I have investigated the settlement, socio-cultural, and socio-economic experiences of ten skilled immigrants through focusing on their life stories, their identities and representations, as well as highlighting, comparing,

and raising awareness of various barriers that confronted these immigrants in their language learning and life trajectories. To that end, I approached immigrants with diverse ethnic, cultural, and professional backgrounds, who at the time of this study, had been living in Quebec under the category of Quebec Skilled Worker Program, and their immigration status was either citizen or permanent resident.

To recruit the participants, I used an online questionnaire hosted by Google Forms to ask 24 questions (Appendix 3) and screen/identify potential participants according to their background biographic, professional, and educational information. At the end of the questionnaire, I asked the respondents to enter their email address if they were interested in participating in the main study. On March 15, 2017, I began sharing the link to the questionnaire through my personal, academic, and professional contacts, mainly via email, and through social networks, via Facebook and LinkedIn. Respondents had the chance to win a $50 Amazon.ca gift certificate as an incentive to participate in the study and respond to the preliminary questionnaire. Between March 15, 2017 and April 15, 2017, a total of 45 people completed the online questionnaire on the Google Forms. Of 45 respondents, 32 expressed interest in participating in the main phase of the study.

To encourage participation in the next phase of the study, I mentioned at the end of online questionnaire that I was looking for people who would be interested in the possibility of participating in the main phase of the study. Participants were offered a compensation of $100 at the completion of the four phases of study which included taking part in two interviews and a focus group discussion, making four journal entries, and taking four photographs. Their participation involved a commitment of about 8 to 10 hours in total during the months of May, June, July, and August 2017. With this in mind, I asked them to provide an email address where they could be reached, if they were

interested to participate. I also mentioned that only candidates who met the criteria for the next stage of the project would be selected.

After reviewing the individuals' responses to the questionnaire, I created a file for the most suitable participants on my computer and contacted them by sending individual emails. In my emails, I informed them that they had the profiles I was looking for, asked for their participation and for additional information. This also allowed me to contact participants on a more formal basis to ensure that they were seriously interested in participating in the main phase of the study and confirmed their availability. The preliminary background questionnaire circulated through Google Forms gave me the opportunity to find out the respondents' demographics. Participants' responses were further visualized through the Google Forms' charts and graphs, which enabled me to generate a pool of potential participants and select those who met the participants' selection criteria.

Following the criteria, I decided to recruit participants for the main phase of the study from those who: (1) were the residents of Quebec as skilled immigrants; (2) were permanent resident or citizen at the time of study and had lived in Quebec in the past ten years; (3) had at least a bachelor's degree with professional experience in their field; (4) had learned or were learning French and/or English language as an additional language in Montreal; and (5) were seeking full time employment in their fields of expertise. I did not include the immigrants from *la Francophonie* (of which many countries were previously the French colonies), but those who were learning French as an additional language. It is worth noting, however, that many immigrants from la Francophonie are also experiencing marginalization as the French varieties they speak are often considered less prestigious or *erroneous* from the idealized "standard" variety. Many of them have to

relearn French and/or dismiss or suppress the previous variety(ies) they speak. This highlights the notion of how language is racialized (Motha, 2014; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Flores & Rosa, 2015)

I had planned to recruit participants from diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds so that this group of participants could be rather congruent with a true representation of the immigrant population in Montreal. To do so, I applied *purposeful* or *purposive sampling* – a technique widely used in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). Purposeful sampling is used for identifying and selecting the richest and most effective cases (Patton, 2002), who have considerable knowledge about or experience with a phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Purposive sampling is used "to sample in order to ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research questions" (Bryman, 2012, p. 418).

As the most common strategy in purposeful sampling, criterion sampling is used in conducting research and can "inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). In addition to the knowledge and experience of the potential participants, a criterion-based sampling would ensure their willingness to share their experiences and availability to participate in the study. This way, I was able to discard candidates who did not meet the criteria. Some candidates also sent me emails asking for additional information about the main phase of the study. Table 2 outlines the ten participants' profiles who were ultimately selected for the main study.

Table 2.

The profiles of participants.

Participants	Gender/ Age Group	Country of origin	Mother-tongue language	Knowledge of other languages	Education in QC	Occupation in home country/ in QC	Length of residence in QC (yrs)	Marital status
Anna	Female 35-39	Romania	Romanian & Hungarian	German Italian French English Spanish	MA (Second Language Education)	EFL teacher/ ESL teacher (part-time)	+5	Married
Aramesh	Female 30-34	Iran	Persian	English French	MSc (Mathematics)	university prof/ student	2-5	Married
Chan Xin	Female 25-29	China	Mandarin	English French Russian	MA (Second Language Education)	teacher/Mandarin teacher	2-5	Married (parent)
Dariush	Male 40+	Iran	Turkish	Turkish Persian English French	BA (Chemistry)	chemist/chemist	2-5	Single
José	Male 30-34	Brazil	Portuguese	English Spanish French	PhD (Chemistry)	biological researcher/ post-doc fellow	+5	Single
Martina	Female 35-39	Austria	German	English French	MA (Linguistics)	student/ project management assistant	+5	Single
Olive	Female 25-29	Australia	English	German French Spanish	MA (Second Language Education)	student, part time retail work and library work/ESL instructor	2-5	Married
Mostafa	Male 30-34	Iran	Persian	Turkish English	MSc (Electrical engineering)	technician/doctoral student	2-5	Married
Ruiyi	Female 25-29	China	Mandarin	English French	BA (Accounting)	student/student & bookkeeper	2-5	Single
Simone	Female 30-34	Brazil	Portuguese	French English	MA (Geography)	university prof/administrator	+5	Married (parent)

Generating Data

In a qualitative study, data generation refers to creating data from a sampled data source (e.g., interviewing, focus groups, photography). Generating data signifies that the researcher interacts with the data source using qualitative research tools of inquiry (Garnham, 2008). I prefer to use the term data generation rather than data collection

because my view is similar to the "researchers whose theoretical views about the nature of the social world and the production of knowledge extend to viewing data as a product of the interaction between the researchers and the data source during fieldwork" (Garnham, 2008, p. 192). The term generation intends "to encapsulate the variety of ways in which the researcher, social world, and data interact," and therefore considers data not as something "to be "out there" just waiting to be collected; rather, data are produced from their sources using qualitative research methods" (Garnham, 2008, p. 192).

Data sources. To better understand various angles of the participants' trajectories with regards to their language practices and lived experiences in diverse spaces, I used multiple tools of inquiry to document the sources of data. The data was generated through semi-structured and conversational interviews, researcher's notes and summaries from interviews, journal entries, photographs, focus group discussions, as well as relevant documents such as government's report and statistics, and the media. Between March and August 2017, the potential participants were identified, and data was generated (see Table 3). A description of each research tool follows.

Table 3.

Data generation procedure.

Date	Phase	Themes/questions explored
March -April 2017	**PHASE ONE:** **Online questionnaire & Preliminary interviews (individual interview #1)**	• Obtained general background information (education, language knowledge, language learning, etc.). • Conducted semi-structured and conversational interviews (detailed information). • Discussed expectations prior to immigration. • 60-90 minutes

		Part 1. Journal entries
April-June 2017	**PHASE TWO:** **Journal entries & Photographs**	• Participants wrote four journals over the course of four weeks on the specific situations/interactions on how, when, where and with whom they used French, English, and other languages, and how they felt in those situations/interactions. • Helped the researcher obtain detailed information on lived experiences and language learning practices.
		Part 2. Photographs
		• The photo elicitation technique: Participants took four photos of the moments when specific events occurred in their lives in Montreal – any specific events, physical sites, learning, materials, social activities, related to their language practices and their lived experiences in Montreal. • Helped the researcher capture the richness of lived experiences in the second interview.
June-July 2017	**PHASE THREE** **Semi-structured interviews (individual interview #2)**	• Addressed in-depth issues that emerged from the initial interviews and journal entries. • Discussed participants' photographs: why they chose a specific photo, and how it was related to their language learning experiences in Montreal/Quebec. • 60-90 minutes
August 2017	**PHASE FOUR** **Focus Group discussions**	• Conducted two focus group discussions (90-minute with five participants in each group). • Participants discussed and shared their views and understandings of their identities and language learning experiences. • Presented and discussed selective photos (the photo-voice method). • Participants offered recommendations and suggestions.

Interviews (semi-structured and conversational). Interview is one of the most

common methods of data collection in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2009; Marshall &

Rossman, 2015; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Inspired by Fontana and Prokos's (2007)

postmodern interviewing, I hold the position that qualitative interviews should "attempt

to minimize the interviewer's influence and allow the respondents' voices to be heard as

they are, with minimal interpretation" made by the researcher (p. 120). In this sense,

interviews aim to move "to encompass the *hows* of people's lives (the constructive work

involved in producing order in everyday life) as well as the traditional *whats*" (p. 10).

The interview talk is "a co-construction between the interviewer and interviewee," and

thereby promotes the idea of giving voice to the interviewees (Mann, 2011, p. 9). To project the participants' voices in my inquiry, I largely reported their exact words.

De Fina (2009) regards interviews as *interactional events* in which "the interactional rules and social relationships involved are different from those of ordinary conversation and other environments" (p. 237). Interview is thus "an important site for the study of storytelling as an interactional practice" (Perrino, 2015, p. 92), and that "[s]tories emerge dynamically in interaction between interviewer and interviewee" (p. 92). In order to get at the *hows* and *whats* of individuals' lives, however, the researcher needs to get good data and thus ask good questions, since interviews are dependent on our "asking well-chosen open-ended questions that can be followed up with probes and requests for more detail" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, pp. 18-19). Focusing on the hows of interviews also means that the interviews should move from viewing "interview-as-technique perspective towards regarding interview-as-local-accomplishment perspective" (Mann, 2011, p.11). Viewing interviews as interactional contexts implies that "interview creates its own interactional context, where each turn is shaped by the previous turns, and roles and membership categories are invoked and evoked "(Mann 2011, p. 17), and that interviews are "collaborative achievement" (Talmy, 2010), whereby the ambiguity and clarity in interviews are co-constructed (Miller, 2010).

In my inquiry, I conducted two interview sessions with each participant. In both sessions the semi-structured interviews were conducted in an informal conversational style. The first interview session gathered further detailed background information of the participants including their educational, professional, and linguistic experiences. The participants and I discussed their lives before immigration with a focus on their expectations, wishes, long term plans, as well as their experiences of language learning

and language practices. I started to develop a relationship with the participants in the first interview to gain their trust and assurance about their participation during the fieldwork. For both interviews, the participants had the choice to suggest a convenient time and place. Seven out of the ten interviews were conducted in the Faculty of Education at McGill University, one over Skype, one in a café near the participant's home, and one at the participant's home. Each interview lasted 60-90 minutes. The participants who came to the Education Building were warmly welcomed and were made to feel comfortable and at ease through causal small talk over light refreshments (coffee, juice, and snacks).

After the participants signed the consent form (Appendix 4) and were given a copy to keep, the interview began, and the audio recording started. I started the interview by saying, "*in this first part of the interview, I'd like to go over some of the answers that you gave in the questionnaire and get some more details from you.*" Then, I went over the participants' responses to the questionnaire, asking them to expand on their answers. Participants and I discussed their educational and professional backgrounds, their language learning experiences in their countries of origin, and their reasons for immigrating to Quebec. I wanted to learn about their social and linguistic integration and their encounters with barriers during their settlement process. I also wanted to know more about the languages in their plurilingual repertoires and how they used those languages in their daily lives in different social and professional spaces. I was interested to know how they learned or were learning those languages, what resources they used, and how they invested in their language learning processes. These were followed by questions such as how they felt about whether knowing a language helped them in the process of becoming part of a community or not, and that how learning a new language shaped their new identities.

The questions for the semi-structured interviews aimed to elicit specific responses from the participants and obtain general information that could have been used to compare and contrast their experiences (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). I asked all participants the same questions in the semi-structured interview, covering the main topics in all interviews (Appendix 6). There were occasions, however, that the semi-structured interviews shifted to a more informal and open-ended conversations, representing the tendency of the participants to steer the conversation to a topic of interest. I did not stop them though since an interview which is co-constructed would be more meaningful and dialogical. In both interviews I managed the conversations so as not to veer off by asking the interview questions – which had been prepared by a list of topics to generate talk (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). I also made sure that I created space for further participant's involvement by being silent and asking brief questions as the interview moved on.

I conducted the second interview (also semi-structured in informal conversational style) after the second phase of the study. In Phase 2 (which will be discussed below), I asked the participants to write four journal entries and take four photographs of any specific events or learning materials (see Table 3). The second interview allowed me to delve into participants' journals and photographs and discuss in more depth the main issues that had emerged from the initial interviews. The participants and I also went over the photographs they had taken and discussed why they had chosen a particular picture and how that picture was related to their language learning experiences in Montreal. During the interviews, I took the stance of attentive listener by engaging in narrative thinking and narrative principles: I considered the participants as narrators whose stories needed to be heard and made sure that they expressed themselves freely while deciding on the flow of the topics (Mishler, 1986).

Reflective journal entries. Participants carried out two tasks for the second phase of the study. The first task was to write four journals over the course of four weeks. Journals are useful in a narrative study because they provide written first-person narrative accounts of experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and thereby "additional field issues emerge" (Creswell, 2007, p. 141). According to Creswell (2007), "[j]ournaling is a popular data collection process" in narrative inquiry (p. 141). In addition to "interviews, narrative frames and collaborative conversations and discussion," reflective diaries and journals are commonly used as the source of data in a narrative research (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015, p.106).

Journals allowed me to obtain detailed information on their lived experiences as skilled individuals, and their language learning/use experiences in Montreal. Journals can be structured, flexible, or unstructured (Hamilton & Corbett-Whitter, 2013). I aimed for a flexible journaling structure and asked participants to write as many pages as they wanted for each entry on topics related to the specific situations/interactions of their own choice on how, when, where and with whom they used French, English, or both, what happened and how they felt in those situations/interactions.

As "small stories" *(*Bamberg, 2004; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2015), journals displayed the four short episodes of the participants' lives in Montreal. Inspired by the work done by Lamarre on *language practices* (Lamarre, 2013; Lamarre & Lamarre, 2009), I used journals to characterize participants' language practices, their identity construction and their integration experiences. Participants had the choice of writing about their cultural, social, linguistic, or professional experiences in Montreal. I asked them to send me their journals by email after four weeks, or their first two journals after the second week, and their third and

fourth journals after the fourth week. This allowed me to do the data interpretation in parallel with data generation.

 Photographs. Photos are useful because they "alone can tell the story of what the photographer thought was important to capture, what cultural values might be conveyed by the particular photos, and so on" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.168). Photographs touch on distinct objects and realms whose nuances and intricacies may not be easily captured by other tools of inquiry. Narrative researchers are encouraged to include digital archives of living stories, and metaphorical visual narratives (Creswell, 2007). One popular technique whereby this can be done is *photo elicitation*, which aims "to stimulate discussion of the topic" and acts as "prompts for verbal data" (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 168; Tinkler, 2013).

 I used the photo elicitation technique to ask participants to show pictures (of their own) and discuss "the contents of the pictures" (Crewel, 2007, p. 129). A similar technique to photo elicitation is called *photovoice* in which participants are asked to take pictures of the events or phenomenon they are interested in (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this method, "photos taken by the participants and interviews asking participants to interpret the photos provided the data for analysis" (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 170). Using photographs in research proves "to be able to stimulate memories that word-based interviewing did not," and thus the discussions between the interviewer and interviewees go "beyond 'what happened when and how' and would develop themes on what a specific situation, experience, or event would *mean* to a participant" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 757). Harper (2003), however, argued that in studies that use photo-elicitation method, "the photograph loses its claim to objectivity. Indeed, the power of the photo lies

in its ability to unlock the subjectivity of those who see the image differently from the researcher" (p. 195).

Participants were asked to send me the minimum of four photographs. They were informed about the purpose of this method by email. I explained that in addition to their journals, the photos would provide additional information on the moments when specific events occurred in their lives as an immigrant in Montreal. The participants had the choice to take photographs of specific events, physical sites, learning materials, social activities, etc. I wanted the participants to be flexible about what photos they chose, but I also wanted to draw their attention to the relevance of their photos to the study through a reflexive approach (Pink, 2013). Some participants chose to use photos related to their journals. Participants were asked either to take pictures during the data collection or make use of *found photographs* (Tinkler, 2013) – those photographs that "already exist, either in public archives such as historical societies and libraries or in personal collections such as a participant's photo album of family events" (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 168). I asked them to insert a small caption under each photo, which helped me do a basic coding through recognizing the general topics of their photos. For the sake of confidentiality, however, I reminded them that photos for this study should not have included the faces of people to protect their privacy.

Focus group. In the final phase of the data collection, I asked participants to attend a focus group discussion of 60-90 minute with four or five other participants. The goal was to discuss and share their views and understandings of their identity, investment, and language practices in social interactions, as well as their plans or goals for future. The strength of the focus group discussion lies in the fact that as "an interview on a topic with a group of people who have knowledge of the topic," a focus group "is socially

constructed within the interaction of the group, a constructivist perspective underlies this data collection procedure" (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 114). Due to this interactive nature of focus groups, data is generated through discussions "which: leads to a different type of data not accessible through individual interviews… [in which] participants share their views, hear the views of others, and perhaps refine their own views in light of what they have heard" (Hennink, 2014, pp. 2–3).

The other advantage of a focus group is that "the interaction among interviewees will likely yield the best information" (Creswell, 2007, p. 133). This is because the individuals who attend the focus group have similar knowledge of the topic and may not be willing to answer some of the questions in one-on-one interview (Creswell, 2007). To form the two focus groups of my inquiry, I used purposeful sampling. Drawing on the similarities in the initial themes which emerged from the interviews, journals, and photographs, I assigned participants to one of the two groups. All participants completed all phases of data collection, except Simone, who missed attending the focus group due to personal issues. As a result, five participants attended the first focus group and the other four attended the second one.

Documents collection. I consulted a range of websites to collect reports, documents, news articles, statistical documents, and any other information pertinent to my inquiry. For instance, statistical information originates with Statistics Canada, Government of Canada, and *Institut de la statistique du Québec*. I also collected documents related to immigration and immigrants' demographics mostly from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la*

Diversité et de l'Inclusion 10. Major media sources included CBC, the Montreal Gazette, Globe and Mail, *Le Devoir*, and *La Presse*.

Researcher's notes and summaries from interviews. During the fieldwork, I kept notes in a word file on my computer and categorized those notes into different sections. The notes included my initial ideas on the data generation process, design, and interpretation, my reflections before, during, and after my interactions with participants, as well as the summaries of my conversations with the participants. After each face-to-face interview, I jotted down the main ideas, issues, and themes that struck me from the individual participants' talk. I then compared and expanded on those initial notes after listening to their recordings. All these notes allowed me to reflect upon the procedures of my inquiry and predict the future actions.

The summaries of the first interviews served two further functions: first, they helped me organize and manage my questions for the second interview, in which, I began by giving a brief summary of our conversation in the first interview. Second, they also served as a prompt reminding participants about the topics discussed in the first interviews which they could expand on in their journals (after the first interview some participants wrote to me, expressing their uncertainty as to what they were supposed to write in their journals). In some situations, after reading my notes, I asked for the participant's further explanation and clarification on the topics and stories they had shared in the first interview. This way, my notes and summaries also acted as a double-checking tool, thereby gaining assurance about my understandings of their experiences.

10 Ministry of Immigration, Diversity, and Inclusion

Positionality and Reflexivity

During the data collection process, I referred to my own experiences and life stories as an immigrant to Quebec, and this helped me better understand the experiences of my participants. My participants and I were able to motivate one another to co-construct meanings derived from our life stories. This collaborative approach enabled me to take both *emic* and *etic* perspectives (from the inside perspective of the individual participants and the outside view of the researcher/observer) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This combination of the two perspectives along with my mutual engagement with the participants resulted in meaningfully unpacking the obstacles, tensions, and challenges they had faced. As a result, my reflections in the research process have contributed to developing my own multiple identities including my identity as a researcher (Norton & Early, 2011).

As a research tool, narrative is event-driven. Events, whether positive or negative, "are critical parts of people's lives" because they provide "a valuable and insightful tool for getting at the core of what is important in that research" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 71). In my inquiry, I have dealt with both positive and negatives sides of participants' experiences. What makes a narrative inquiry methodology prominent is thus "its alignment with human experience in a complex (and constantly changing) world with needs that are not easily researched using traditional approaches" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 114). I am mindful that it involves subjective judgment as to what counts as a complex, critical experience, to avoid *narrative smoothing* (Spence, 1986) referred to a "tendency to invoke a positive result regardless of the indications of the data" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 109).

Managing Narrative Data

Over the course of five months, participants' data was gathered through various tools of inquiry (interviews, journaling, photographs, focus groups, documents, and the researcher's notes and summaries), which made for an ensemble that was overwhelming but also rich, and thus appeared to be difficult to deal with. Since I was expecting this before launching the data collection phase, I decided to learn how to organize and manage the huge bulk of information in an efficient way, to properly address my research questions. Leung, Harris, and Rampton (2004) argued that the challenges of using qualitative methods could lead to an *epistemic turbulence* in research and could make it difficult to find the information that represents reality. What they described as *messy* data is about both collecting data through various tools and the difficulty in matching the data with the theories and questions used in the study. To make better decisions with regards to what I needed to use and what to discard, I began to manage the data in a systematic way.

Since I began the process of gathering data, I kept track of my thoughts, ideas, speculations, musings, and hunches (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I used the computer files for storing and organizing my observations and memos, and for capturing the emerging themes. A major task was to create inventories for the entire data set. I created different folders for interviews (including audio files and transcripts), journal entries, photographs, focus group discussions (including audio and transcripts), as well as my notes, summaries, memos, and further readings. This way of organizing and labelling data according to some schemes made it easier for me to access any piece of data at any time (Merrium & Tisdell, 2016).

To be more specific, the first step was to organize data generated from the preliminary questionnaire on the Google Forms. I created a word file on my computer and upon receiving the responses from each respondent, I added the information to that file. After making the final decisions and choosing the ten participants who met the criteria, I created ten folders on my computer for the ten participants. Then within each folder, I created sub-folders for the data obtained during the fieldwork (i.e., interviews, journals, photographs), again for each of the ten participants. Organizing data in a tabular form in a word file as well as visualizing them through the graphs generated by the Google Forms, helped me compare and contrast the information in the whole data set and ensured for an increased variety and richness of the data.

Second, the semi-structured interviews were the main sources of data for analysis. I recorded all interviews using a Sony tape recorder primarily, and simultaneously used the voice recorder on my iPhone along with the Quick Time Player on my laptop whenever possible, to ensure both the quality as well as to avoid any unexpected technical issues which could result in missing data. For two participants, however, both interviews were conducted via Skype, on their request, and were also digitally recorded. I followed the same procedure for recording the two focus group discussions. After each interview, I transferred the recordings to the respective folders on my computer, naming them for further transcription and analysis. Then, I added the information about the interviews such as name, date, time, length, location, etc. in front of the name of each participant in a table in MS word. I also named the photos and journals which the participants sent me and included the number of their journal entries and photographs in the table as I received them.

Third, in order to be more consistent and organized I used NVivo11 11 for data analysis, in which I created folders for each participant including all the photographs, journals, and the interview transcripts for data analysis. NVivo helped me both organize and analyze the data in a systematic way. The participants' folders on my computer and the folders on NVivo were linked during the data-gathering and analysis process. Once I had selected the ten participants, I created separate data folders for *Chan Xin, Olive, Anna, Dariush, Martina, José, Aramesh, Mostafa, Ruiyi,* and *Simone.* These data files provided a wealthy amount of information on individual participants, that allowed me to have a clear understanding of their specific language learning trajectories and their lived experiences.

Fourth, I also managed the documents I used as a source of data collection for my research. Since the beginning of my PhD and throughout the data collection period, I collected a variety of articles, books and book chapters, government documents and reports, policy papers, newspaper articles, statistics, and any relevant documents and information about immigration, immigrants, and their language learning and lived experiences in Quebec, Canada, and elsewhere. I used Zotero software to organize these resources. Since Zotero also creates an online image of the same files on one's computer, I was able to access all documents anytime and anywhere as long as I had access to the internet and did not have my computer with me. This ongoing process of data

---

11 **NVivo** is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package produced by QSR International. It has been designed for qualitative researchers working with very rich text-based and/or multimedia information, where deep levels of analysis on small or large volumes of data are required. *Source*: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NVivo

organization and data management helped me adequately prepare my dataset for analysis. I used an external hard disk to back up all data.

Analyzing and Interpreting the Narrative Data

Analyzing data begins from the day data is collected. This means that data collection and analysis are inseparable (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). With this in mind, I began transcribing the interviews, analyzing, and interpreting at the same time throughout the study. This enabled me to embark on the data analysis/interpretation as early as possible looking for the initial themes. I transcribed all the interviews myself and verbatim. I used Quick Time Player to listen to the audio files and transcribed them in a word file. I included the information for each participant such as name, date of interview, and the location of interview at the top of each page. While transcribing, I highlighted the interview questions to make the final document easier to read and review. As I was listening to the recording, I also highlighted different segments that contained content themes and interesting relevant topics while taking notes in track changes. I then copied my notes in a different *notes file,* which I kept during transcribing all interviews. These notes, summaries, and memos created from the participants' data were kept in a file representing the dominant themes. Once I completed transcribing interviews for each participant, I kept reading and re-reading the transcribed file for further analysis and review. I then transferred all the transcribed files to NVivo 11, and classified data by creating nodes. This also helped me verify the initial patterns and themes. Similarly, I read and re-read participants' journals looking for recurring themes and took notes both at the end of each journal and in my notes file. These notes were particularly used in the second interviews in which I asked for further clarification or explanation. From twenty interviews and two focus groups, I transcribed a total of around 155, 000 words; wrote

around 37,000 summaries and notes; analyzed 22,000 words from journal entries and the captions of 38 pictures.

Drawing on Riessman's (2005) *thematic analysis* which emphasizes "the content of a text, *what* is said more than *how* it is said, the *told* rather than the *telling*" (p. 2, emphasis added), the narrative data of present inquiry were analyzed thematically with an interest in "shifts to storytelling as a process of co-construction, where teller and listener create meaning collaboratively" (Riessman, 2005, p. 4). Participants' stories of personal experience were organized around their life world through a set of question and answer exchanges, including paralinguistic features of interaction (Riessman, 2005). To do so, data was analyzed with regards to participants' identities and positionings presented in the process of developing narratives, their self-representations, shaped and structured through their small or big stories in a narrative sequencing (Bamberg, 1997, 2006; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, 2015). The participants of my study took up positions through telling their narratives in a social relationship. These positions were taken as regards their awareness of their rights, status, and duties as immigrants and were constantly changing. In analysing the narrative data, I adopted both a holistic approach looking for verbal cues as encoded in transcriptions, as well as non-verbal and paralinguistic actions, whenever evident. The latter included pause, raising voice, laughter, interruptions, etc.

Initially, I conducted the thematic analysis of the interviews to identify recurrent themes in each set of interviews. In doing a thematic analysis, I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2013) guidelines encompassing six phases of analysis: *familiarizing myself with the data through transcribing of verbal data and reading and re-reading the transcriptions and participants' journals; generating initial codes, searching for themes;*

reviewing themes, defining and naming themes; and producing the final report. Then,

through a narrative sequencing, the themes explored in all data sources (interviews,

journals, pictures, focus group discussions) were compared and analyzed in relation to

each other. This means that the discourse patterns of the initial interview, journals, and

pictures, informed the subsequent interviews and focus group discussions.

Other narrative features analyzed included making links between small to big

stories, topic shifts, affect and emotion, and changes in genres. This allowed me to

explore how participants' identities were re-constructed and re-negotiated in various

contexts through their use of linguistic resources, and how they positioned themselves, as

immigrants, and were positioned by others – the people of the host society and other

immigrants. To do so, I examined the representations and positionings of informants

through their narrative expressions in relation to the chronotope (the time-space scales)

(Bakhtin, 1981; De Fina, 2009). In this sense, the tools and devices that were used to

analyze the data were in line with the concepts of lived experience, identity, investment,

positioning, and plurilingual resources as described in Chapter Three.

Moreover, I hold the view that in a qualitative research "data do not necessarily

speak for themselves," and that through a process the "researcher construes meaning

from research findings" (Firmin, 2008, p. 458). This process is referred to as

interpretation. As a qualitative researcher, I was aware that my own assumptions and

worldviews tended to influence how I came to make meaning of the data acquired from

my research. As Firmin (2008) rightly pointed out, "[n]obody lives in a philosophical or

worldview vacuum; the paradigms that a researcher comes to accept as true tend to colour

the results of his or her research findings" (p. 458). This view is in line with postmodern

thought in a sense that "absolute truth does not exist and the context of a situation determines its meaning" (Firmin, 2008, p. 459).

To interpret the relationships between different types of data and enhance the credibility of the qualitative report, I found Richardson's (1994) notion of data *crystallization* useful. Rooted in the poststructural thought which regards reality as multiple, changing, and socially constructed, crystallization refers to "an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach" (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 963). Metaphorically, the image of the crystal captures multiple facets of individuals' lived experiences. In this respect, data crystallization is preferred to triangulation – which refers to the data collection method using multiple sources of data, multiple investigators, or multiple theories, offering a static image of a reality (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 245). Rather, crystallization "recognizes that reality is multidimensional, deep, and complex and that understanding is necessarily partial," and refers to "the combination of symmetry and substance seen through a series of *multiple refractions*" (Davies, 2008, p. 756, emphasis added). Therefore, instead of saying, to triangulate the data, I prefer to use to crystalize the data (Richardson, 1994).

To sum up, I used multiple tools of inquiry to explore various ways of looking at the data, to arrive at better interpretations and explanations. Using a multimethod design contributed to the research rigour by enabling me to understand better the lived experiences of the participants and the context in which they were being studied.

Ethical Considerations and Credibility

The ethical considerations for the involvement of human participants were evaluated before conducting the research. I fully respected the ethical principles of conducting the study and my responsibilities and obligations to protect the participants'

rights. Following the instructions, guidelines, and policies of McGill Tri-Council Research Ethics Board, I drafted an agreement, outlining the expectations, commitments, obligations, and privacy issues, concerning the involvement of participants in the study. Upon obtaining the ethical approval for conducting the research from the Research Ethics Board Office, the consent form was shared with the prospective candidates who expressed their interest in participating in the first phase of the study by responding to the questionnaire shared via the Google Forms. The participants who were selected for this study were fully informed about the research objectives, design, and procedures. I answered any additional questions they posed by email or phone and provided participants with further information. Participants were at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time without providing any explanations, which would result in the complete removal of their data at any stage, ensuring their anonymity.

Participants were given their data pack for enhancing the quality and credibility of data, as well as for clarification purposes, to avoid any misrepresentations and misconceptions that might have been occurred during the data generation process. As an additional step and through a researcher's reflexivity process, I made sure to have adequate engagement in generating, analyzing, and interpreting the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided the rationale for the research design, methodology, and tools of inquiry in connections to research purposes and questions. I explained why the narrative inquiry proves useful in exploring the trajectories of the ten participants of this study, and why personal narrative research is the right genre to that end. A brief demographics of participants, along with the procedures for data generation, analysis, and

interpretation, were presented, followed by a discussion of the ethical considerations and

credibility. I described various tools of inquiry used in the study: I explained the purpose

for using the semi-structured interviews, journals, photographs, focus groups, and

documents, which resulted in generating enriched data from participants through their

stories of lived experiences. These stories were generated through personal narrative

research and were analyzed and interpreted thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006;

Riessman, 2005).

Chapter Five: Findings & Learnings:
Trajectories of Language and Identity

Chapter Overview

In Chapters Five and Six, I have explored participants' narrative accounts to highlight discursive features on the representations of their language learning, identity and positionings, investment and their perceived challenges. The various data sources (two semi-structured interviews, reflective journals and photographs, and focus group discussions), were analyzed and interpreted within a thematic analysis. In Chapter Five, I present the salient themes assembled through various strategies used to generate data as regards the first two guiding questions. I describe and discuss participants' language learning experiences, their plurilingual practices and perceived real-life obstacles and their experiences of social and professional identity construction in Montreal. The participants' experiences of learning an additional language, and their identities and discourses were represented through multiple ways of perceptions and understandings. The narrative inquiry allowed me to examine the participants' language trajectories and their construction of multiple identities over time (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015). The themes and sub-themes in Chapters Five and Six are organized into four parts: *Part One: Language Learning Experiences in Montreal; Part Two: Identity Negotiations in a Multilingual/Multicultural Milieu; Part Three: Investment in Social and Professional Practices;* and *Part Four: Social and Professional Integration and Obstacles.* At the end of each part, I have presented the narratives of one participant, as a specific *case,* which either gave a more detailed account or because a particular theme had a specific impact on that individual. A detailed description of each participant's demographics is followed by presenting the participant's narratives.

Who are the participants?

Anna

Anna was 35 years old, originally from Romania. She mentioned Romanian and Hungarian as her mother-tongue languages. In the first interview, Anna confirmed that she considered both of those languages as her native languages since she spoke both languages at home. She was from a region in Romania where there was a large minority population of Hungarians. She spoke in Hungarian with her siblings, her mother and grandmother when they all gathered at home. They would talk in Romanian only when her father and grandfather joined them. Anna's additional languages in her plurilingual repertoire included German, Italian, French, English, and basic Spanish. She learned English and German as the two foreign languages in school and learned German from her older brother. She even learned a few words of the Serbian language since the region they lived in was close to the Serbian border. When they were in Romania, Anna and her husband decided to immigrate to and work in a Western European country and ended up living in Italy, where they learned the Italian language. Although they tried hard to settle in, Italy did not turn out to be the place they were hoping to be. They were not able to integrate into that society because they were considered as "outsiders." Also, as a language teacher and computer engineer, Anna and her husband were not able to practise their professions there either. Since they did not want to return to Romania, they considered immigrating to Quebec. In Montreal, Anna obtained a master's degree in language teaching from an English university in the hope of being an English teacher in the public school system. At the time of this study, Anna worked as a part-time ESL instructor at a public school board and was looking for full-time employment. She had studied French before coming to Quebec. She continued studying French in the

francization program. After completing the francization, she continued taking French classes in a language school as part of the *Commission Scolaire de Montréal*. Anna was hoping to pass the Ministry exam, which was a requirement for the ESL teachers who wish to work in the French school boards.

Aramesh

Aramesh, 34, a female of Iranian origin, came to Quebec with a master's degree in Applied Mathematics, and with extensive experience teaching math at colleges and universities in Iran. She described the languages in her linguistic repertoire as Persian (mother tongue), English (average), and French (below average). She started learning French once she settled in Montreal, while also taking English courses to improve her skills in both languages. She immigrated to Quebec in 2013 with her husband, also a university professor in engineering. Aramesh came to Montreal expecting to improve her English and French. She initially thought of Montreal as a bilingual city but then was surprised when she found out that French was dominant in Quebec, and considered the option of moving to another province. She felt alone and lost her confidence at some point in her life as an immigrant. She practised speaking French in social situations such as shopping: "I started my speaking from cosmetic shops because searching about cosmetic stuff was always my interest" (Aramesh, Int. 1).

Chan Xin

Chan Xin was a 34-year-old female from China. Born and raised in China, Chan Xin described her mother tongue as Mandarin. She learned English and Russian as the two foreign languages in China. She started learning English when she was ten years old but was able to use it only at university. She emphasized that learning English is especially important to Chinese students: "that's how I feel… it's more important than

Chinese somehow" (Chan Xin, Int. 1). She later attended a bilingual program, English

and Russian. She described her Russian at that time as intermediate. She was able to

maintain daily conversations with Russian-speaking people and could read short Russian

essays in some magazines. She started to "lose her Russian" since she began to learn

French in the francization program when she started to live in Montreal. She perceived

herself as an intermediate in the French language. With a bachelor's degree in English

literature and a master's in translation theory, she came to Quebec in 2012 to be a

Mandarin teacher. However, she said that she "did not know Montreal is a French-

speaking area." After getting married to a francophone Quebecker, Chan Xin decided to

apply for permanent residency through the skilled-worker category to settle down in

Montreal and pursuing a job as a teacher. She thus enrolled in a master's program in

language teaching at an English university. At the time of the interview, she was

unemployed but described herself as a full-time mother of her one-year-old son.

Dariush

Dariush, a 39-year-old male from Iran, immigrated to Quebec to live and work as a

chemist. He came to Quebec with a bachelor's degree in chemistry and eleven years of

work experience in the industry. At the time of this study, Dariush worked as a Chemical

Laboratory Technician in a company in Montreal. His mother-tongue language was

Turkish, and he spoke Persian, French, and English. He studied both English and French

to the intermediate level in Iran. Once in Montreal, Dariush invested heavily in learning

French by taking francization classes as well as the French courses offered at the

language schools. After completing all the levels of francization, Dariush started learning

English in an adult language center in Montreal. He switched to English as he realized

that investing in learning both English and French languages would open more academic

and professional opportunities. Dariush immigrated to Canada because he was looking for a "stable" life in the new country. He knew that in Quebec he needed French and thus for him learning French was the main priority, thus "one of the most important things [he] decided to do after coming [to] Quebec." His second goal was "to be a member of the Ordre des chimistes du Québec" so that he would be eligible to work as a professional chemist in the Quebec province.

José

A 34-year-old male from Brazil, José completed his master's degrees in Science in Brazil. As a native speaker of Portuguese, he learned Spanish as a second language. In Brazil, he learned English to the intermediate level with "good writing skills and reasonably good speaking skills." Before coming to Quebec, his French was basic. José immigrated to Quebec as a Ph.D. student, and it was towards the end of his studies that he decided to apply for a permanent residency and stay on in Quebec. He gave two main reasons for this decision: first, as a researcher, he received more support and "research incentives" in Canada than in Brazil. While he had the option of going to other countries, he preferred to stay in Canada: "I really enjoyed the Quebec environment here so that's why I started to really settle here" (José, Int. 1). The second reason was that he wanted to stay with his partner – an anglophone Quebecker. As part of the Ph.D. admission requirements, he needed to study hard for the TOEFL exam, which helped him further develop his English language skills. Unlike English, he had learned Spanish faster and easier because of its closeness to Portuguese. At the time of this study, José had completed his Ph.D. in Biochemistry and was doing a post-doctorate at one of Montreal's hospital. He was living with his partner, and they mainly spoke in English and from time to time exchanged a few words in French.

Martina

Martina was 36 years old from Austria. At the time of this study, she had been in Montreal for around ten years. She came to Quebec as a Ph.D. student in Linguistics at an English university. However, she dropped out after a few years for personal reasons. She then applied for permanent residency under the category of the Quebec-selected Skilled Worker program while looking for a job. She eventually found a career as a project officer at the same university. Martina described herself as a white native speaker of German, an advanced speaker of English, and high-intermediate in French. Martina learned some English and French while she was in high school in Austria, some was self-taught and some with the help of tutors. Once settled in Quebec, Martina took both the online and onsite francization courses. Even after completing the highest levels, she felt that she was not ready to communicate with the French speakers. She felt that she needed to take more courses in the francization program: "I still can't have a conversation with strangers, but there are no further courses to take," she said in her first interview.

Mostafa

Mostafa was a 34-year-old from Iran, who immigrated to Quebec with his wife in 2014. He received a first bachelor's degrees from Tehran University of Iran, and a second bachelor's and a master's degree from the Purdue University of Indiana, US. At the time of this inquiry, he was completing a Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering at an English university in Montreal. As a native speaker of Turkish (Azeri), Mostafa did all his schooling in Persian, the official language of Iran, up to the university. He learned some English and Arabic in primary and secondary schools. He further improved his language skills in English by taking classes in private language schools. After receiving his bachelor's degree, his parents decided to send him to the US so that he could pursue his

studies abroad. After completing his master's degree at Purdue University, he decided to immigrate to Quebec with his wife to work, and also to pursue a doctoral degree in his field. Once in Montreal, he realized the importance of French for the Quebec job market, and thus started to take some French classes while doing his doctoral studies. His decision to stay on or leave Quebec largely depended on whether he could find a job or not.

Olive

A 30-year-old language teacher originally from Australia, Olive was a native speaker of English (and the only non-allophone participant of this study). She described German, French, and Spanish as her additional languages. She completed a master's degree in language education at an English university and, at the time of this study, was holding a position as an ESL instructor at a *cegep* in Montreal. Before coming to Montreal, she had worked for four years in retail and library. She started learning French once she arrived in Quebec and described her French language proficiency as average in the initial questionnaire. Back home, she had learned German as the second language in high school to the advanced level and later majored in the German language. She also learned some Spanish and went on an exchange program for a year in Spain to further improve her Spanish language skills. In Quebec, her initial immigration status did not allow her to attend the francization program. She "was thus forced to spend a lot of time in self-directed learning," through reading the newspaper and talking with her partner – an anglophone Quebecker.

Ruiyi

Ruiyi, 29 years old, originally from China, came to Quebec in 2013, to study and work as an accountant. She came with the expectation that a Canadian degree would

make her eligible to work as an accountant, and thus completed a diploma in accounting at an English university. During the summer of 2014, she started learning French and completed all levels of the French language. At the time of this research, Ruiyi had completed both English and French courses at an English university, as well as an accounting program at the same university, while working part-time in a small company as a bookkeeper. She had planned to continue her studies and join the CPA (Certified Public Accountant). As a native speaker of Mandarin, she learned some English in China and continued learning English and French once she came to Montreal. She initially thought of Montreal as a "bilingual city" where "English would be enough." She later realized that she needed to learn French and started to take formal French classes after two years of being in Montreal. Similar to other well-educated immigrants, Ruiyi came to Quebec, while exploring the city during the early months, and finally decided that she wanted to settle in by applying for permanent residency.

Simone

Simone was 34 years old from Brazil. Having completed a master's degree in Regional and Urban Planning, she worked as a course lecturer for several years in Brazil. Simone decided to immigrate to Quebec through an immigration agreement made between Quebec and Brazil during 2008-2012. She then decided to take some French courses in Brazil. She immigrated to Quebec in 2010 as a teacher of Geography, expecting to pursue the same profession in Quebec. She was pregnant when she arrived in Montreal and thus had to stay at home for almost eight months. At the time of this study, she was living as a single parent with her two children. After that, she went to the francization program for seven months while trying to find a job. She did not find the job she was looking for and decided to apply for a master's program at a French university.

After receiving *two* master's degrees from a French university, she was finally offered an internship and then a full-time job. She had to choose between doing a Ph.D. or obtaining another master's degree. She chose the second option due to "the difficulty of getting employed as a Ph.D." At the time of this study, she was finishing her second master's degree (at the same French university). As a native speaker of Portuguese, she learned some French in Brazil but did not know any English when she arrived in Montreal. While she was looking for a job, she realized that she needed to be bilingual (French-English), if she wanted to find better career opportunities.

Part One: Language Learning Experiences in Montreal

"After learning French, the city seems to be more interesting… I've been fitting in better" (Ruiyi).

   Insufficient francization. In Quebec, many newcomers attend the francization program to learn the French language. Offered by the Quebec government, francization provides the French language courses to ensure that immigrants learn and adopt the French language in public spheres to have a *better life* in Quebec (Pagé & Lamarre, 2010). Therefore, for many immigrants to Quebec, the francization program is the first step towards investing in the learning of French. The publicly funded francization courses are provided to facilitate adult immigrants' social and professional capabilities of working in a French-dominated workplace environment. Studies, however, show that investing in learning French is not enough to enter Montreal's labour market. Rather, many employers are looking for bilingual French-English employees (Lamarre, 2013; Pagé & Lamarre, 2010; Paquet & Levasseur, 2018). As Lamarre (2013) puts it, "despite the considerable success of language legislation, Montréal's workplace remains one where French-English bilingualism is of high value" (p. 41).

Seven out of ten participants of my study (all allophone) attended the francization program to learn French and improve their linguistic skills in preparation for social life and gain access to the workplace communities in Montreal. While some participants recounted positive experiences in the francization program, others expressed dismay and doubt over their trajectories for a variety of reasons. Dariush, for example, acknowledged the usefulness of the French courses in the program and recommended the francization classes to anyone who intends to learn French in Quebec. Though he expressed dissatisfaction with the intensive and tedious nature of the courses, he emphasized that the program is useful because immigrants can learn French faster and in a shorter period of time: "we were in the courses for 8 hours [daily] and we were bombarded and a lot of listening and our brain started to learn something," said Dariush in the first interview. Unlike Dariush, Simone's experience in the program was not positive. Her initial expectation was that the francization program "would open the door to the job market" and would help her integrate faster. She felt frustrated every morning when she wanted to go to class. She felt that she was "treated like children in a primary school" and added that "what was meant to be serious and enriching became a burden, since classes and activities were not adapted to the reality of professional adults… we were forced to dance and sing children's songs" (Simone, Journal #3).

The participants of this inquiry who attended the francization courses expressed dissatisfaction about the claims made by the program. They felt that they were not ready to get into the labour market even after completing all the levels of the French language offered by the program. Martina, Anna, and Simone recounted their job application trajectories to argue that their level of the French language was judged to be unsatisfactory. As well-educated immigrants, they were particularly vocal in their

criticism of the francization program, arguing that the reality of the program was not in line with their prior expectations. As skilled immigrants, they were hoping to learn the social and professional skills which would prepare them for the labour market as well as a smoother process of integration. Some of them, instead, became discouraged at their formal language learning experiences.

As an example, Simone was confident about her French after completing all the courses in the program yet felt frustrated because the employers told her that her French language proficiency was insufficient even for the entry-level positions – even "not enough to communicate to a client." She faced further challenges as a pregnant immigrant and later as a mother. Her dissatisfaction can be explained by the contradictory information that she had received about the Quebec labour market before immigration: she was told that French was the sole requirement for living and working in Quebec. Therefore, she started to learn French in Brazil, and once in Quebec, she made a significant investment in learning French. Looking for a job in the Quebec labour market, she realized that in her field of study, geometrics, the employers would have preferred the applicants who were French-English bilinguals. That made her learn English. This was the case for several other participants such as Dariush, Aramesh, Martina, and Ruiyi.

According to Pagé and Lamarre (2010), immigrants who learn French even before their arrival in Quebec would still face significant delays entering the workplace communities. Capitalizing on the French-English bilingualism, participants developed a plurilingual repertoire of French, English, plus other languages that they knew. Participants expressed the need for more French courses in the francization program, particularly more writing classes at the advanced levels, that would prepare them for the professional workplace settings. Dariush, who also completed all the courses in the

francization program, argued that francization was not enough to help him get into the job market "because in these courses just they work on speaking and listening." In real-life situations, however, several jobs which he applied for also required a decent level of writing skill. While it sounded like participants were aware of the amount of time it took to learn an additional language, they wished they could take more advanced courses in the francization program. Language learning is a longish process and learners need time to gain mastery. Also, while it is true that language skills can be developed on the job, it is understandable that employers do not want to hire someone with low language skills.

The theme of *insufficient francization*, therefore, emerged for most of the participants. To compensate for this insufficiency, many participants attended private language schools and cultural/community centers to improve their French language skills. As Anna indicated, francization is "not enough to prepare you for the work... The reason they are doing level 3 is to be able to have a basic conversation in French but not to be able to fully function in French for work" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 23). Similar to Simone, Dariush, Chan Xin, and Martina, Anna completed all the levels of the francization program. She argued that there should be a stricter evaluation of the French language proficiency by the government for future immigrants:

> Maybe raise the bar to the applicant's knowledge of French because if it's their interest to have better a proficiency in French before they get here, rather than come here and hit the wall and realize that, oh it's not English, I have to learn French (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 24)

What Anna suggested in her accounts above would in fact reduce the number of immigrants entering the province. It would, however, make it possible for elite immigrants who can afford to learn French to a high level before coming to Quebec.

To sum up, most participants indicated an awareness of the demanding French requirement in the Quebec job market. They developed a plurilingual repertoire (including English and French) by investing in learning both French and English. While participants appreciated the fact that they were learning French in the intensive francization program, which they considered important, they were still hesitant to acknowledge the effectiveness of the program due to the inadequate language that could immediately prepare them for the labour market. The need for bilingual French-English to enter the Quebec labour market came up in their narratives. They expected to quickly master French and get jobs, which did not happen in most cases. Drawing on my own experience in the francization program, I was able to look into my participants' experiences from the *emic* perspective, realizing that their expectations were sometimes unrealistic. In other words, they did not consider the time factor and the reality of how long it takes to learn an additional language not just to communicate orally but master professional language for interactions and writing.

Comparing learning experiences in the home and receiving countries. To learn about the language experiences of participants, I asked them how they perceived plurilingualism (I used the word multilingualism for easiness). I also asked them about their experiences of learning English and French and the impact of those experiences on their social and professional trajectories. Several participants compared the experience of L2 learning in their home countries, or elsewhere, with the one in the receiving country, making it a base for their discussions on their language learning trajectories.

Chan Xin, for example, perceived plurilingualism as a *privilege* and an *asset*. Comparing plurilingualism in two different contexts, Chan Xin made an argument that it was perceived differently in China and Canada. She felt that in China, she had "a super

advantage in finding a job" because she was able to speak more than two languages

(Mandarin, Russian, English). That would also offer her more advantages in gaining

employment or promotion. In Montreal, however, she found that most people already

speak two languages (English and French). Thus, she realized that speaking "another

minority language" provided her with additional benefits:

> We can talk about people who stand around us in Chinese and it's not only is an asset [when] you're finding jobs and also I find this is… how can I say it? Sometimes I feel there's something know how to say it in my own language, in my mother tongue to express the feeling. There's no way I can… and sometimes even though English or French is not my mother tongue. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 3)

Chan Xin felt empowered by the ability to use Mandarin with her Chinese friends

in situations where people "standing around" them could not understand. Also, in certain

situations, she could only think of a word in other languages, except her mother-tongue

language:

> For example, when I swear, I never automatically swear in Mandarin because I was forbidden. It's forbidden in China for girls, especially, girls to swear, so when I want to say something to say express my angers I always use English or French [laughter] (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 4)

In her communicative repertoire, Mandarin was not associated with swearing, but

with her additional languages (English and French).

Several participants appreciated the fact that they were developing a plurilingual

repertoire. For Ruiyi, the ability to learn multiple languages was a new *interest* she had

found. Her next goal was to learn Spanish because she had realized that learning French

offered her more career opportunities and a feeling of involvement in and attachment to

the new society. She associated learning French with having *a better life*, "to be more

involved" and to get "a better job." She continually travels between the two contexts in

which she experienced learning an additional language, referring to her past experiences

and her present circumstances. Her point of view on her language practices is thus *chronotopic* and includes both the spatial and temporal aspects (Bakhtin, 1986; Blommaert, 2015). Moreover, learning additional languages made some participants think about their mother-tongue language and the difficulty of learning it (e.g., Ruiyi, Aramesh, Dariush, José). Ruiyi, as an example, argued that although Mandarin is "harder" to learn than French and English, one can find non-Chinese who "speak the exceptional level of Mandarin":

> In French, they say that if you do not understand anything, they will say *tu parle chinoise?* (You're saying it in Chinese). But it's not that hard. As long as you put an effort. You have interest in that, but interest is very important. If you don't like it then, you don't have motivation to do it. (Ruiyi, Int. 1, Excerpt 18)

In the narratives above, Ruiyi compared her experience of learning a second language with other people's experience of learning Chinese. She became motivated and interested in learning foreign languages and felt that she was improving quickly: "In China, we thought like learning a foreign language is impossible. You never have a conversation with a native speaker. You will never express yourself freely" (Ruiyi, Int. 1, Excerpt 17). After learning English and French, Ruiyi found a part-time job in which she used both English and French with the clients. She associated her success with having high self-motivation because learning an additional language is not easy: "If you consider them as a study or as a course to finish or as an exam to pass, then it would be a burden for you."

A significant theme that emerged from the accounts of several participants was a discussion on the comparison of their learning experiences in their home countries and the receiving country. Participants reported contradictory feelings revealing the dissimilarity between the two settings: the country of origin and the adopted country.

Concerning language learning, some participants expressed their satisfaction with learning an additional language in a different setting in the receiving country. Others, however, encountered severe challenges mainly because of their unsuccessful efforts to understand the expectations of a different learning context, and thereby found it challenging to align themselves with the new pedagogical strategies and styles. In recounting participants' learning experiences, the setting of education system proved to be essential. For most participants, their constant comparison between the learning environments of the home country and the new country set up the base for a majority of emergent themes in their subsequent narratives.

As an example, Ruiyi and Chan Xin had learned English in China in a system which used a traditional method of language teaching (the audio-lingual and grammar-translation methods), emphasizing rote-learning, memorization, grammar focus, and a variety of drills such as chain, repetition, and transformation. Ruiyi argued that even after studying English for many years in the Chinese education system, she was "not able to make conversation with someone." In Canada, however, both Ruiyi and Chan Xin felt *impressed* by being exposed to the communicative approaches to language teaching and learning, which promote effective communication, meaning-making strategies, and language functions. Ruiyi was impressed because she did not think "that language can be learned so fast." As another point of comparison, she discussed the teaching and learning styles and expectations in the two education systems. In China, she never "did a presentation" in class and rarely asked questions. As a result, Ruiyi argued that in such systems, students "become lazy" because they "never think" or "never try to find something different, try to ask questions."

Coming from a Chinese Confucian ideology of education, Ruiyi and Chan Xin felt

that the learning styles and teacher/student expectations were different in the two

contexts. In their experience of studying in the Confucianism ideology students "just sit

there and listen" and that giving opinions is not appreciated as "there is no point to give

an opinion." Ruiyi did not acknowledge that dominant ideology and appreciated the

effectiveness of the learning process in the Canadian education system where learners

"try to ask questions":

> So when I first got here I went to the English program, I see that foreign students always have questions and I was always questioning myself why I didn't have questions. I can't accept that. Everyone else could do that but I couldn't. So I can't accept that. So trying to figure out what I should do and try to think. (Ruiyi, Int. 1, Excerpt 5)

Ruiyi began "questioning" herself why she acted differently from other learners.

She realized that "it was hard because [she] was already used to the lazy method of

learning to sit there and only listen." Realizing that her old learning style was not helpful

in the new learning context, she tried to change her mindset as well as her "whole

learning skills through watching other people and how they engage in the learning

process." She realized that what she had acquired in one learning context did not

contribute to the other learning and teaching culture: "Therefore, I decided to work on it.

My theory is, not everything has a return or goes to the direction that you expected, but

study [ing] is definitely one of it," noted Ruiyi in the first interview.

Another example was Aramesh, whose experience of learning French in the formal

education system, unlike Ruiyi, was not positive overall. Due to inappropriate placement,

she had to attend a higher level language class: "I remember that almost all students

already knew the French and I was placed in [an] unfair situation," lamented Aramesh in

the first interview. Discouraged by the perceived "unfair situation," she struggled to catch

up with other students: "I remember in the first session the teacher said "Page 1" (in French), [and] I really did not know that what's "page"…" (Aramesh, Int. 1, Excerpt 3). She experienced difficulty attending her French class and had difficulty understanding simple instructions from the teacher.

Some participants also argued that the placement test they had to take at the beginning of their classes did not necessarily result in the distinction between high-and low-level learners within that school. Rather, they felt that the school gave priority to a desirable number of students in each class without considering their levels or backgrounds. Aramesh ended up changing her language school as she was not able to meet the requirements of her level of language learning. She was highly dependent on the teacher in the learning process. Comparing the education system between Quebec and Iran, Aramesh expressed a sense of dissatisfaction about the teaching style and how teachers view immigrants in Quebec: "I think some teachers cannot accept all of the immigrants. For example, the American person is more important than the Iranian person" (Aramesh, Int. 1, Excerpt 3). She felt there was a racial issue underlying how students were selected.

Participants also discussed how multi/plurilingualism is perceived in their home countries or in other countries they had lived in and how their perceptions and others' perceptions of plurilingualism were connected to one's social and professional identity. Anna, for example, recounted her prior experience of immigration to Western Europe where "Western Europeans are not as open to immigrants as they are in Quebec or Canada." She explained why she felt integrated in Canada compared to her status in Western Europe:

> In Italy… I went to Human resources of a company. On my CV I wrote I speak English, Romanian, German, Italian, and Hungarian. And they wouldn't believe me that I could speak these languages and also be able to work on the computer…Whereas when you come here [Canada] and you write these things on your CV, they say okay *if you wrote it that means you can do it*. (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 13)

Anna compared her professional identity and perceptions of her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) (including the linguistic capital) in two different contexts. She expressed a sense of sadness about her perceived identity in Western Europe due to her Romanian background; whereas in Canada, she felt at home and envisaged being an English teacher.

To sum up, despite experiencing difficulties in language learning, most participants had an awareness of the importance of learning French in Quebec and kept on improving their French skills through informal ways of learning and attending other language schools. For others, a lack of self-confidence in learning French came from their negative experience of learning a second language in their home countries. For example, in the case of Aramesh and Dariush, their ongoing comparisons between the two education systems were evident throughout their narratives of learning a second language; both were dependent on the teacher in the formal learning process.

Language anxiety and language insecurity. The participants of this inquiry employed high-level strategies in learning French and English. Indicating a growing awareness of various learning strategies, they described significant obstacles they had encountered in their language learning process through their narratives. José, for instance, purposefully put himself in challenging situations such as reading "a whole book in French." This way, he said that his understanding of a page of a book in French increased from fifty to ninety percent, and that is how he built up his vocabulary:

So for this strategy that I did, at the beginning I took very low level French books and I would go with pages and I would start making notes what the words would mean. That was one of the strategies. The building of the vocabulary and conjugation of verbs, that came out of repetition (José, Int. 1, Excerpt 8)

Reading a whole book or putting oneself in *hard situations* are not common strategies among language learners in the early phases of learning. José's motivation to learn French generated from two sources: first, he wished to achieve *better integration* in Quebec, and second, he wanted to find more career opportunities. In this study, the primary *driving force* behind participants' investment in learning French was to have better career opportunities. In José's case, a sense of belonging to the society also came to the fore later, where learning French "became an asset in multiple aspects." After learning French, he felt that "it was much easier for [him] to fully integrate into the society, to be fully accepted." In other words, learning French in Quebec was seen as an asset for constructing both professional and social identities. Transferring learning strategies from his mother-tongue language to studying L2, José used the conjugation methods in Portuguese for learning French: "so I kind of ended up using the same strategy... It was like conjugation verb by verb and time by time...." José used the same strategy for learning *imparfait* in the French grammar.
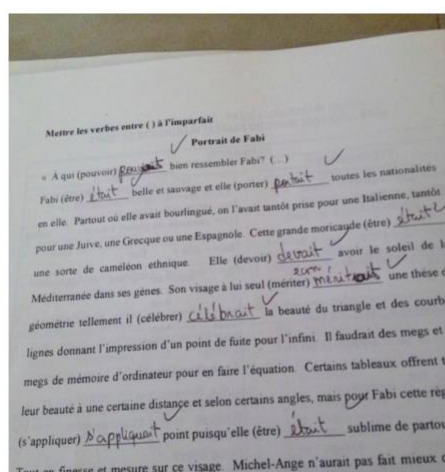
"In Portuguese verbs is a pain in the neck. Conjugation is just a mess. Ah, when I was in sixth grade, we were studying all the conjugations all the time that I remember that we would had you know almost bruises in our head. So much writings, the teacher would be writing those conjugations every single day to be learned. And like you know I hate that moment for a while but at the end it worked, you know, so I kind of ended up using the same strategy that she did. It was like conjugation verb by verb and time by time…going…going... going. and that was a time I would say okay I think I could handle… if someone asks me… I could handle what would be the conjugation. And that was one of the cases with imparfait, right, which is one of the first time I was able to actually to master to read well" (José, Interview #2).

Figure 5.1. Learning imparfait (José)

As for English, José received much support from his academic community, particularly from his supervisor and his colleagues: "my supervisor helped me a lot. Because she put me to present a lot. I was very nervous at first and after that I was more comfortable and confident about it, building up more vocabulary and that's how it went." Compared to French, José had more opportunities to improve his skills in English. Reading extensively and watching TV shows were the other two strategies that he used for improving his English, first with subtitle in Portuguese and then in English:

> After that I built up the skills that I was fine to listen to English movies, not everything but almost ninety five percent of it. So with eight years of experience living here I got to a level when even a person speaks with a different accent I got to understand it. (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 23).

He also described his self-assessment by the easiness of understanding different English speakers with different accents. As some of the participants of this study, José used technology for language learning, including mobile apps and websites:

"Duolingo, that's a quite interesting tool for you to learn French specially when you don't have much time like you spend fifteen twenty minutes a day and at least learn something enough to start a conversation" (José, Interview #1).
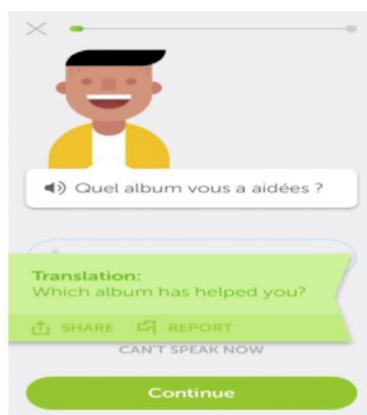
Figure 5.2. Duolingo (by José)

Moreover, several participants first experienced speaking French in cafés or restaurants, where they spent lots of time in their early months and years of arrival in Montreal. In the following extract, Olive, for example, described her initial experience of practicing French:

I didn't speak any French at all when I first arrived in Montreal. I had studied Spanish and German at a fairly high level, but beyond a couple of phrases from *Moulin Rouge* I really didn't have a lick of French. But I was pretty determined… I don't like being seen as an outsider! Whenever I have travelled (which has often been to countries where I spoke the language), my ultimate challenge was always blending in with the locals. So I started working on my French pretty quickly. This involved carrying around a pocket dictionary and rehearsing phrases before I went into a store (this is a practice I still use, especially before complicated phone calls or important meetings). I would repeat a phrase over and over again in my head, hoping that the words would come out with a semblance of proper pronunciation. (Olive, Interview 1, Excerpt 2)

In the first interview, Olive noted that "ordering coffee was the first thing [she] did in French, that was the first successful interaction that [she] could have." While Olive perceived it as "a successful interaction" with the baristas, "sometimes they mixed up [her] order," yet she was pleased because she succeeded in maintaining a conversation in French and had the guts to initiate a conversation with the French speakers. For the two individual interviews with Olive, I met her at the same café where she used to go. We talked about her experiences while sitting on the benches outside the café in the hot summer days of Montreal.
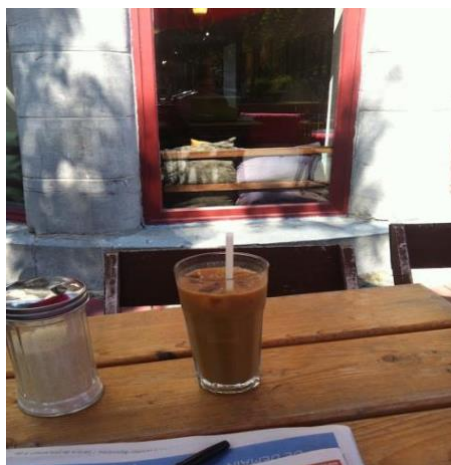
"I started small. First, I would go in and ask for "*un café, s'il vous plait*" in the most confident voice I could muster. Unfortunately, that was met with a lot of different additional questions. Filter coffee or espresso? Cream, milk, or sugar? Small or large?
I soon realized that if I asked for a latté I could forgo at least a few of those confusing follow ups. After a week or so of that and as the summer heat settled over Montreal I even discovered that I could now try asking for a latté glacé. So far so good, until a shot of espresso was laid out in front of me. I still don't know how I garbled the pronunciation so badly, but I was so embarrassed by my clear lack of ability at speaking French that I choked down the espresso and hurried away. The only option I could conceive of was that I had said the wrong thing, it wasn't possible that the barista had maybe made a mistake…" (Olive, Interview #1).

Figure 5.3. Café (by Olive)

Responding to the question about her investment in learning French, Olive told the stories of communicating with people at a dog park where she used to go with her dog:

R: Do you use both English and French there?
OLIVE: Yeah, and there are actually several people that are regulars, like, I recognize and see them a lot that are very bilingual that within a conversation they switch back and forth and, like, I've done that too, like it's kind of nice, because I know that they speak both like, I try to speak French as much as I can but if I switch to English for some words no one cares and because it's generally the mixed… so the Plateau12 is more French but they still have a decent amount of English people. So it's like no one cares really so no one bat an eyelid…

"So here I was, walking around the neighbourhood and speaking to my dog in French. People would be forgiven for assuming that I could speak French! But if they tried to start a conversation with me, I stumbled. Nevertheless, having the ability to use French in a functional way (even if it was just with my dog) gave me a certain amount of confidence that I could indeed use this language and have it work! When I said a certain word, it had the desired effect. It was my first proper experience of feeling like a competent French user (as long as nobody tried to engage me in conversation). As my French ability has progressed, so too have my interactions with other dog owners. Yet I still sometimes look over at the groups of other owners and feel sad. I see a lot of them developing friendships and hanging out together and although I engage with friendly chit-chat with many people, my lack of "personality" in French makes it hard for me to feel confident enough to move much beyond that. And sometimes, for a bit of "relief" I purposefully go to the dog park that I know is frequented by more Anglophone users. I prefer the park for my dogs anyway, but a small part of me also knows that sometimes I just want to not worry about my ability to hold a conversation. Or I want to just strike up a chat with someone new. I feel a bit guilty about this, almost like it is my duty as a new Quebecer to use my French [with] everyone and improve it at every opportunity. La culpabilité des Anglophones" (Olive, Interview #1).

Figure 5.4. La culpabilité des anglophones (by Olive)

Olive was looking for more opportunities to practice French. She felt safe at the dog park since she could easily switch to English if she encountered a barrier in her French communication skills. The theme of *language anxiety* or *language insecurity* (Gagnon & Dion, 2018; Vézina, 2009) emerged as a major source for some participants' identity work. Language insecurity or anxiety is a negative emotional reaction (Vézina, 2009). It refers to a feeling of uneasiness that occurs because of a learner's perceptions of a mismatch between his or her language capabilities and the norms of the linguistic community s/he wishes to join. In this sense, participants indicated that they experienced

---

12 A borough of the city of Montreal.

a *linguistically safe space* in their places of residence in Montreal, where most people are bilingual.

Moreover, almost all participants had a high level of motivation to learn and improve their linguistic skills through learning and practicing English and French, and blend in as much as they could. For participants, learning the language of the speakers of the new society was a strong marker of displaying a sense of attachment and belonging to that society. As for the French language, participants seized various opportunities to learn and practice the language in social and workplace environments. Ruiyi, for instance, was noticeably excited that she had learned French and found that "the city seems to be more interesting, and [she has] been fitting in better" (Ruiyi, Journal #2). She was able to read the ads in French and did not need "to be afraid anymore," which referred to her initial experience of panic due to her inability to understand French.

Further, some participants notched up success in their social interactions by being "fairly bold about asking people to continue in French," as stated by Olive; she used this strategy whenever the French speakers switched to English, by interrupting them and saying, "I'm trying to practice." Therefore, Olive would keep talking in French and wait for them to switch back: "and they mostly do if you're kind of insistent about it." Olive invested in learning French by asking people to speak French with her when they were trying to switch to English. Her being "fairly bold about" this reveals that she was quite determined and committed to taking advantage of the opportunities and resources (Norton, 2013). Not all immigrants can take similar strategies, and, in fact, many would hold back or continue to speak in English.

Like Olive, Ruiyi regarded being sociable and extrovert as a decisive factor in learning a language. For her, the high desire to initiate a conversation with strangers was

a strong marker for improving her language skills: "I'm a "*bavard*." Like people who

likes to talk a lot." Using the French word "bavard," Ruiyi argued how being *talkative*

was an effective strategy in her language learning process:

> I read a book named "Outliers" by Malcolm Gladwell, and the idea encouraged me and inspired me a lot. Disadvantages could give positive outcomes, as long as you know exactly what you want, where you are going, have a good attitude, never give up on yourself, and work hard on it. (Ruiyi, Journal #2)

Inspired by the book she had read, Ruiyi started to read newspapers, Metro, 24h

and tried to work more on improving her language skills. Once a week after her language

class, she met the native French speakers who helped her practice the language. With all

the methods combined, she received her certificate of completion in the French language

with good marks. She also used mobile applications and social media for language

practices. She notably used HelloTalk to practice French, found a partner in an online

linguistically exchange program, as well as joined the Facebook pages and groups to have

more opportunities to practice the language (e.g., Meet-up groups and MundoLingo).

As stated earlier, the main reason for learning French for many participants of this

inquiry was to access better career opportunities. Chan Xin, for example, felt that she had

"no choice" but learning French quickly as she would secure a job only in the French

schools. She was happy though because it helped her learn French in a short, intensive

period: "I feel the first year I came here, my French was from zero to – now, how can I

put it? I can get around with my French within one year. That's a big improvement I

made within one year" (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 2). Using positive self-talk and positive

self-image (Oxford, 2016), Chan Xin expressed her satisfaction with her French learning

process. Because of her work in the French school, Chan Xin had to learn French to

communicate with her colleagues and students. She attended an adult education center to

get more practice in French: "So I had two months full-time from 8 to 4 and then I just had time to either have four hours every day or even two hours every day, a little bit here and there" (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 2).

Chan Xin displayed a sense of self-appreciation for her endeavours to learn French. However, her learning came to a halt because her job commitments left little time for her to continue learning French. She invested in learning French through the francization program and completed all levels (level one to six), through her French interactions at work, and occasional conversions with her husband. As a further investment in learning French, Chan Xin decided to go on a French-Mandarin linguistic exchange once a week for two years: "I did a linguistic exchange with an old monsieur...That's the only person I always use French with [laughter]" (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 5). She regarded her experience of the linguistic exchange as positive and helpful but had to stop it because of the heavy workload.

Small story #1: Meeting Mario
I met Mario in 2012 winter, about 5 months later after I arrived in Montreal. He always loved Chinese culture and language. Finally, he started to learn Mandarin when he was retired (so I guess he is about 65 years old). After my roommate went back to China, Mario and I became linguistic partners. We met each other once a week. We tried to do one-hour French, and then one-hour Mandarin. Since he was still at the very beginning of his Mandarin learning, we were mainly communicating in French. When it was time for practicing French, we were just chatting in French. When I was lack in the French words, he always encouraged me to say it in another way, and then he would tell me what was the word I was looking for. Actually, he is bilingual too, and he worked in English speaking areas a lot. But he is an "*Indépendantiste*" who strongly believes that Quebec should be a country itself and immigrants to Quebec should at least make the effort to learn Quebec French. Once when we talked about "the Montreal switch," he said he disagreed with this, because it is like people ask immigrants to speak French, but at the same time, local Quebecers don't insist on talking to them in French. Speaking to "the Montreal switch," sometimes it is confusing. I remember one funny experience. Once I needed to go to a school on West Island by bus. After getting off the bus, I had to ask a passenger for directions. I started in English, because back then my French was still very raw, and I heard most people on West Island are Anglophones. So, I said "excuse me." The lady said "*parle moi en francais*," and she didn't look happy… Anyway, it seems that she didn't know the school I was looking for. Therefore, I kept walking and saw another lady. This time I started in French "*excusez moi*," but this time the lady I asked said "speak English"...Well, what can I say? It was not my best day I guess.

As it is evident in the small story above, Chan Xin engaged in a linguistic exchange with a partner who wanted to learn Mandarin in return. Doing this, Chan Xin learned more about the political issues in Quebec like how the separatist Quebeckers think and how they view the immigrants. The second part of her accounts, the Montreal switch, reveals that it is not easy to navigate language choice with strangers in Montreal. It also shows the complexities of using language learning strategies (to initiate a conversation in L2 in this case), in real-life situations with complex language dynamics. I asked Chan Xin to explain further what she thought of Mario's ideas:

> Well, first I think the Quebec independence does not mean that they see immigrants as outsiders. Because they see Quebec is Quebec, but what is Quebec? Quebec is also being contributed by so many immigrants, right? So I don't think independentist see immigrants as outsiders. And I feel one thing I really appreciate is that he [Mario] thinks most people, like the Montreal switch thing, they see immigrants like you have difficulty speaking French so they automatically switch the conversation into English. He [Mario] feels it is not a wise thing, because in one hand you ask all immigrants to speak French but on the other hand you are the one who are switching to English. He always tells me this [Quebec] should be our country but he keeps talking to me about the switch you know. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 18)

Chan Xin discussed how "Quebec independence" does not "see immigrants as outsiders." Her linguistic partner also showed his constant concern about the French speakers' switch to English when speaking with immigrants – an issue which was also raised in the data of other participants.

In short, the participants of this study were positioned in relation to their linguistic and cultural backgrounds and in their social interactions. They constantly strove to access resources and opportunities in the new society and engaged in juxtaposed practices of seeking opportunities to learn and use the language, while also facing language barriers.

The real-life obstacles. As elaborated in Chapter Two, Montreal is markedly different from the rest of Quebec due to its dynamic bi/multilingual language practices

and multiethnic neighbourhoods. Downtown Montreal is known to be a place with English-French bilingualism, along with the ever-increasing presence of languages other than French and English (Oakes & Warren, 2007). In the city of Montreal, English and French are widely used in many commercial and residential areas, where one can still function solely in English depending on one's place of residence (e.g., NDG, Plateau, West Island). This, however, poses further problems for French language learners who wish to practice their French through interacting with the French speakers in different social spheres and beyond the formal language classes.

A widely reported communication barrier among immigrants in Montreal is the language switch (known as the *Montreal switch*). Here, the francophones who also know English use English with the French learners when they realize (or rather presume) that they are not able to speak French fluently. While participants reported the Montreal switch to be a barrier, they were not taken aback by that. Instead, they looked for other opportunities and resources to practice. Anna, for instance, found a solution and decided to get out of the town to take more opportunities to practice her French: "once you get out of Montreal you can't speak English anymore, it's French" (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 5). Her experience revealed that the farther you are away from the city, the more you hear French and at the same time broken English. Unlike Montreal, the suburban areas offer more opportunities to practice the French language. Therefore, "you'd better speak a little bit of French, so that's why I associate getting out in the nature in Quebec with speaking French." And since there is no or less switch to English from both sides, you could have "nice conversations with people in French" (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 6).

She appreciated that opportunity and argued that one "can get away with speaking only in English" in an English-dominated part of Montreal such as NDG13, where one could experience being in an *English bubble*:

> Because the ten years that I am living in Montreal I can get away with speaking only in English, living in NDG, and I rarely use French for my day-to-day shopping or whatever. Even if you would go to the bank or pharmacy… I could even speak Romanian, because there are so many Romanians working in those jobs. So I was in my English bubble in NDG. (Anna, Journal #1)

It emerged that Anna felt frustrated as she "wasn't having high enough level to comfortably speaking in French." She was "having a hard time" and "was being hard on [her]self" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 7). Her discussion of "being hard on herself" and consistently "comparing" herself to others presents a plausible argument.

Highly educated individuals often have high expectations of themselves when it comes to changing competitive circumstances such as language learning. Realizing this, those participants (seven out of ten) who completed all the levels of francization decided to take more French classes at other language schools or community centers. For them, the francization courses were not adequate to prepare them for the job applications. Habitus generated certain perceptions and practices that they implemented to act and react in specific ways (e.g., learning French) (Bourdieu, 1991). Dariush, Ruiyi, and Anna, for example, needed to take the ministry exam to be qualified to work in Quebec, and hence needed to take further classes to pass the test.

Another form of the opportunity to use French, was at participants' workplaces where they could practice French with their colleagues: "I have to speak French. And I

---

13 Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, also called NDG, is a residential neighbourhood of Montreal in the city's West End. NDG is today one half of the borough of Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. *Source:"Notre-Dame-de-Grâce" Wikipedia.*

love the fact that I'm getting better and better at it" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 16). Anna also argued that a substantial factor behind her success in learning French was her being *social*, *open* and *ready to communicate* with the French speakers in all situations.

As a common strategy in practicing the language, participants made efforts to initiate conversations in French in social contexts such as restaurants, with some unsuccessful outcomes. The topic of the *Montreal switch*, which was brought up in the participants' narratives, was considered as an obstacle. Only one or two participants, however, remained undaunted by the unaccommodating environment created by the interlocutors. In Chan Xin's case, as an example, instead of French, people responded to her in English, even in the situations where she spoke in French: "You know sometimes they see Asian faces. They automatically start in English" (Chan Xin, Int.1, Excerpt 12).

Uncovering the reason for why she received English when talking in French, Chan Xin pointed out that people spoke to her in English because "they see Asian faces." Being Asian and having Asian faces are associated with not being able to speak French but English. It also reflects the lack of communication accommodation in the social interactions in which she was involved. The following narratives shows Chan Xin's perceptions of the French as the official language in Quebec and her attempts to initiate conversations in French:

> I feel most people here, they prefer using French, so I respect that. So that's why I always - if I start a conversation with a person I meet here, I would start with French first. But sometimes people here when they hear that you are not from here, they switch immediately. They feel that your French is not that fluent, they switch into English, so I will switch with them too. Yeah, but when I start a conversation, I always start in French. And also at a daycare, even though they know my English is better, but it's a French daycare so French [foreign]. So they always use French with me. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 2)

While she made efforts to engage in conversations in French, Chan Xin received unaccommodating feedback from some French speakers who "switched immediately" to English, because they felt that her "French is not that fluent." Interestingly, Chan Xin would accommodate and "switch with them too."

Dariush, however, experienced different forms of social interactions during his three years of living in Montreal. On the first day of arrival in Montreal, coming out of the airport, he asked someone in English for an address, but to his surprise the person responded in French: "He looked at me and told: "can you speak French? I was shocked and told: "I am [a] newcomer and this is my first time I am in Montreal." And only after saying this, the person responded in English: "Yes. This bus is going to downtown." The context in which the conversation occurred was at the Montreal airport, where people come from all around the world:

> When I think about that day I ask myself he could speak and understand English so why he asked me about my French? He knew I am not Quebecois, his manner was not acceptable and polite to me, especially in airport when people coming from other countries. (Dariush, Int. 1, Excerpt 20)

That first impression had an impact on Dariush's following interactions in Montreal. He only got the confidence to initiate a conversation with francophones when he started his French classes. A few months later, however, the situation changed when he wanted to practice his French language with the people around him, but instead, heard English in response: "That is not good because it does not help me for improving my communication skills in French." Similar to other participants of this inquiry, Dariush also experienced the so-called Montreal switch and was discouraged and disappointed by people who talked to him in English instead of French. He argued that most immigrants wan to find a job after completing their French courses to make, and thus they stop

learning the French language in the formal education system. Therefore, what they need is "to practice the second language in public places in their free times, in the festival or [elsewhere]."

Another obstacle perceived by participants was their insufficient French language skills. In Quebec, having insufficient French language abilities is seen as a significant barrier for immigrants to gaining access to employment. Having been under a similar impression, Simone invested heavily in learning French before immigration and settling in Montreal. However, after a few years, she realized that in her field of study, she needed to be bilingual (French and English), and perceived bilingualism as an asset to find prestigious careers. Her linguistic trajectories in the new society were not in line with her expectations before immigration. As a result, she decided to improve her English language skills by making English-speaking friends and participating in social activities offered by Montreal's Mundo Lingo and the Meet-up groups. As for English, her main challenge was finding more opportunities to practice the language. She lived in a dominant French-populated area of Montreal; thus, her exposure to English was limited. Regarding French, however, the challenge she faced was different. She had difficulty reading novels and newspapers in French because "they write in the simple past. This is really hard for Portuguese because [they] don't have that" (Simone, Int. 2, Excerpt 11). Simone had difficulty understanding the past tenses in written French because the simple past and past perfect verb tenses (*Le passé simple et le passé compose*) mean differently in French and Portuguese.

Several participants of this study came to Quebec with varying degrees of proficiency in English. They started to learn French as an additional language while improving their English language skills at the same time. As an example, Ruiyi invested

heavily in learning both languages simultaneously. She took all the required courses for

both English and French, and received a certificate of completion for both languages

from an English university in Montreal. She invested in learning her additional languages

through reading books and watching TV. Ruiyi considered not having English or French-

speaking friends as a challenge and wished to practice with other people. She did not,

however, get discouraged by a lack of social interactions and strove to practise through

other resources. Ruiyi explained that she initially learned English but then felt the need to

learn French because of being in certain situations such as the metro where English was

of no or little help:

> There was only the French broadcasting. And every time when there was a problem
> with the metro, I didn't understand anything. I was so afraid. So that's why I--
> actually it forced me to learn French. So I just felt like I was-- I feel much an
> outsider. I know I wasn't born here. I didn't grow up here, but I want to be more
> involved. So that's why I learned French. (Ruiyi, Int. 1, Excerpt 9)

The topics of *safety*, *belonging*, and *social engagement* are evident in Ruiyi's

narratives above and her willingness to learn French. She found it necessary to

understand the alerts and notices in the metro and to avoid the unpleasant situations that

could occur by not understanding those messages.

Small story #2: The first exposure to French in Montreal
It was the first time I was taking the metro in Montreal, but thankfully I was on the train to the right direction. By the way I lived near the station Monk on the green line. When I got into the train, I was trying to find some LED screen which could tell me the name of each stop, but unfortunately, back then the train was so old and I did not find what I was looking for. So I had to listen, but soon realized that there was only a broadcast in French. I was so panic, because French to me was Martian language which I didn't understand a single word. I stared at my map, and opened my ears, tried to figure out where I was. Luckily, French is written in letters and if you listen carefully, you could somehow find the relation. Also, I knew that I started off at station Monk, then counted how many stations to Guy-Concordia from the map, so I would be able to know which stop I should got off. With the two methods combined, I didn't miss my stop. That was my first day in Montreal, scared a little, panicked, but also curious about everything. I did not miss my stop even it was my first time taking it and did not understand any French; I found the bank, and opened the account, and did not get lost.

Living in a new environment is filled with anxieties. Not being able to speak and understand the language of the public sphere can fuel one's fear and trepidation. Unwilling to be labelled as an outsider, Ruiyi was motivated by a desire to learn and practice the French language. After learning French, she tried to use more French than English in her social interactions and became more confident in using both languages in different contexts. Being multilingual and learning multiple languages can enhance one's self-confidence.

Participants also perceived their exposure to two different versions of the French language – inside and outside the classroom – mainly due to the different versions of the French accent. Ruiyi, Aramesh, Martina, and Dariush, in particular, had initially been under the impression that they could easily interact with people of the Quebec society after completing their French courses. In Ruiyi's case, her French teachers were from France and spoke French with the "*standard accent,*" emphasized Ruiyi. Though, once she was out of the class and wanted to practice the language in social domains, she found that it was difficult to understand the Quebec accent. However, she decided not to suffer from this setback: "even though I didn't understand, I didn't go... I still sat there and tried to understand, tried to get what they were talking about and smile [laughter]... It really helped me. They actually liked me even they knew that my French was not good" (Ruiyi, Int. 2, Excerpt 32). Others, however, just switched to English., which frustrated her because she expected them to help her practice the language, rather than switch to English: "They didn't want to spend time to speak French with me" (Ruiyi, Int. 2, Excerpt 33).

In this section, I presented the strategies used by my participants for learning French and English and their perceived real-life obstacles such as the Montreal switch.

To overcome such obstacles, participants used various strategies including getting out of the city to meet more francophones, taking initiatives to talk with friends and colleagues, taking part in social activities, and being open to speaking with strangers. While these strategies did not always produce desirable results, participants perceived them as useful strategic tools.

Maintaining a plurilingual repertoire. Inspired by Lamarre (2012), I wanted to explore how the participants of my study used language in their everyday lives and "how they [were] drawing on all of the linguistic resources in their repertoire as they move[d] through the city and position themselves within different social networks, spaces and interactions in their daily lives" (p. 7). Almost all participants used their mother-tongue languages with family members and relatives back home but also in their receiving country. As for the language of communication with their compatriots, participants adopted different approaches. José, for example, commented that he would speak Portuguese with a Portuguese speaker in Montreal only when there were just two of them. He found it "very rude when you are with people who don't understand the language and you start speaking in your mother tongue" (José, Int. 1, Excerpt 12).

German as her mother tongue language, and English and French as the additional languages, shaped the languages in Martina's plurilingual repertoire:

> I think at this point I pretty much live and think and dream in English. I would say English has almost become my first language. It's not my mother-tongue language. But it's really the language that I use most of the time and that I feel completely comfortable in. I know I make mistakes but I don't care. I feel comfortable even when I make mistakes and despite the fact that I have a bit of an accent and everything. It's like I'm happy with English. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 14)

This ability to learn English, work in English, and become comfortable in English in Montreal would terrify most francophones in Quebec. They feel that they will lose

ground if immigrants are not forced to learn French. After coming to Montreal, Martina started studying in an English university, and after a few years found a job in an English environment. She formed a great attachment to English that she felt "completely comfortable in" it, whereas, she felt "extremely uncomfortable" with French. Her use of German was limited to casual, friendly conversations with family and friends, occasionally on the phone. Similarly, Anna's narratives revealed that she was concerned about her mother-tongue language attrition. She thus tried to maintain the ability to use Romanian by watching TV shows and reading books.

Reading avidly was found to be a desirable attribute among skilled and educated individuals of this study, and a good way for keeping their languages active: "So that's why the main reason that I switch when I read; one book in English, one in Romanian, one in French, so that I continue practicing all my three main languages, let's say" (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 12). Ann's investment in using the three main languages was through reading books in those languages. This high level of awareness of language use could be associated with a higher level of education. In Anna's case, she was particularly interested in language and its preservation. Anna took an informed decision to keep the three languages in her linguistic repertoire (English, French, and Romanian) active. She had an awareness of the benefits of plurilingualism, and thereby planned to read books in all her languages.

Also, for Anna, teaching English to French speakers was a way to practice French in an informal agreement:

> I learned about Montreal, I learned a lot about the culture of Montreal through my students. The Quebecoise culture in English [in the English language]. So they would be practicing in English and I would be practicing French at the same time. And I also had students making me practicing French and that was nice because after one hour of English they would switch to French for me to practice my

French. That was really nice of them. It was specially one student who did that for me to practice. (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 4)

Anna's students were cooperative and helped Anna further practice her French. The power dynamic that exists in the relationship between teacher/student could partly explain this successful collaboration which is different from, for example, an immigrant's meeting a stranger on the street. As a skilled immigrant, Anna also drew on her language learning skills developed through her language teaching strategies. It particularly helped her develop her writing strategies as in her words: "since I am a teacher, I know how to use my strategies well, right, my writing strategies." Anna also examined the languages in her linguistic repertoire grammatically and syntactically. In one of her journal entries, she described her experiences of the differences between *noun gender* in the languages she knew: Romanian, Hungarian, English, German, Italian, and French. She compared noun gender in French, as the most recent language she had learned, with Romanian, by providing an example: "the Romanian feminine "problemă" is "le problème," a masculine noun." Struggling with the difference between noun gender in French and Romanian, Anna learned a lot from her students once she became the substitute teacher in a francophone school board in Montreal.

Anna argued that learning French made her "richer" as she knew "an extra language, so for sure, that's something [she] was aiming at." Speaking French was also a source of comfort to her. Having been able to speak French with her friends, Anna considered friendship as an opportunity because she was able to communicate with her friends in French. This form of investment in practicing the language shows that Ann's network of relationships was the product of her investment strategies:

I feel like this is an accomplishment… related to French I can easily speak with people when I go outside in nature, I don't feel restrained anymore as I used to before, that's a positive aspect as well. (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 8)

In his narratives, José also demonstrated an awareness of the benefits of plurilingualism. However, he presented a drawback with knowing several languages through recounting his experience of speaking with his parents in Portuguese back in Brazil, where he sometimes used English words. The reason he gave for this switching was that "you are surrounded by a situation where you are most likely to use the English so that's why I would say I would prefer to watch a movie in English" (José, Int. 1, Excerpt 12). The switching did not occur when it came to French because he was still learning the language: "I pay more attention to it." José practiced French with his partner, "especially at the beginning when [he] was getting more comfortable when she helped [him] a lot in that." However, he argued that he did not view being in a relationship as an opportunity to practice French because "it's much better that you are in a relationship in a language which both people are comfortable with" (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 15).

For Ruiyi, every language of her linguistic repertoire was associated with "a whole different way of thinking." She learned English and French primarily through reading books, and was planning to learn Spanish in the same way. She had found her path in learning foreign languages. Her experience of learning English and French in the new society and in a system different from her home country further aroused her "sense of curiosity" about people and the world around her. Instead of using "the Google translate" she wanted to explore the world through its languages. Learning French in Quebec offered Ruiyi great opportunities: "For example, I can do more things like the tennis course I signed up, it was taught only in French."

When it came to the job-hunting process, however, similar to Chan Xin, the other Chinese participant of this study, Ruiyi argued that she had to "lower her expectations," although she was able to speak French well. While she placed an emphasis on the role of language in the integration process, she indicated that only being able to speak the language is not sufficient. Rather, one should be able to understand the "sense of humor" and jokes in that language. Ruiyi considered her immigration process as a privilege which provided her with the opportunity to know the world and meet people from different parts of the world. Although she was not able to visit Europe at that time, she appreciated the opportunity to meet with Europeans, such as people from France and Italy.

All participants were highly motivated to learn and improve their French and English language skills for various reasons. The two main reasons included a desire to take the opportunity to learn the language, and the aim at opening up further career opportunities. For Martina, this resonated with being open to more opportunities and professional possibilities. She was aware that opening more professional opportunities required a decent level of French in Quebec. Anna chose Montreal because she wanted to learn French. She took the option of coming to and living in Montreal to practice French and saw it as a "valuable opportunity" to learn and improve her knowledge of the French language. Her agency significantly contributed to her French learning process and made her think more seriously about learning French. Several participants of this study, therefore, became bi/multilingual through demonstrating agency and intentionality (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000).

Accessing more career opportunities generated a strong motivation in Anna: "then I realized if I wanted to work in the public system, I for sure have to have a much better/level of French" (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 6). To learn French, she generated a

combination of what Gardner (1985) would call the integrative motivation (being part of

the community of the speakers of that language), and the instrumental motivation (for a

practical reason such as the job-hunting process). Also, Anna's decision to make more

francophone friends shows her investment in socialization and social networking. Making

friends "opens up more doors," denoting the possibility of entering the social or

professional francophone communities.

Language choice in social interactions. The participants' data indicated that they

had an awareness of their plurilingual repertoires and the different languages that they

used in their daily lives (Lamarre, 2013). Participants started learning and using multiple

languages from the early ages of their life. Several participants were regularly exposed to

more than two languages in their life and would use one language or the other depending

on the situation. In Montreal, nonetheless, they needed to make choices as to what

language(s) to use and in which situations. The extract below, for example, reveals that

the place of residence played a role in Anna's language choice. She chose to use English

in her daily interactions in NDG (populated mainly by anglophones):

> *R: So in your social interactions, given that you live in a sort of English part of*
> *Montreal, NDG, what is your first choice, French or English? And why?*
>
> Anna: English. Because English is like my mother-tongue. I feel as comfortable
> functioning in English as I do in Romanian. I'm not there with French but maybe
> ten years later I will be here, I don't know, or maybe less… You know what, now
> that I'm moving to Saint–Jerome, I won't have to force myself, it's gonna come
> automatically. So I kind of force myself by moving there…[laughing]. It's already
> French almost all the time… (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 9)

At the time of this study, Anna had to relocate to a francophone region outside of

the city of Montreal. She saw it as a blessing because she did not have to force herself to

use and practice French anymore – it would "come automatically," said Anna.

Also, almost all participants reported that they preferred to use their mother-tongue language in medical situations, if possible, and then English rather than French (except for those who were more comfortable in French like Simone). Anna, as an example, preferred to use English for health-related issues (e.g. speaking with doctors, nurses, and so on) because she felt comfortable in English:

> I usually go to the Westminster to the medical clinic where most of the employees are bilingual, maybe not perfectly bilingual. The reason why I speak English when I talk about my health is because I feel much more comfortable expressing myself in English rather than in French. (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 10)

Immigrants like to communicate in the language they are comfortable. They need to express themselves clearly when visiting healthcare professionals and understand the health-related processes. Many would prefer even visiting a physician from their ethnic community, to better communicate about the health issues in their mother-tongue languages. English was also Olive's first choice in situations where there was *anything medical*: "I tend to use English because I don't want to mess it up, so I try if it's a basic thing, but I find that anything medical is usually pretty stressful anyways so I don't want to add to that stress if I don't have to. (Olive, Int. 1, Excerpt 8). Her narratives reveals that multilingual individuals choose their preferred languages depending on the communication contexts but also on the situation and their needs. Because of the importance of health-related issues, many participants of this study decided to choose the language which they were most comfortable with, to deal with any stressful situations.

Power dynamics in plurilingual practices in marital and parental relationships. For married participants and immigrant parents of this study, another layer of identification became prominent: the experience of multilingual practices and the role of language in the marital and parental relationships. As central to their narratives, the six

immigrant couples' and two immigrant parents' complex interactions with their family

members emerged as a recurring theme. The link between language, power, identity, and

the linguistic behaviour in intermarriages, concerning the broader social contexts, is still

an area in need of extensive research (Heller & Levy, 1992; Norton Pierce, 1995). In my

inquiry, it was found that while participants' plurilingual repertoire was expanding, the

decisions for using their languages constantly changed due to certain circumstances in

their lives. The expansion of the repertoire was also a response to the needs and

challenges they were confronted with in their lived experiences of interactions with

people around them (Busch, 2015). The theme of plurilingual practices was evident

among the immigrant parents of this study. Chan Xin and Simone were passionate about

raising their children plurilingually.

Figure 5.5. Text message (by Chan Xin)

Chan Xin used different languages with her family members at home. She used

Mandarin to communicate with her 2-year old son, while her husband, a francophone,

spoke to him only in French. Chan Xin used English to communicate with her husband,

yet their *language of love* was French because of her husband's preference to use French for love and romance: "With my husband I think our love language is… it's hard to say because even though it communicates in English the most, but when we express our love to each other he's always speaking French to me…" (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 5). Chan Xin noted that cultural differences highlighted the choice of the language used in their marital relationship:

> I think it's even in China we are pretty shy to express our feelings and emotions. Like me, I never say, "I love you," with any of my ex-boyfriends in China. I never say that even though we love each other a lot, but we don't say it out. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 6)

The above extract reflects the cultural influence in a marital relationship in the two cultures. Influenced by the Chinese culture, Chan Xin felt "shy" to express her feelings." Using the indexical "never say that," she emphasized that she did not say the love words "I love you" to her ex-boyfriends and transferred the same cultural influence to the new society, in which "saying out" loud love words are pretty common, not just between the couples but even in front of others. From Chan Xin's perspective, this could explain why she did not consider English as their love language. Her husband, however, identified French as the language of intimacy due to his perception of a possessed attribute by her as described below:

> I feel when I speak Mandarin I'm more girly. When I speak English I'm more… I would say it's pretty neutral. But when I speak French I somehow… my husband told me that he feels my French is very…very sexy [laughter]. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 7)

Notably, the extract above shows that Chan Xin identified herself with each of the languages in her plurilingual repertoire. Chan Xin described how she used the three languages in her plurilingual repertoire and the changes she perceived in herself using Mandarin, English and French: "I feel when I speak different languages… even my voice

is different. I feel that. I ask my husband does he feel the same? He's like, "Yes." When I speak different languages he feels that I have different voices" (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 8). The feeling of "having different voices" when using different languages could be explained through both internal and external factors. Internally, Chan Xin perceived herself as "girly" when speaking in Mandarin because her identity as a girl and woman was developed in that language. Externally, her husband's attributed French to her as being "sexy" when speaking in that language. Chan Xin's plurilingual language practices underlines the bodily-emotional dimension of language embedded in the linguistic repertoire of language users, represented in their feelings of shyness, joy, fear, or anxiety (Busch, 2015).
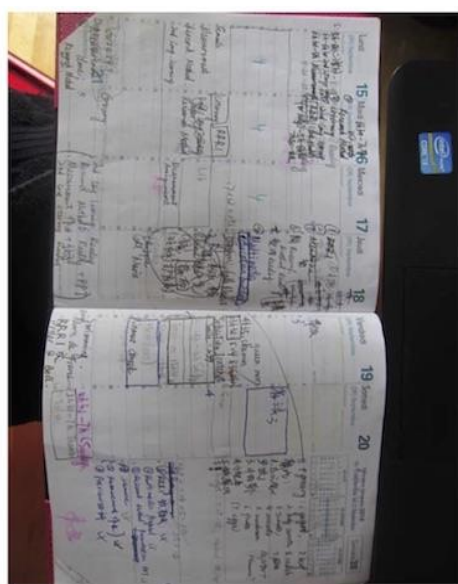
"It's in 2014, this is my journal in 2014. Back then I was doing my master's degree at [English university]. And also working part-time in an English daycare, and also working part-time in the [French school]. Actually when I wrote them down I didn't use which language I should use. I used the language that pops into my head. So for example, all related to McGill to my master's degree are in English (e.g. assignments, etc.). and then for groceries, all my words are in English or Chinese. Those groceries in Chinese are in Chinese because I can only find them in the Asian stores. So I wrote them down in Chinese. Those words related to groceries in English I can find them in the grocery supermarket here. So I just wrote them down here, it's easier. Because in Chinese for example if I write "tomatoes" I will be using three different characters, so it's taking a lot of time. And then for French, I go there every Friday there, so everything related to French school I just write them I French. My dream is also multilingual" (Chan Xin, Journal #1)

Figure 5.6. Multilingual diary (by Chan Xin)

Family language practices: the case of Chan Xin. As a native of Mandarin who was married to a Quebecois, Chan Xin highlighted the easiness of using English as her first choice in her interactions with her husband: "because English is also his second language, his first language is French… and so [we] kind of have the same level of

vocabulary and everything" (Chan Xin, Int. 2, Excerpt 19). She asserted that maintaining

a balance of power dynamic in their interactions was essential. The theme of language-

power relationship in communication with her husband was dominant throughout her

data. She commented that: "If I speak my French… of course, it's not as good as his. His

mother tongue is French so I feel I'm already at a disadvantaged place" (Chan Xin, Int. 2,

Excerpt 20). Chan Xin was aware of the imbalance of power that could be generated

because of unequal levels of French proficiency. So, she avoided using French rather than

being in a disadvantaged position:

> Because when I speak French, first my vocabulary is very limited so it sounds like
> a kid speaking. And also it takes time for me to process what he says. He speaks
> very fast when he speaks French. So when we argue I don't want to, after he spoke
> something, I don't want to wait several seconds and then-- it doesn't catch the beat.
> (Chan Xin, Int. 2, Excerpt 20).

The theme of the interplay between identity and language proficiency is evident in

the above narratives. She needed to practice more French, yet she resisted the lure of

using it when they would "argue," which would tip the balance in favour of her

husband's dominant position in conversations. Thus, she believed that it would have been

fair if both used a language in which they felt equally powerful in arguments. She would

still respond in English even if her husband only spoke French to her. Chan Xin's

narratives exemplify "the ways in which content and identity constructions differ with

language choice, i.e., how content and the presentation of identity differ from one

language to the next in a multilingual's repertoire" (Piller, 2001, p. 223).

When Chan Xin first came to Montreal as a Mandarin and Chinese culture teacher,

she was amazed at the fact that her students could switch from English to French freely

back and forth: "I envied them because they are born to be bilingual or multilingual"

(Chan Xin, Int. 2, Excerpt 21). She built an awareness of the benefits of

bi/multilingualism, because she had seen the advantages of investing in English as a second language in China prior to immigration, and thus wished to raise her own child bi/multilingual: "I think to be born and live in such a rich linguistic environment like Montreal is a big linguistic advantage, and I want my child to have it" (Chan Xin, Int. 2, Excerpt 21). Chan Xin also engaged in an informed well-planned home language practice:

> We will adopt original plus trilingual literacy practice. We will rely on original works first: if it is a story from China, then we read it in Mandarin; if it is a French movie, then we watch it in French; if it is an English song, then we listen to it in English. We will always try to have the original works first, and then refer to the translated ones if needed. For example, I can translate [baby]'s French story books into Mandarin, and Laolao [grandma] will read the same story to him in Mandarin. This can benefit the baby and also everybody's literacy development. (Chan Xin, Journal #3).

Chan Xin: This is [baby's] little library. As you can see there are more French books now. And there are Chinese and English books also. Actually, I would like to buy more Chinese books but here we don't have many choices. We can go to the bookstore in China town, but they don't have new books every time I go there.

R: So you are raising a multilingual child?

Chan Xin: Yes, but me I always try to speak only Mandarin to him and my husband always in French. We believe that he will pick up English by himself because it's everywhere. And English is easier than French and Mandarin.
 (Chan Xin, Interview #2)

Figure 5.7. Baby's library (by Chan Xin)

Chan Xin also raised the issue of the difficulty in "doing multilingualism," particularly for adults:

> Doing multilingualism is not easy. It is even harder for adults. For example, I know I should speak French with [her husband], and he knows he should stick to French with me. However, somehow English still runs through most of our conversation, because we are tired; because I don't have the vocabulary; or just because we are not patient enough. It is not always easy to insist on the use of certain languages in certain settings. Now we have a policy, then all we need to do is to stick to it. Our whole family needs to be diligent and follow it in order to maximize our language learning outcome. (Chan Xin, Journal #3)

She argued that her French was somehow improving because of her francophone husband. Comparing with the progress she had made during the first two years of her arrival in Montreal, her French "even regressed… after I live with a French Canadian. We have so much to do that we automatically use the most efficient way to communicate" (Chan Xin, Journal #3). And "the most efficient way to communicate" was using English. In situations where both parents work and need to make sure their child is being taken care of, easy and clear communication is essential. The importance of the subjects of discussions requires that the parents speak in a language which both understand, can explain things, and respond readily and adequately at times.

The difference of language in a relationship could "heighten individuals' sensitivities to the possibility of mistaken assumptions and misunderstandings, and focus them on the ongoing struggle to understand the other" (Burk, 2005, p. 130). Language learning and language use could be excruciating even when considerable proficiency is achieved in L2, which could further create challenges when there is a child in the family:

> [her husband] sometimes complains that I always ask for help from my mom first instead of him when baby cries. When I ask myself why, it is because when baby cries, my mind is overwhelmed by that – I feel anxious; my heart is racing, and I cannot hear anything else but his crying. Of course, I use my mother tongue to ask for help under such stressful situation. (Chan Xin, Journal #2)

When it came to "the baby" and a "stressful situation," Chan Xin used her mother-tongue language somewhat unconsciously. It seemed that her husband was not able to fully understand why she called her mom whenever the baby cried, rather than asking him for help. He complained because he did not want to bother his mother-in-law. Chan Xin also added that she preferred to use English in discussions on the family issues, and, in particular, about raising the child. She preferred to use English because she felt *disadvantaged* if they kept the discussion in French:

I sound like a little girl with no power or authority, and I cannot clearly express my ideas. Before baby was born, it seemed we disagree with each other less. Even when we disagreed with each other, it was emotionally less exhausting for us. I remember using my little girl's voice just to "cut" it over. However, [the baby] brought my "tiger mom" side out. It is the first time I feel how different our cultures are, and we have to have serious and constructive talk about these. Therefore, we speak the language that we commonly feel the comfortable with. (Chan Xin, Journal #3)

In explaining why she switched to English, Chan Xin pointed out that she did not want to "feel disadvantaged" through communicating in French, and also because speaking in English was "less exhaustive" [sic] *exhausting* for both partners. Chan Xin was also aware of a need for more dialogical interactions (in English) where she could express herself better. Also, in English interactions, the cultural differences were not dismissed or disqualified (Bakhtin, 1986).

Another essential theme emergent in Chan Xin's narrative accounts was about her family language practices. She constructed and negotiated multiple identities through her experience of learning additional languages while migrating to a new society. Several sociolinguistic factors contribute to the forming of family language practices, which "tends to be based on the individual family's perception of social structures and social changes" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352). The linguistic dynamics in the four members of Chan Xin's family was interesting: Chan Xin, her baby, her husband, and Chan Xin's mother. The baby was racially, culturally and linguistically "mixed." The baby's grandmother (Chan Xin's mother) spoke Mandarin only. The father of the family, a French-Canadian, spoke both English and French but not Mandarin. Chan Xin, herself, spoke Mandarin, English, and some French. The three adults were responsible for taking care of the baby, while the grandma and the husband needed to learn a new language to communicate with each other.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is interesting to see what language or languages were used at home in different occasions, what factors were involved when a language or languages were used, and what impact learning a new language by the adult members of the family had on their identity construction. In her journal entry, Chan Xin underlined that multilingualism was considered a valued practice in her family; each member of the family learned "at least a new additional language other than the language(s)" he or she already spoke:

> We aim to create a loving multilingual family for each other. Language is not only a media for us to communicate; it also contributes to maintaining our cultural identity and emotional stability. The acquisition of more than one language and maintenance of the mother tongue enrich personal growth and help facilitate the understanding among all family members. Therefore, every family member will learn at least a new additional language other than the language(s) one already speaks. Currently the three languages learnt in our family are Mandarin, French and English. (Chan Xin, Journal #3)

Chan Xin described how her francophone husband and their baby were learning Mandarin through learning and practicing simple vocabulary. She intended to do Chinese calligraphy with her baby when he becomes older, both as a "meaningful activity" that they could do together, and also to help him learn the "Chinese characters through art." It demonstrates Chan Xin's awareness of and her concern for maintaining her heritage language. She considered her husband the master of French in the family. He was responsible for teaching basic French expressions to the baby and particularly to the grandma (Chan Xin's mother, who had come to visit them). The parents decided that the father communicates with the baby in French in their daily activities to help him develop full native French proficiency. At the same time, the father would speak in French with Chan Xin as much as possible, as well as help her improve her written French skills, including email writing.

There were exceptions, however, where Chan Xin preferred English over French, mainly when talking about "financial, parental and other serious decisions." As for English practice, Chan Xin and her husband used English mainly when speaking with the grandma as she felt more confident in learning English. She also made sure that she could make daily conversation before returning to China, where she would attend a senior university to continue learning English. Adopting "one parent one language" strategy, Chan Xin and her husband decided to focus on Mandarin and French languages in their interactions with the baby, but not restricting him from listening to songs and reading books in English.

To sum up, in Part One, I presented, described and discussed participants' language learning strategies used for learning English and French, as well as the obstacles they encountered in their social interactions. I also explained how participants maintained their plurilingual repertoires, what languages they used in what situations, and how they perceived using different languages in various situations in Montreal. Participants had an awareness that both English and French were deemed to be necessary to gain faster entry into the Quebec labour market. They used various strategies to learn and practice both languages in social spheres, resulting in developing and increasing their plurilingual repertoire. In the last part of this section, I presented the complex linguistic interactions among married and parent participants and presented the story of Chan Xin's family language practices as a specific case that offered valuable insights.

Part Two: Identity Negotiations in a Multilingual/Multicultural Milieu

According to Norton (2000, 2013), immigrants' constructions and negotiations of identities in the new contexts and in the social and professional circles across time and space, are sites of struggle. Identity is socially constructed and represented in interactive

relationships (De Fina, 2009). These relationships can be examined through individuals'

narratives and their experiences of using language as a resource available for the cultural

reproduction of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). The participants' narratives of personal

experience in this study also revealed their display of self and identity (Schiffrin, 1996).

An important theme that emerged in participants' narrative accounts was their

perceptions of their identity formation (De Fina, 2003; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000).

      Complex ethnic and national identities. Participants' discussions of their ethnic

and cultural backgrounds and their views on their national identities was another

important theme discussed in their narratives. According to De Fina (2003), "immigrants

use ethnicity as a central identification category for self and others in their stories" (p. 9).

Several participants of this study considered themselves as being Canadian rather than

Quebeckers. Others such as Martina perceived themselves as being Montrealer, implying

their attachment to the city, and thereby reducing the notion of *nationality* (Lamarre,

2015). This view resonates with Helly and van Schendel's (2001) findings. The

participants of their study identified themselves as being Montrealer, which "reveals the

emergence of a new political identity associated with Montreal's cosmopolitanism and

constitutive heterogeneity held as positive, in contrast to the narrow provincialism

associated with the sovereigntist vote and the rest of Quebec outside Montreal" (Labelle

& Salée, 2001, p. 297). Those who identify themselves as Montrealers argue that in "a

supposedly bilingual country, French as the official language should not be imposed on

immigrants" (Labelle & Salée, 2001, p. 310). Martina considered herself an active

member of the Quebec society, although she was not able to be a Canadian citizen (since

she would have to give up her Austrian citizenship):

I pay taxes. I definitely contribute to the workforce. I think, as part of my work in educational development, you could actually say I contribute to the education [laughter] in this country. But yeah, I mean, being a permanent resident, I can't vote. So I feel I have-- I would say I fulfill certain responsibilities as a member of society. (Martina, Int. 2, Excerpt 18)

Anna, who was originally from Romania, indicated that in Quebec she was identified as Russian by most people and her students identified her as an anglophone. She did not wish to be identified as Russian "due to the Romania history with Russia and the communism and everything." To display an accurate image of her professional identity, she revealed her ethnic identity when talking to her students. Anna's experience of being othered started from her home country, where she spoke two languages as her mother-tongue languages:

And it's funny because even when I was in Romania, I had an accent because I speak Hungarian, so I was always be[ing] othered a little bit because I was also part of the Hungarian minority. Even here in Canada, with my Romanian friends, we are those who are identified as the Romanians who also speak Hungarian. So we never identify as fully Romanian even in Romania. And I found it fun because whenever I travel people were asking if I was from Russia, because people think I'm Russian. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 20)

Anna's ethnic identity representations are complex and multi-dimensional. She experienced being *othered* in Romania because of her attachment to the Hungarian minority living there – a perception which was stretched to the country of immigration. She identified herself among "the Romanians who also speak Hungarian. So [they] never identify as fully Romanian even in Romania" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt, 21). This complicated level of self-identification and multi-layered perceptions resonate with the concept of *third space* (Bhabha, 1994) and being *in-betweenness*. Anna, however, experienced this feeling in both her home country and the new country. She indicated that she "found it fun" and found it interesting to have that feeling of "being here and there"

(Block, 2007). Her identity work, however, would testify the complexity of exploration of the concept itself:

> And the same people, now if I go to Italy if they ask me where I am from I say I'm from Canada, and they say "oh, wow, you are from Canada." Whereas when I say I'm from Romania, "they would say oh, you are from Romania."[not excited]…. it's a different approach and reaction. It's sad because I'm the same person. So that's why I feel at home here and also I was able to teach English here whereas in Western Europe, coming from Romania wanted to teach English I don't think if it would have worked. (Anna, Int. 1, Excerpt 13)

The above extract shows that Anna's perception of her national identity in the two different contexts is directly linked with her professional identity. Evoking a strong response, José, as another example, did not identify himself as a Quebecker by saying, "definitely not a Quebecois, absolutely not." Instead, he described himself as "half Brazilian, half Anglophone/Canadian maybe. That would be the best description. More toward the anglophone." The issue of how immigrants identify themselves may not be a concern to immigrants themselves, but it appears to be of significant concern to the governments.

A related topic that needs to be discussed here is related to immigrants' status in the receiving country. Once in the receiving country, the immigrants' status, and their state of residence changes along the length of time. Immigrants who apply under the skilled-worker category in the province of Quebec, receive the *Certificat de sélection du Quebec (CSQ)* (Quebec Selection Certificate). The CSQ is given to those who wish to settle in Quebec permanently. After having obtained the CSQ, individuals can apply for permanent residence (PR). The holders of PR can then apply for citizenship after staying in Canada for around three years, once other citizenship criteria have been met.

As citizens of Canada, individuals would enjoy several benefits. First, they do not need to worry about losing status and are not required to renew their immigration

documentation. Second, they are eligible for more job positions offered by the federal and provincial governments. Third, they also have the right to vote and the opportunity to run for political offices, as well as travelling on a Canadian passport. Therefore, being a citizen in Canada would be an ideal situation for immigrants who decide to live and work in the country. Citizenship is a long-term investment which requires immigrants to make smaller investments such as developing language proficiency skills. For many immigrants, language is also a valuable symbolic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in being part of the imagined social and professional communities (Wenger, 1998).

There are exceptions, of course. I asked Martina how she identified and positioned herself in respect of her national identity and her social identity in the new country. Her response was: "I'm an Austrian living in Canada." This would be a typical response for many other immigrants, implying their continued attachment to their countries of origin. While most countries would allow dual citizenship, Austria is among the countries which do not accept multiple citizenships. Therefore, if Martina wanted to be a Canadian citizen, she must give up her Austrian citizenship, which she did not want to do. The notion of national identity in Martina's case is particularly important for two reasons. First, in responding to the question about integration, Martina mentioned that she would be more integrated if she had the right to vote. She is not able to vote because she is not and cannot be a Canadian citizen. That is why she would still consider the possibility of returning to her country of origin to enjoy the benefits of citizenship:

> And it was the first time since I moved to Canada that I got upset during an election campaign. And then I was like, "God, I need to vote. Why don't I have citizenship? I need to vote!" Right. And up until then, I was always like, "It doesn't concern me. It's not my country." And it was the same time that I suddenly said to a friend of mine, "You know what, the fact that I'm getting so upset shows that I feel now this is my country and I'm partially responsible for what happens. And I want to have something to say here." (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 10)

Martina described how she felt somewhere in-between after many years of being in Quebec yet noted that this feeling was subsiding: "I felt I'm just somewhere in between. You get this feeling of I can't go back but I'm not really here either…in German, we would say sitting between two chairs." (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 11). Using that German expression, Martina wanted to describe a feeling of in-betweenness which makes the immigrant's identity float in the air, not forming an attachment to a firm root.

Similarly, Simone's narratives indicated her view on her identity as an immigrant: "I feel I'm a Canadian immigrant. So, yes I'm Canadian but I'm not like the others." While she felt that she belonged to Canada to a substantial extent, certain things made her non-Canadian in the eyes of others:

> I feel like I'm not completely accepted here but I'm kind of tolerate[ed]. So, yeah, I'm considering myself Canadian, if I compare with my friends are just permanent residents... But I don't feel I'm a real Canadian. So, immigrant Canadian…So I think the society accept me or tolerate me but they don't consider me Canadian. I have the citizenship, but I don't think it matters…. (Simone, Int. 2, Excerpt 23)

As a Canadian citizen, Simone considered herself a Canadian, compared to her friends who were still permanent residents. However, she put forward an argument that she was not "completely accepted" in Canadian society and was "tolerated." Simone felt that she would always remain an immigrant and her status as a citizen could not change the way other people view her. In justifying her perspective, she argued that the reality is that while "they" [the host society] need immigrants, "they" don't like them because they think that immigrants are taking their jobs.

Moreover, contrasting perceptions of ethnic identity among participants was another finding. The discussion of race emerged from some participants' narratives, who considered *being white* as a privilege. Martina, for instance, indicated that being *white* was "a sense of relief" to her: "It's also this thing of knowing that I'm inconspicuous. I

can walk along the street and I'm inconspicuous" (Martina, Int. 2, Excerpt 29). She appreciated the fact that she was "inconspicuous" and added that "I'm like, 'Thank God there is something.' I can disappear in the crowd in a way that you can't if you're a visible minority."

Likewise, Olive perceived being Australian and speaking French as highly desirable in the eyes of Quebeckers. She indicated that being an Australian anglophone was a privilege rather than a threat at her workplace:

> I think I also get away with that more because they know that I'm Australian so they expect less of me. So if you're an Anglophone living here, they expect you use good French but I'm from far away so I'd better get a free pass, so they're kind of impressed with me, so wow you are from Australia… so impressive to speak French (Olive, Int.1, Excerpt 16)

Olive perceived herself as someone who was accepted more quickly, as a French learner, by the francophones of Quebec. She did not face the challenges that other immigrants try to beat off including "accent" or "being a Canadian anglophone," so she thought that was helpful because "more people were willing to talk" to her. As a result, she felt in a *safe space* which in turn boosted her confidence in using French in social spheres. She identified herself as a French Canadian, creating a positive impression in her situation. Reflecting upon her narratives above, I asked Olive who she considered an *immigrant*:

> I think when we talk about immigrants, most people, especially immigrants to Canada, people assume from a third-world or a less fortunate country ("Quote…unquote")… people assume that people coming from a less fortunate country you know it's like moving up in the world, whatever, whereas Australia or Canada we would say is on par more or less, it's like, people don't view… and it's also because I'm white, you know, people consider an immigrant like being of a minority background or something like that so I don't think I would fit what most people would view as immigrants but I would say in the broader sense of word, I don't know how I may not. I come from another country and I moved here so… (Olive, Int. 1, Excerpt 11)

Olive expressed a feeling of uncertainty as to why she would not have been defined as an immigrant when she came from another country and "moved here." The way most people were identifying her had an impact on her subsequent social interactions. She did not feel restricted in her social interactions, mainly because of the privilege she enjoyed due to her national identity. Olive believed that Quebeckers were "nicer" to her, more patient, or "more willing to accommodate" her mistakes when they found out that she was Australian, especially when she wanted to speak French with them. That she was coming from a place so far away and could speak French, was something that Quebeckers appreciated. For Olive, being Australian and speaking French were the two things that did not usually bunch together. As someone who was "from somewhere so far away," people appreciated Olive's speaking French, which added to the privilege she had received due to being "a white." For her, the privilege was thus a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Although Olive found it hard to explain the language situations to people who do not know much about Quebec, she still felt the need to talk about the history with her friends:

> I think it's really strange to explain the situation in Quebec to other people. I think without knowing the history of Quebec maybe people don't sympathize. People don't see it as "oh these ridiculous laws, oh it's so like forcing people to go to school and whatever..." personally I think there is a good reason for those laws and I completely understand how it came about and why French people get upset when people switch or people refuse to learn French, so I get it but most people don't. And specially if they're coming from an Anglophone majority they don't get it at all… (Olive, Int. 2, Excerpt 15)

She expressed her sense of appreciation of the language laws and policies, which, in her views, have valid reasons. She thus tried to explain the Quebec history to people whenever she had the opportunity and "changed a lot of people's mind..." including her partner, who similar to some other anglophone Montrealers, also said things like "uh, Bill

101, it's all garbage." Olive decided to talk to her partner and asked him to read other

resources. She argued that a lot of people "don't know the history…they just say "oh

yeah, the Quiet Revolution, that's the thing" but they don't know all of it, I guess." She

believed that those who harshly disparaged the language laws and regulations, had not

captured very essence of their applicability with regards to history. She then raised an

issue that those who complain about these issues could leave Quebec and go somewhere

else. I explained to her that in fact the departure of immigrants had already been

happening, and that Quebec had been losing a lot of immigrants, including many well-

educated and skilled individuals:

> I think… this is not my experience obviously… I'm not a visible minority, I don't
> have any of these experiences but from talking to my participants in my study who
> were veiled women, and like one of them talked about one of their friends who was
> leaving because of all the debates with the *charter* (The Charter of Quebec Values)
> and the risk of not being able to have their head scarfs or everything, and there is
> certainly other reasons to leave, and they are all North African women so they
> speak French. So it's gonna be a hassle for them to work in English for example. So
> yeah, for sure there are other issues like causing people to leave. (Olive, Int. 2,
> Excerpt 17)

Using phrases such as "this is not my experience obviously… I'm not a visible

minority, I don't have any of these experiences," Olive tried to distance herself from the

problems of a group of immigrants categorized as "visible minority." However, she tried

to show her understanding of the situation by describing her own research in her graduate

studies on a group of visible minority as part of her graduate studies. Olive was obviously

happy with living in Montreal because of all the advantages (e.g., affordable cost of

living, beautiful summer, festivals, etc.). She did not go through experiencing financial

difficulties and found it a strong reason for her sense of comfort which in turn allowed

her to learn French more easily. She made a recommendation that formal education might

not be the only way of learning the language, but language learners should use and learn

an additional language in the social contexts through conversations with people in society.

To sum up, the immigrants' ethnic identification reflects "the local negotiation of positions about self and others and the creation of participation frameworks in particular interactions" as well as "the articulation of values and beliefs shared in the community and the contextualization of cultural and social norms" (De Fina, 2003, p. 9).

The dissimilarity of social and professional representations in two contexts. An emerging theme from the narratives of participants was the dissimilarity of their social and cultural identities as regards their trajectories before immigration and in the receiving country. Anna, as an example, compared her identity representations before migration to Western Europe and Canada. She explained that in Western Europe she was considered as "second-hand citizen," whereas in Canada she did not have the same feeling. Coming to Canada, she "didn't have too high expectations" but her husband and she "had already known that [they] could practice [their] professions here, which made a huge difference." This comparison also allowed Anna to build up reasonable and realistic expectations before her second immigration. Once in the new country, she realized how the social and professional identities that she had imagined were closer to her initial expectations prior to her first migration.

Reflecting upon her negotiations of social and professional identities, Aramesh also described her struggles with her prior professional identity in the early days of arrival:

> When I came here everyday, I said to me "okay you are for example, you were a teacher in your country, you are very important, you are required to continue your education to this level to be very top," but right now I feel I am as a baby. And I required starting my life again but it's not very similar as my country passing these levels (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 27)

Aramesh developed a self-concept within her social contexts, which portrayed her as a disadvantaged, novice, and in her words "a baby." By the latter, she meant that she had to leave everything behind to start a new life. She was a respected university professor in Iran. The process of her identification is reflected in her discourse about her professional positioning in Iran and the discussion of obtaining similar status in Canada (De Fina, 2003), which emerged as one of the most significant factors in her self-definition. She always switched from her current position to other times and locations, bringing into the conversation "both spatial and temporal aspects" of the topic (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 134).

Upon immigrating to Quebec, she often voiced overarching concerns about her social status and her professional identity. In Quebec, she had to go through several complicated processes such as learning additional languages, obtaining a Ph.D. degree, and looking for jobs. At times, she felt saddened, disappointed, and hopeless, almost shattering her self-concept. While she was not well-prepared for the change brought about by the immigration process, she did her best to overcome the challenges to start her new life smoothly. What happened at different stages of her life was beyond her control. For example, after the six-month probation period, her supervisor expressed her dissatisfaction with her performance and refused to support her financially. She had to quit not convinced of why that decision had been taken. She felt that part of her unsuccessful experiences was due to her undeveloped skills and abilities (including the language and research skills). She argued that part of the responsibility should also fall on "the system."

Aramesh distanced herself from some of the cultural practices associated with her home country. Comparing the culture of the two countries, she argued that:

I think during your life you are not yourself you are another one. I think you lost your opportunity to be yourself and here I think each person had his opportunity to be as himself and it's very important for me. For example, in my country getting the certificate in high level is very important. There are a lot of reasons that I want to be a Canadian. There is a lot of positive reasons. In my country because of their thoughts, their ideas, my family or my friends are usually very depressed, stressful but here not, we're trying to be relaxed and this calm condition we can do and continue our life. (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 23)

Aramesh compared her social and professional identities in the home country and the receiving country. She argued that the immigration process and the new country allowed her to construct a new version of herself. Highlighting the positive aspects of immigration, she hoped that her life continued to be the same in the future.

The process of constant comparisons and contrasts of cultural and professional norms and values also emerged as a resource for Chan Xin's social and professional identities. The discussion of her professional identity was an essential theme throughout her data. She imagined her ideal profession as a Mandarin teacher in a cégep14. A self-image reinforced her perceptions of the possibility of being part of the workplace environment in Quebec in comparison with English speakers:

Back then when I chose my master program... I felt that even though I kind of have this certificate and everything I'm going to compete with English speakers [laughter]. I don't feel that comfortable. Also, my Asian face [laughter]. I cannot change that. I don't know. I feel a little bit... (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 9)

Chan Xin imagined a workplace community while she was doing a master's in teaching English as a second language. However, she perceived herself as underprivileged or at a disadvantage "racially" compared to her fellow English speakers. She further commented on the "social respect" of teachers in the two cultures and felt that

14 *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel,* known in English as a general and vocational college.

there was more respect for teachers in her home country. She voiced her concern about

the social positioning of "the teacher" in Canada:

> Like the teachers are more respected in China and here, well, they are respected here, but somehow they respect more the teachers in China… That's one point I want to add… uh, it doesn't really bother me but of course I would like to have more respect, even from my students and parents. Not only from the students but the whole society. In China if you say I am a teacher, people say "wow" so it's right after the doctors, or lawyers. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 10)

She further gave reasons for where her perception of a teacher's profession

originated by saying "because I was influenced by Confucianism," in which "teaching is

the highest in ancient Chinese." In her view, "teaching is a nice job" in Canada, it does

not get the attention or respect that it deserves.

Chan Xin's expectations of being professionally successful in the new country were

not fulfilled. Therefore, she tended to "lower her expectations" in finding a career. She

felt that she also needed to lower her expectations because of the different demands in the

Canadian job market. In China, a person who knows more than two languages would

have "many different job opportunities" that are also "better-paid." As a Mandarin

teacher in Canada, she found that the number of people who wanted to learn Mandarin

was limited: "So the demand is very different, and my specialty here actually is not a

specialty… because my specialty is languages and most people here they want to be

bilingual or trilingual. So I don't have any advantage here." Chan Xin was aware that the

priority of her clients in Montreal is being bilingual in English and French and only after

that they might learn a third language: "But I can speak Mandarin, I can teach Mandarin,

you know. That's why I say I need to lower my expectation."

Chan Xin further revealed her multiple identity representations as a Chinese

mother. Through a process of identity categorization (De Fina, 2003), Chan Xin saw

herself as a mom first and foremost, and then as Chinese. She also associated her languages with different activities such as English for TV shows (as a shared activity with her husband) and food with Chinese. While she appreciated the Quebec culture, she did not see herself as a Québécoise, but as "an outsider" and an "immigrant": "I appreciate a lot Quebec culture and its value but I don't see myself as Québécoise, I see myself as immigrant in Quebec… sometimes when I say outsider it's not really nice, but I feel being an outsider, you know." For Chan Xin, "identity is never the same, it doesn't stay there, because it always changes with our experiences and… so I think it will change all the time."

In the case of José, he went through the immigration process as a student first, sizing up the possibility of being a permanent resident in Quebec. For José, immigration and being an immigrant was associated with facing barriers. That is why he divided his life before and after getting a permanent residency (PR) when we discussed the immigration topic. A factor which of course should be taken into account is the length of residence. José spent quite a few years and waited until the end of his Ph.D. studies to apply for the PR. He learned more about the new environment, which helped him overcome the immigration barriers.

Likewise, José compared the two cultures of Brazil and Canada, and argued why he preferred to live in Canada where it is "more organized" and that people are "distant" compared to those in Brazil where people "start figuring out what you are up to." Further problems were listed as getting a credit card to renting an apartment when one is not even on a PR (permanent residence) status. He later acknowledged that at the end of his Ph.D., the length of residence helped him be "fully adapted to the place."

Striving to be part of the imagined workplace community. Doing extensive research about the labour market is a task that many immigrants have to come to grips with even before entering the receiving country. In Quebec, aside from what professions are listed as in high demand, immigrants often obtain information about career opportunities from various sources. Reflecting upon their experience of the job search prior to and during immigration, the participants of this study recounted various narratives of gauging career prospects in relation to their professional fields.

Anna launched inquiries about the prospects of her profession before leaving her home country, through a variety of resources such as websites and personal connections with other immigrants already established in Canada. Anna's friend referred to her French teacher as someone who was not originally from Quebec, yet was able to teach French to immigrants and offered Anna a tangible proof of the possibility of obtaining a similar position as an ESL teacher. Anna, too, felt that was "doable" since a teaching job seemed to be less difficult than a doctor or engineer's job. Through a process of ventriloquation (Bakhtin, 1981), Anna spoke through the voice of her friend in order to present her professional positioning. According to Bakhtin, ventriloquation is "the process whereby one voice speaks through another voice or voice type in a social language" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 59).

Imagination plays an essential role in the process of self-identification and self-representation (Hall, 1990). In this sense, Aramesh imagined pursuing a career related to her field of study, mathematics, but found out that her options were limited. While she was hesitant about her imagined profession and the possible job market, she was positive to enter a workplace, sizing up different opportunities:

I can't anticipate my future life here because all things can change, but I prefer to enter a work environment and after that I can see if it's suitable for me to continue. It was my dream to continue my field but unfortunately here there is not a lot of research about my field (Aramesh, Int. 1, Excerpt 17)

Aramesh aimed to reconstruct her professional identity in the imagined workplace community, in which she could connect with its members through "the power of imagination" (Kano & Norton, 2003, p. 241). Through comparing her past experience and perceived current reality, she argued that she did not like to do the so-called general careers such as being a cashier, although in her view those jobs did not require a high level of language proficiency. She did not want to do whatever was available to her and did not want to get bored after a long-time doing a routine job:

R: Do you feel that you will be part of the workplace community here?

Aramesh: Maybe not. Because first I really require having a specific skill related to my job... It's very important here to take time to go to university, school, and to have a specific experience about your job. And then…you can have your confidence, your ability to work and I think after this process, yes, I can do that and I promise that I can be as a positive Canadian here…. (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 14)

Aramesh was confident about being part of the workplace community in Quebec, she put forward an argument that she needed adequate time to reach to the point of being "a positive Canadian." Although she did not have a sense of belonging at the time of the interview, she was optimist that she could eventually become an active member of the society in future. She did not want to be marginalized and thus wanted to reconstruct her identity and relationship with the social world. She was looking for more opportunities to invest in language learning and to access her desired social status (Norton & Gao, 2008).

In order to access *a desired social status*, participants made great investments in doing part-time jobs, acquiring further credentials, learning both English and French, and participating in volunteering activities. Following this mindset, Ruiyi found a part-time

job as a bookkeeper in a small company. While in the job, she decided to continue her studies as part of the requirement for her application for being a professional accountant in Quebec.

To develop her skills, Ruiyi decided to engage in different communities, meet new people from other nationalities, and remain open-minded about people's differences and diversity. Ruiyi did not want to limit herself to the Chinese community. She emphasized that having a job experience in the new country would pave the way for receiving further job offers. Yet for some participants like Simone acquiring additional experience, credentials, and skills in the new society did not necessarily lead to better career opportunities in a short period of time. In fact, it took Simone seven years and multiple attempts to prove herself in the Quebec labour market before being hired in a government agency:

> After uncountable interviews, this was the first time that I didn't feel devalued due to the fact that I was an immigrant and French was not my mother tongue. Some of my experiences give me the sensation that I have an intellectual disability and all my studies are not enough to get a decent job in Canada. Sometimes even before get in the interview, you see in interviewer's posture that they don't want foreigners there. But this time, I feel the contrary. The comment of the interviewer was that an immigration raises well the determination of a person and also his ability to adapt. And going back to school in Quebec also showed that I was able to adapt and fit into his team (Simone, Int. 1, Excerpt 23)

Several underlying themes have emerged from the narratives above: first, finding a decent job (such as a job in the government agencies) is a difficult and time-consuming process which Simone went through. Also, it was the first time she did not feel degraded due to being an immigrant. Her failure in her previous job applications had left her with the impression that she had "intellectual disability," though she was exaggerating, and that her cultural capital was useless. Simone argued that her re-schooling experience (gaining further cultural capital) in Quebec helped her become a more valued immigrant.

Similarly, for Mostafa, finding a job was the most important goal in his life. His plan was to work as an electrical engineer in Montreal and then open his own start-up business after completing his doctoral studies, broadening his professional experience through working in the Quebec job market. The two challenges he had imagined were the French language and the lack of job opportunity related to his profession (electrical engineering) in Quebec. Mostafa did not feel that he was an active participant of the society because he did not have time to participate in social activities. For him, integration meant "[k]nowing that your society…you know who is your MP [Member of Parliament]? who is your-- I mean, what kind of activities you have in your play." For Mostafa, having a job and making friends with co-workers as well as participating in cultural/traditional events were the steps towards integration.

The reality of the host society and prior expectations: the case of Martina. The expectations of several participants of this study before coming to Montreal was overly optimistic. Once they arrived in Montreal, they found themselves caught in social, economic, and political tensions and challenges. As a result, they constantly refereed to their previous professional and social identities in their home countries. Negotiating identity and the topic of reconstructing social and professional identities was overly dominant in the participants' narrative accounts. Going back to the concept of identity, Martina offered her definition of the concept of *identity* and commented that:

> I would say it [identity] is a fluid concept… that applies to different parts of our lives. There are switches depending… but it's also something that develops over time. Right? Even if you would stay in the same place in the same context all your life, I think your identity would change somewhat or at least I hope. For example, I remember watching somebody, when his father died, watching him from becoming a son into the man of the family just within a week seeking his identity change. That happens to people, right that's where your identity changes. And if you have children, then you become a parent... So identity is something that's… how should I say?... in constant progress. It's not something that's completely fixed, in my

opinion. Identity's also something that is partially-- it's actually a good question because I've been thinking about this. I've been thinking about what is identity in the sense of, "What's my identity?" And I think that-- identity's not something that exists outside of a context. I can't give you a definition. So I'm just going to give you thoughts like this. So it does not exist outside of a context. (Martina, Int. 2, Excerpt 16)

Martina demonstrated a deep understanding of the concept of identity using indexicals such as "a fluid concept," "there are switches," "develops over time," and "in constant progress." By providing an example, she also argued that identity could not be separated from the context, emphasizing the connection between identity and space (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). A dominant theme emergent in Martina's narrative accounts was her views on immigrants' languages and identities as perceived by the Quebeckers. Martina argued that she felt as though the allophones' languages and identities are not recognized in Quebec:

> But you, as an immigrant come in, and my God, please learn our language! And best even, do not speak your language anymore at home, even with your family, just speak constantly in French. So what are you saying? Are you saying my identity is worthless? Are you basically telling me that your identity is so threatened by English that you don't even want your kids to learn English in school? It angers me so much. But at the same time, you're annoyed that I am not more open to taking on your language and just basically eliminate my identity. Now fortunately for you, I do not think that my language is my identity. I think language is part of my identity, I do not think it is every-- I think there's more to identity than my language, that's what I'm basically saying. I think it's an important part of it. (Martina, Int. 2, Excerpt 19)

Unleashing critical remarks in her narratives above, Martina built an argument that similar to other immigrants, her mother-tongue language and identity is fundamental to her. She used the second person plural *you* to address those who promote the idea that the presence of other languages is a *threat* to the French language and identity in Quebec.

Martina initially believed that living in Montreal was not so different from living in Vienna (her home town). She thought that living in Montreal was "just living in a more

multicultural space" (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt. 1). Martina explained how her expectations

of learning and improving both English and French were not met:

> What came later was I did learn some French in school [language school], and that
> was my biggest shock, because coming here I thought, "Oh, great! I am going to
> learn English and French at the same time!" And then I came here and I didn't
> understand any of the French speakers [laughter]. It's such a slap in the face
> [laughter]. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt. 2)

What Martina is referring to by saying, "I didn't understand any of the French

speakers," is not about her knowledge of French, but about her understanding of the

French accent in Quebec. Her French proficiency was quite decent (self-evaluated as

upper-intermediate). The topic of the Quebec French accent was discussed by almost all

participants. They reported that the French language which immigrants learn in language

schools (before immigration or once they are in Quebec) is closer to the so-called the

standard French (e.g., the French language used in the media). The international French is

also used as a euphemism for the French of France (Oakes & Warren, 2007). Whereas

what they hear in Quebec' society is a heavily accented variation of French, which is

localized, sometimes anglicized, and mainly combined with cultural references, known as

Quebec French.

Coming from a European country, Martina did not expect to face many difficulties

in integrating to her new life in Montreal while learning French. When I further asked her

about her plans and wishes before her immigration, and also once she settled in the new

environment, she raised two points: *opportunity* and *expectation*. In her interviews, she

repeatedly mentioned that she was a good student in her language classes. She always got

an A in her French courses both in Austria and in Montreal. She was expecting to have

more opportunities to improve her French through communicating with local people.

There were, however, disappointed expectations all round when she recounted her

interactional experiences: "My expectation was that it shouldn't take too long until I can have conversations in French… I'm still struggling with that [laughter]" (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt. 3). Martina's perception of her French language proficiency did not match what she had initially expected: "I thought my French was decent. Turns out it was not [laughter]."

Chapter Summary

The immigrant participants of this study developed their plurilingual repertoires through learning French and English in Quebec. The participants' motivation for learning French strengthened after their arrival in Quebec for reasons such as becoming an active participant in society. They thus invested heavily in their language learning in both formal and informal learning environments. The participants' language learning experiences and their self-representations offered valuable insight into this inquiry. Most participants described themselves as high-achieving, open-minded, extroverted, and highly motivated learners. They had an awareness of benefiting from the bilingual nature of Montreal. Thus, rather than immersing themselves in one language only, they wanted to blend into the new society, and therefore, adopted different strategies to learn French, including attempts to initiate conversations in French with the strangers. Several participants appreciated the support they had received from the anglophones in improving their English proficiency. While participants showed an awareness of the importance of learning and improving French for their social and professional adjustments, they experienced some challenges. Along with the lack of accommodation in communicating, understanding the accent was one issue they were struggling with, even after a lengthy period of living in Montreal.

As plurilingual individuals, participants used their different languages occasionally for different purposes and in different situations. Most of them, for example, preferred to use English in the circumstances related to health issues. Multiple factors were also at play in the language practices as represented in the marital and parental relationships of participants of this inquiry. The couples preferred to use a language which both were comfortable in (i.e., English). The data obtained from participants through different tools of inquiry revealed the complex interplay between their personal, social, and professional identities. Several participants always compared their language learning experiences in their home countries and Canada, as well as their social and professional identities in their home countries with those in Canada, traveling across time and space (Blommaert, 2015).

While some participants (e.g., Anna) acknowledged their sense of comfort and recognition in Canada, others (e.g., Aramesh) had not yet acquired a desirable status. The participants who felt integrated into Quebec indicated that a strong reason for a sense of integration was distancing themselves from their ethnic group community. As a result, they were able to make friends from both anglophone and francophone communities (at least in the early years of living in Quebec). Participants felt being somewhere in-between, even after having lived for almost ten years in Canada. For some, they wanted to learn French but were attached to the anglophone part. Despite all the investments and efforts in learning French and getting involved in social activities, the immigrant parents also felt being an *outsider* and perceived their inclusion an arduous process in the Quebec society. For many participants, several years' of residency in Montreal was full of liberating and unnerving experiences. They invested heavily in accumulating linguistic capital through taking several French language courses both in the Quebec francization

program (seven out of ten) and in private/semi-private language schools, as well as through a self-directed informal learning process. In this respect, participants consciously used language learning strategies and experienced the challenges of using these strategies in a bilingual Montreal. Most of them strategically looked for opportunities outside their formal language environments and in social spheres to practice French and English, and had both positive and negative experiences.

Chapter Six: Findings & Learnings:
Trajectories of Investment and Integration

Chapter Overview

This Chapter presents the emerging themes and interpretation of the data on participants' investment in their present and imagined social and workplace communities. I also describe the participants' experiences of inclusion in the Quebec society as well as the barriers they encountered in their integration processes. Drawing on the data, I present the recurrent patterns, commonalities, and the themes that emerged from the data analysis. The chapter is a continuation of and a complement to Chapter Five. I have thus examined the narrative accounts of participants to explore how they positioned themselves and how they were positioned by others in their social relations. I wanted to understand participants' multiple identity claims concerning their investment in various interactions in the social and professional settings. To establish a dialogic relationship, participants and I engaged in conversations at times, as compared to structured interviews. They demonstrated different levels of *agency* while shifting topics of their narratives to pinpoint their successful and critical experiences.

Part Three: Investment in Social and Professional Practices

"I feel like this society doesn't want to accept me. I'm not there yet" (Simone).

Re-investing in further cultural capital. Pursuing a graduate degree is a choice available to the skilled immigrants so that they can become recognized more easily (not necessarily faster) as professionals in the new society. This high level of investment to access a wide range of symbolic and educational resources (Norton, 2013), was also evident among the participants of this inquiry. To acquire additional cultural and symbolic capital, several participants completed a college or university degree with the

hope of access/entry into the job market. For some, constant efforts to get employed were to no avail, and thus they decided to enrol in graduate programs at English or French institutions. Except for Simone who had obtained a master's degree from a French university, the other participants had graduated from English universities at the time of participating in this study. Aramesh attended a French university, but the language of her studies in the doctoral program was English. Dariush was the only participant who had not pursued a graduate degree at the time of data collection for this study but was thinking of pursuing a master's in chemistry. Martina withdrew from a Ph.D. program at an English university after five years.

The process of re-investment in acquiring further cultural capital produced at least three positive outcomes for participants: first, they acquired an academic degree in the receiving country, gained the recognition and legitimacy to become qualified in the Quebec labour market, and among workplace communities. Second, they found ample opportunities to practice their language skills. Third, participants also engaged in additional social and professional networking, which could pave the way for further career employment. As an example, Simone made a comparison between the francization program and the master's program at a French university she had attended. Two major themes emerged from her narratives on this topic: first, in the francization program, she spent most of her time with people from the same ethnic background, thus speaking mostly in Spanish and Portuguese. In the master's program, however, she had more exposure to French through interacting with French speakers, and thus developed a higher level of French proficiency. Second, as part of her master's program, she was required to participate in an internship program in the Ministry of Transportation

(*Transports Quebec*). This offered her an opportunity to get involved in the real job market.

When I asked her if there were any other reasons for her decision to continue her studies and obtain a second master's degree, Simone generated a discussion about the academic and professional status of her field of study in Brazil and Canada. Comparing the two countries, Simone differentiated the level of advancement in science and technology in Canada as compared to her country of origin, Brazil. She realized that her skills in geography and geometrics were not *enough* for the Canadian job market. Her narratives also demonstrated a distinction between cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) accumulated in her country of origin and that of in the Canadian educational and professional environments. Simone eventually found a job in the public sector and described it as her best experience of success, although it took her seven years of extended schooling and work. In the changing markets of employment, there was less value for a Brazilian degree but more value for a Canadian degree. Her investment in employment thus paid off and it is thus a success story in that respect.

Pursuing a graduate degree has its pros and cons. As Martina stated, on the one hand, you meet other students from diverse backgrounds, but on the other hand, you might realize "how isolated you would be… when you're doing your Ph.D. you spend your life with other Ph.D. students." This isolated life of Ph.D. students who often live in their *academic bubble* is a limiting factor in accessing opportunities for learning L2.

Comparing the education system in Canada and US, Mostafa argued that in Canada university professors "have more power" and higher "expectations" of their students. The main challenge for him, however, was *miscommunication*, which generated tensions, and made him change his supervisor after seven months as well as his field of study. The life

of a graduate student is also difficult due to financial restrictions and inadequate funding for studying. Mostafa also described the life of a graduate student as "disorganized." He believed that graduate students are asked to work more than they are paid and thus some of them do not have enough motivation to work well. This is while many doctoral students plan to apply for a PR during their studies to stay and work in Quebec. Mostafa felt that he was not able to participate in the social activities as much as he wanted: "so I don't have the time to live like other people. And also it's more money to spend when you go outside, when you go to cafes, when you go to restaurants. So it's not affordable for grad students" (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 23). He felt isolated and lonely due to his long-time working hours in the lab, making him separated from the "normal people" of the society.

Skills degrading and disempowerment. The concept of investment is deeply rooted in Marx's ideas and was brought in to various areas of the social sciences by scholars such as Bourdieu. Newcomers, drawing on Bourdieu's theories, bring in their capitals and invest in seeking opportunities and accessing resources (Bourdieu, 1991). In this view, *investment* is often defined and understood through a linear process, where the capital generating from point A is freed up in point B, where the rich experiences of individuals in their immigration trajectories with all challenges, delicacies, and recurrent dreams, are moulded into the materialistic/capitalist spectra. Such understanding of investment may not be able to capture the richness of the phenomenon (immigrants' language learning in multilingual/multicultural settings). In this sense, having a certain amount of capital is a sine qua non for investment.

Investment and integration are also linked in a sense that greater investment would lead to a further degree of integration. As discussed in Chapter Three, the capital that is

brought in by skilled immigrants is not often recognized and acknowledged in the new

society. Unrecognizing skilled immigrants' accumulated cultural and symbolic capital

will result in degrading their skills and knowledge and their disempowerment. In

Martina's view, immigration is a *disempowering experience* whereby the immigration

process itself would result in degrading of the skills among skilled immigrants:

> But it's a disempowering experience because you had a status in your country. You
> were someone in your country. At least that's true for most immigrants …Being
> unemployed and not being able to provide for your family, again, is a very
> disempowering and very depressing state of affairs…And…that hurts your identity.
> That's a very painful experience. And I think for men particularly, that's an
> extremely difficult experience to deal with, this not being capable of providing for
> your family and this feeling of, "I brought them here and now I can't…" (Martina,
> Int. 2, Excerpt 24)

Using indexicals such as "disempowering", "depressing", "painful", and

"extremely difficult" experience, Martina kept emphasizing how skills degradation could

have adverse effects on the skilled immigrants' lives. Norton's construct of investment is

a plausible explanation in language learning, which "recognizes that language learners

have complex, multiple identities, changing across time and space, and reproduced in

social interaction" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 20). Notably, in most immigrant-receiving

countries, despite the many reasons for wanting to immigrate to another country, the

process of immigrating is disempowering and destabilizing for many immigrants. The

process of regaining their previous status also takes a long time, and sometimes goes to

the next generation. Many parents are aware of this fact and still make the sacrifice of

changing countries.

To sum up, participants made investments in social and professional practices

through various routes. Volunteering and pursuing a second graduate degree (in addition

to the first degree obtained in their home countries), were among further investments to

gain recognition and acquire qualifications for Quebec's labour market. This is while participants were aware of the degrading and disempowering aspects of the immigration process, yet it appeared that they had accepted the fact and made efforts to align themselves with new investments in the receiving country. In other words, while making further investments involved spending a huge amount of time, energy, and often a heavy financial burden, most participants regarded it as a valuable action that would eventually pay off.

Being prepared before immigration. The skilled immigrant participants of this study held an expectation about the social and professional settings in Quebec and their blurred imagination of the job market before coming to the province. In Anna's view, the most critical part of the immigration is "doing your homework before you leave the country, knowing what your chances are to make it here…" to avoid "major disappointments" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 25). Many immigrants do not spend enough time researching the possibilities, opportunities, and job prospects in the new society. Referring to her situation, Anna asserted that she "didn't have that excellent social status" in her home country, and for that reason, she was able to adjust herself easier to the new circumstances.

> We started from scratch and we started from zero and every year you progress. But if you come with a background, already good social status, your expectations will be much higher than the reality. Considering that we didn't have that excellent social status there, our expectations were kind of similar to the reality so we could just add up, not go below zero. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 26)

Using the indexicals such as "from scratch", "zero", and "add up", Anna made an argument about her readiness for rebuilding a new life reflecting "the reality." Another major problem for skilled immigrants, as Anna described, is that their credentials are not recognized in Quebec and they must go through the process of having their past studies

evaluated by the government: "Well, it's the questions of recognition of your studies which is important." Therefore, the expectations of immigrants cannot easily be matched with "the reality" of the host society if their past experiences are not acknowledged at all. In other words, it is not that skilled immigrants have to lower their expectations, but they may not have any other choices. They have to start "from scratch" because that is the only option for them as their social and professional status have undergone significant changes and need to be reshaped and reconstructed again.

Accessing resources as an immigrant parent: the case of Simone. In this section, I present Simone's trajectories of arriving in Quebec while pregnant and later living in Montreal as a single mother. Simone used governmental and non-governmental services such as *Emploi Quebec* and *Course 101 de recherche d'emploi* to prepare herself for the job market. She received services for the CV and cover letter preparation. Although she used a variety of resources, she encountered several difficulties. Initially, when she wanted to register for the francization program, she was told that she had to wait because she was pregnant at that time. Simone faced major challenges as a pregnant immigrant first and then as a mother. She did not find the useful resources she needed. For example, when she looked for the services for the pregnant immigrants, she was asked to wait until the baby was born, which left her confused. She felt frustrated and disappointed by not receiving the support she was looking for as a pregnant woman. Thus, she tried to find the information she needed by herself through searching on the web and going to different organizations. When the child was born she needed to find a job.

Even after her child was born, Simone struggled with the lack of resources she was hoping to receive from the immigration centers. At the time of this inquiry, her children were four and seven years old, and her being a single mom exacerbated her living

conditions. At times, she felt disappointed and even thought of working at bakeries to make money because she found that the skills she had developed were not helpful: "I have too many skills, but it just doesn't matter." The social integration was even "harder because you have young children, [it]is cold outside, so I stayed maybe a year at home." Having young children and experiencing the long cold weather of Montreal made her isolated. She particularly found it difficult to socialize with others: "how go out with a baby. And you try to find friends, but you have a kid. You are tired." Her situation as a single mother who was taking care of two young children did not leave her any free time. She received some help from her Brazilian friends but that was not enough. When she referred to *Emploi Quebec* counsellor to receive help and to get information about resources, she was confused by a large amount of information that, in her view, was not helpful.

I wanted to ask Simone what her expectations from those organizations were, and I had not finished the last word when she responded: "more humane." Given the circumstances, she was hoping to receive better, more humane services, overall. Simone viewed all the obstacles in her immigration process as a learning experience and argued that her personality had gone through considerable changes because of those obstacles. She plucked up courage in the face of adversity, became more patient, and more determined. She learned not to give up when she was faced with further difficulties:

> So I know it's hard but tomorrow, it'll be easier. We try again. We do again. And it's frustrating, my life change after because I had kids so this is help, this help. But living in another country alone, yeah. Yeah, I think I'm more confident with myself about the diversities…I'm more open to know other people. (Simone, Int. 2, Excerpt 23)

Being a single mother and not having enough support was "frustrating," but she was hopeful and became more confident about her future life and also interacting with

people. She learned that she had to be strong, and that she had to fight to get what she

wanted at the end. Yet she raised an interesting point about making friends in the new

society as an immigrant. For Simone, immigrants make efforts to find new friends in the

new country while in their own country they do not look for friends because "you know

your friends with whom you grow up."

Therefore, while making friends was not a concern for her in Brazil, in Canada, she

was placed in a dilemma of choosing her friends and not having enough time and energy

for socializing. After living for almost ten years in Montreal, having obtained two

master's degrees from a French university, raising two children in the new society, and

having found a job in a government's sector, Simone still did not feel integrated. While

she emphasized that having a full-time job is the most pivotal factor in speeding up the

integration process, she was still hesitant about it: "For me, I feel like this society doesn't

want to accept me. I'm not there yet."

Part Four: Social and Professional Integration and Obstacles

*"I think you're integrated when you no longer have a feeling there's a wall between you
and the others" (Martina, Int. 1).*

In their study, Jean Renaud and his colleagues found that in terms of language use,

only after the ten-year period their research participants became comfortable with French

as "the language most frequently used outside the home with people who are neither

relatives nor friends" (Renaud et al., 2003, p. 97). However, it depended on the

participants' knowledge of English or French before immigration. Some participants of

my study also argued that the stability that they initially thought they would establish

fairly quickly took several years. Through discussing how she perceived her social

inclusion, Martina, for example, described integration as having something such as a

partner, friends, property, and permanent job, as examples of anything "that keeps you there," arguing that integration depends on "the length of residence" since it "is a difficult timely process."

Developing attachments to the host society and mastering its language does not necessarily lead to successful social mobility and integration (Allan & McElhinny, 2017). In Martina's case, the reality did not match her expectations of integration. Before coming to Montreal, she had expected to have a smooth integration, mainly because she was "just living in a more multicultural space," and that she "would be just as integrated as [she] had been in Austria." However, since she was not "somebody who is in multiple clubs and associations," she expected to find her friends after settling down and being stable after a while, which indeed took her almost ten years.

Since the early months of arrival, participants actively searched for the resources to help them get established. Apart from the French courses offered by the francization program, several participants looked for employment opportunities offered by *Emplois Quebec*. They used the services offered by *Emplois Quebec* and *francization* as resources available for language learning and gaining employment. Anna also viewed being subscribed to the Montreal Gazette (the only English language daily newspaper published in Montreal) as a form of her investment in integration: "I am subscribed to it for almost ten years now." She further recounted an experience in one of her French language classes where she was the only one who knew the word *tête-de-violin* (fiddlehead fern) – a local plant in Quebec when the teacher asked about it in class.

In response to the question of whether she felt integrated or not, Olive commented that she felt integrated because she felt "like a functional member of the society." Olive described having a job, friends, local things, property, and routine life as the factors that

result in integration (and made her feel integrated). She added that language played an essential role in her integration process in Montreal. As an anglophone, she made great efforts to integrate into the francophone community. Her accounts revealed that for her, integration was a relative concept. The feeling of being integrated changes in different stages of life. Initially, being integrated is evidenced by having a job, making friends, and owning a property. Once these expectations are met, the sense of integration is redefined and includes broader issues. In Olive's case, this denotes "having the freedom to say exactly" what she thinks or feels "at any point in time" in the French language. As a trait possessed by a high-achiever, Olive attributed the ability "to adequately express [her]self in all situations in French" as a criterion for inclusion. The discussion of José's integration and his feeling of belonging also became dominant in most of his narratives. He expressed his dissatisfaction about feeling "like an outsider" even after eight years of living in the receiving society.

Moreover, most immigrants go through complicated social and professional identification processes. The language obstacle is a major issue which makes immigrants work in lower-status jobs (such as working at the barbershop, restaurant, or being a taxi driver). Mostafa argued that immigrants who are often skilled and educated end up doing low-status jobs in Quebec. The other side of the story is that those well-educated immigrants do not often get prestigious jobs because "you have to speak French like the natives if you want to go to the high levels," said Mostafa in the second interview. High French proficiency is thus a requirement for the higher status careers. It should be noted that language is both an obstacle and a criterion for employment. Language can be used for discrimination and blocking access, but the fundamental reality is that for many jobs

(particularly those that are relevant to the skilled immigrants) having language skills is an essential factor.

Mostafa constantly compared and contrasted his prior immigration experience in the US with his new life in Quebec. He explained in the following extract that how his first immigration helped him cope with the challenges of his second immigration more easily:

> I am a risk taker and so when I came here I figured out that I don't know the language here. And it's hard for me to communicate with the people. So I wanted to-- because I did this when I moved from my home country to US. So I didn't know anything about American society or living with foreign people. But this time it was the second time that I had this experience. But at this time I didn't know how to communicate with the people in the French language. So this was a problem. So, yeah, I thought of that-- this is a big challenge for me and if I overcome this challenge-- so it would be very good for me in the future. (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 1)

While the mobility process for Mostafa in his second immigration to Quebec was not as difficult as it was in the first immigration, he encountered an obstacle which he was not expecting: the French language. He wanted to communicate with people, but did not know the language, a limiting factor in his social interactions. When I asked him why he was surprised to learn that he needed to learn French in Montreal, his response was: "I didn't know that. The Montreal… they told me that it is [a] bilingual society. So I didn't know that the French has more power here" (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 2).

Although Mostafa was aware that French is the dominant language in Quebec, his perception of Montreal was a bilingual city where he had the choice of using English. During the five years of his doctoral studies, Mostafa was overwhelmed with work and thus did not invest adequately in his inclusion process through learning French and developing his social skills. In terms of his investment in his imagined workplace community, Mostafa strongly asserted that he was not willing to do any volunteering

work unrelated to his field. For him, learning the French language while doing an internship did not help him much: "In our field, no, we cannot learn French. You are sitting in front of the computer doing the simulation…" (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 6). Compared to other participants, he was focusing on some strategies and not others.

Thus, due to the nature of his job, he was not able to have much interaction with other people and practise his languages. He generated a high motivation to learn French but did not have enough time and resources to invest in thoroughly learning the language. He recounted a story of speaking with a friend who did not want to learn French in Quebec because he felt he did not need to, because "he was not going to stay in Quebec." His friend further added that he could learn French any time in the future if he wanted to.

Mostafa, however, had a different opinion: "even if I move [leave Quebec], I'd like to learn French because if I go to visit Paris one day, so I can. I like to learn new things" (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 7). Learning French thus became a funny, interesting hobby rather than a forceful and unwanted task. Mostafa considered the option of going back to his home country after a few years, this time with more cultural-educational capital:

> I love Tehran more than anywhere [laughter]. My family's there, I grew up there so, my Mother's tongue is Farsi, so I can speak to the people, I have more friends, relatives, so why not? Good food [laughter]. (Mostafa, Int. 2, Excerpt 9)

Mostafa felt attached to the city in which he was born, his mother tongue language, Azeri, and his intimate relationship with family and friends. He was missing all of those in the new society.

Unsuccessful Social Interactions

"It annoys me, right? It shouldn't matter. What should matter is that I spoke to him in French, if at all" (Martina, Int. 1).

A major theme that emerged from Martina's data was her unsuccessful interactions with the French speakers in Quebec, even after her long period of establishment in the city. She received discouraging responses when speaking French in her early days in Montreal:

> My experience was simply this. You say something in French. The French is not perfect, and you're kind of getting this look. It's almost like, "Come back later when your French is better." If it's not perfect, they don't try to understand you. They don't help you. They don't put an effort themselves. It's like you always feel like you're the one who puts all the effort, and there is no effort from their side. At the same time, if I'm speaking to English speakers and my English is not good, they put effort in as well. They try to make the conversation work. So they come towards you. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 6)

Martina expressed her negative experience of *social receptiveness* and the lack of *communication accommodation* when speaking with French speakers in Montreal (Piché & Frenette, 2001). She compared the feedback she had received from both the anglophones and francophones, emphasizing that in her social interactions, the French speakers "don't put an effort themselves… you always feel like you're the one who puts all the effort, and there is no effort from their side." Conversely, she was having a good experience communicating with the English speakers as "they put effort in as well" and that they "try to make the conversation work." She perceived her French proficiency as decent, allowing her to maintain a conversation for "half an hour" with some native French speakers in France when she was there (an anecdote that she exchanged to show her good level of French proficiency).

In Quebec, however, having a successful conversation with the French speakers in different social occasions bore little relation to reality. Martina brought up this issue serval times during the interviews and offered two reasons for her social disengagement with francophones: first, the difference between the two versions of the French language

as it is taught in the French classes and as it is used in society. As mentioned before, the former refers to the standard French, while the latter is the French which is more casual, colloquial, and locally known as the Quebec French – a specific regional variety of French. Indeed, some immigrants have very negative perceptions of Quebecois French and are not keen to learn it because they see it as inferior. Those immigrants are mostly from French colonies, where a hexagonal variety of French is used in schools.

The second reason, in Martina's view, was her unsuccessful interactions with the francophones with whom she tried to communicate, and their not making enough effort in maintaining a conversation with allophones: "They don't try. They don't make a step towards you when it comes to their own language."

Martina's narratives below reflect how she categorizes English and French (the anglophone and francophone), where the mother-tongue languages of immigrants are overlooked:

> I feel my experience with Quebecers, for example, was I'm trying to speak in French and I'm getting this thing of d'anglophone toi? And I'm going, "Actually, no, my mother tongue is German," and they're like, "Yeah, but you're either francophone or you're anglophone," and I'm like, "No, that's not how the world works." There are a zillion languages out there. Trust me [laughter]. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 7)

This is in line with McAndrew and Arcand's (2013) argument that in the collective consciousness in Quebec, anglophones and allophones "were clearly part of another group – called the English, English-Canadians, or Others, as the case may be" (p. 16). When asked to elaborate on her interactional experiences, Martina recounted how she experienced the communication differently when communicating with French and English speakers:

> No English speaker ever had a problem with that. They engage with you, they try to understand, they're friendly, they cut you slack. French speakers, they either switch

to English or they kind of just stare at you and they say "Je comprend pas, je comprend pas,…". At some point, I'm like, "You know what? I know nice English speakers. I don't need you." And I'm sure there are super nice francophones here…. well, it comes from these initial experiences of the "d'anglophone" and this, "Oh, but your English is better than your French." They throw it at you as if it is an accusation. I'm like, "Listen, I'm learning two foreign languages at the same time. Cut me some slack here. Of course one is easier than the other, right? (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 8)

From Martina's narratives above it emerges that "the dual linguistic nature of Montreal thus remains a challenge for French" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 135). As a unique sociolinguistic environment, Montreal is home to two dominant languages of English and French that "are pulling in opposite directions" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 135). This also raises the issue of the *moral contract* as mentioned in the document *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble* (the Quebec immigration policy document of 1991), which outlines that it is crucial to be "open to others as the host society and in developing harmonious intergroup relations" (Gouvernement du Québec, 1991, p. 17). Most of Martina's experiences occurred in downtown Montreal, where a large number of heritage languages are spoken and heard, where bilingual and multilingual code-switching are prominent (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Similar participants' experiences could be explained by the way many young adults in a study conducted by Lamarre, Paquette, Kahn, Ambrosi (2002) acted in Montreal. Those young adults had "the language skills needed to cross ethnic, linguistic, and geographic frontiers and [were] using languages to do just that in their daily activities" (Lamarre et al. 2002, p. 70). Martina repeatedly argued that when she tried to speak French with French speakers, they did not maintain a conversation and instead switched to English. The French speakers who also know English might assume that speaking in English would be easier for the immigrant learner (who already knows English but not

French), and thus switch to English. On the one hand, this might help facilitate the communication, but on the other hand – as several participants of this study raised it– would immediately block the single path of the language use and practice in the social interactions.

For many language learners holding an ordinary and straightforward conversation with the native speakers seems to be an attainable goal. In reality, however, immigrants might get the thumbs down from the other side of the dialogue. In Martina's view, the anglophone and francophone's distinction, along with a concern to maintain the French language and identity in Quebec, has resulted in non-recognition of other languages (the mother-tongue languages of immigrants). Martina further described her experience of attending a colloquium in French, as part of her job, interacting with French speakers, where she got engaged in a conversation with someone who expressed her concerns about the French language and identity in Quebec:

> she's talking to me, I've told her "je suis autrichienne je parle l'allemand. Ce ma langue maternelle." Now we're speaking in French and she knows I'm working at [an English university] and she says to me, "Yeah, but you don't understand what it's like for a French speaker. If you're someone in Montreal and everybody speaks English to you, you lose your French. You don't know what it means to live in a foreign language." And I'm going, "Can we go back to the beginning of this conversation when I said I was a German speaker? I have not lost my language. I can still talk in German [laughter]." (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 9)

Martina further added that what she thought was missing in such dialogues, was the "attitude and willingness to change perspective and inability to put themselves into somebody else's shoes" and that "they really duck themselves into this position where they're the victims of an English occupier" (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 10). Martina seemed to be engaged in a conversation not following plausible reasoning, in which the presence of other languages is not acknowledged.

In the previous paragraphs, I explored Montreal's complex social interactions in relation to the common understandings of the three linguistic categories of anglophone, francophone, and allophone. In this section, I will present the narratives of participants as framed by the critical events they had encountered. I thus continue the discussions of Martina's narrative accounts, who came to Quebec "very eager" with a decent level of English to further improve her French language but then realized that "the French community she went into here is not actually open to someone coming in who is not already fluent in French," resulting in a feeling of rejection by the francophone community which she felt was not open to help her improve her French.

Small story #3: Martina's interaction with the police officer in French
At one point I needed help from a policeman, so I approached a policeman. And I asked him in French. I approach him in French, I thought it [inaudible] first, he already asked us in French. And I'm pretty sure that my sentence was correct. The pronunciation was, of course, German accent, but I'm pretty sure that the sentence in itself was correct and understandably. And all I'm getting is a very kind of-- I don't even know how to describe this look. Snobby look. And I got a, "[D'anglophone, toi?]" Right? And I'm like, "What the heck is this? I asked you a question. What does it matter if I'm-- what language is my mother tongue? And I actually asked you the question in the language spoken here. I bothered. I put effort. I didn't approach you in English. And all I'm getting in response is this, "[Phh. D'anglophone, toi?]."

Martina also found it hard to understand the cultural references and the local expressions used by the Quebeckers. Although she has been using a variety of sources to learn and practice French, she felt that she did not acquire the cultural and linguistic references needed for full integration. However, as Oakes and Warren propose: "the question is to what extent full integration can be achieved by reading newspapers, magazines, and technical and economic texts" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 124). Martina indicated that the French speakers who lived in the suburbs were "more open." Overall, she gave three main obstacles in learning and using French in Montreal: first, the standard versus colloquial French; second, the cultural references, and third, the feeling

of being judged by the French speakers. Reflecting upon her experience of learning

French and then using it in real-life situations, Martina realized that the standard French

which she had learned back home and in Quebec's language school did not concur with

each other. What was interesting was that the participants like Martina did not mention

the same problem about the academic and standard English (probably not a concern

because of their higher proficiency level of English language compared to French). The

conversational, colloquial English language one hears on the streets of New York,

Toronto, or even Montreal, is different from what students learn in their formal classes.

There seems to be a higher degree of negativity about Quebecois French, which is

unusual. It is also interesting to find out where this negativity comes from and how

immigrants from different backgrounds perceive the French language spoken in Quebec.

"After work, I passed by the YMCA to replace a lost membership card. I decided to take this opportunity to ask whether I can switch to a different form of payment for the monthly membership fees. On the way there, I mentally prepared myself to hold the necessary conversation in French. The YMCA is a good place to practice because the staff there is very friendly. Nevertheless, I'm always nervous when speaking in French and so I made sure to go over the dialogue in my head before walking up to the reception. I should have guessed the receptionist would start by asking for my phone number, but I had not thought of that and promptly mixed up the digits. I still struggle with numbers greater than 20 because in French numbers are read from left to right whereas in German numbers are read from right to left (21 = "vingt et un" and not "un et vingt"). It took multiple attempts until I finally got it right and the receptionist could locate my file on the computer. To my relief, she was very patient and remained friendly throughout the process. Everything was resolved to my satisfaction, and I left feeling very good and a little more confident about my French conversation skills."
(Martina, Journal #2)

Figure 6.1. YMCA (by Martina)

Along similar lines and through discussing the challenges facing her in the social

interactions, Anna described her experience of the situations where the francophones

switched to English when they realized that French was not her mother tongue language.

She described this as an obstacle because:

> If you want to order stuff in French, but they realize French is not your mother tongue, they would switch to English. So that's a challenge, because if you want to practice…and I have colleagues from McGill who find the same problem, even though they are anglophones, let's say, and try to speak French sometimes, people would switch to English with them, so that's the challenge. People are very accommodating when they see French is not your most easy language to communicate in, you know. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 21)

As a generally accepted behaviour, the francophone's switching to English when speaking to French learners is a challenge in Anna's words. Anna ironically adds that "people are very accommodating when they see French is not your easy language to communicate in." This is the only place where being accommodating might not work because French learners need to hear more French rather than English. Anna's narratives above are thus different from the Montreal switch as this time it is the anglophones who hear English in response when they try to speak French. Anna was also plunged into another scene of confusion when using the English language in her neighbourhood:

> I had a moment here at the metro station in Vendome, where I asked for a ticket at the ticket booth in English and the guy spoke to me in French. And I felt a bit strange because considering it's NDG, the people there should be bilingual, right? So I would have been happier if the person was accommodating, maybe in that case I would have switched to French, but I didn't like the fact that he was very abrupt and speaking to me only in French. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 22)

Anna associated NDG with an English-speaking part of Montreal, where one could hear more English than French. Therefore, she felt bewildered when she found that the man at the metro booth did respond to her in French. Her assumption of English-French division – based on the neighbourhoods in the city of Montreal – was disapproved, leaving her with a feeling of confusion. She associated NDG as being more anglophone, and that is why she expected to hear English in her communication at the ticket booth.

It is also important to underline that systematic discrimination in the workplace has

been identified in Quebec (Chicha, 2012). Mostafa, however, experienced some

discriminatory behaviour at the *university* because of his ethnic background while he was

completing a doctoral degree:

> Many professors that they're Quebecois, and they don't like to spend time with the
> international students. I see their behavior. It is strange for me because they spend
> more times with the people that they are from here. They spend more time to help
> them to continue their research. But for us, they just say that, "Okay, we'll cut your
> budget if you don't do this, if you don't do that…" My former supervisor, he said
> this… "I will cut your budget." Said that, "I am paying you." (Mostafa, Int. 2,
> Excerpt 19)

Mostafa did not have a good relationship with his first supervisor, which he

associated with the supervisor's discriminatory behavior because of Mostafa's ethnic

background. His supervisor threatened him to cut his funding, speaking from a position

of power: "I feel that… they don't like us, and they think that we are bad people." I asked

him if before leaving his country, he had any image of this kind of behavior that he was

experiencing in the new society and his response was "no."

The theme of unwelcoming social relations was recurrent in José's narratives. He

expressed his concern about not receiving enough support in his social interactions with

regards to learning French – a reality that did not match with his prior expectations:

> Because when you arrive here and you don't have any good support, I know that
> from a fact that if I didn't have the people here supporting me [for English
> language], the native ones [native speakers of English], I would have quit. I would
> have gotten out with no problem and that was just because of the language issues
> not because of the troubles in the PhD but because of the way you are being treated
> here at the beginning. (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 23)

The importance of having social support is evident in the accounts above. José

emphasized that without the support of his academic community he would not have been

able to finish his doctoral studies. On the other hand, he expressed his disappointment

over receiving negative feedback on his attempts to communicate in French:

> That they want to integrate you but the natives [French speakers] are laughing when you speak French. What type of integration is that? Those things used to bother me a lot. How can you be receiving the immigrants, trying to bring immigrants and skilled workers here when in reality you don't want them to come. Because that's the feeling that you get once you're trying your best to integrate but what you receive is, not a cold, but a less welcoming environment that you would hope. So that I think is a problem is not as widespread here in Montreal because you already have lots of immigrants but in other places, the Quebec city, specifically, I found it very unwelcoming place, when you don't speak French or even if you speak French a bit but you are not their stereotype, that's where things start to get hard… (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 27)

In the narratives above, José unleashed somewhat a harsh criticism against the

French-speaking Quebeckers he had met. Their lack of communication accommodation,

he believed, resulted in an unsuccessful process of integration among immigrants. He

mainly argued that Quebec invites immigrants, mostly those with higher educational

qualifications, but that these immigrants are not offered a "welcoming environment"

when it comes to learning the French language.

José described his different experiences of learning English and French in

Montreal. Learning English was a positive experience mainly because he received "more

support from the anglophones," whereas his French learning experience was mostly

negative due to a lack of support: "still, every time I am about to speak French here, I do

not feel the incentive to do so, it is more of an obligation, and it does not come out

naturally." In José's case, the success in learning a language was primarily associated

with external factors – having or not having support from the speakers of that language.

Comparing his experience of learning both English and French in Montreal, José

explicitly disclosed his satisfaction of learning French in Quebec:

> The French part… first of all I would recommend Quebec for you to learn English rather than French. That would be my first advice…. You know it's the reality here that how the French is important. There is no way out so I acknowledge that. I like to learn anyway so…but what I felt is that in general whenever I'm struggling with English people, they are more understanding that when I'm struggling with French for practicing. That's what I've found… But when I tried to do the same thing with French here there were some people who would either twist your knowledge say "oh, that's bad French" or who would even laugh at you, I've been in those experiences. (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 24)

José did not have a positive experience with the French speakers he encountered with, whereas his experience of interacting with English speakers was positive. That is why José even recommended Montreal for learning English rather than French. José recounted the extreme reactions that had occurred when he tried to communicate with the French speakers. When we further discussed those unpleasant experiences in the interviews, I asked what he thought that the reasons for such reactions might have been. José did not have a definite answer but articulated that no reason could justify the negative experiences he went through. While José acknowledged the concerns for preserving the French language and identity – which was in part a defensive measure on the part of the Quebeckers – he decidedly argued against the ineffectiveness of such measures:

> So that tells you something already, you know. So despite all the efforts that have been done for the French to be spread out, I am not sure if the culture around here follow that trend to help you integrate in French here when you don't like… the people of the society… the bulk of society. Some people are more understanding some people are less but when I compare the English speakers versus the French speakers I felt that English speakers are more patient in understanding that you are learning the language. That would be my idea. (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 28)

José drew a rigid distinction between anglophones and francophone with regards to their approaches to interacting with immigrants. He distanced himself from the francophones since he felt that they were not welcoming.

Small story #4: José's conversation with the cab driver
Back from grocery shopping, I was taking a cab back home and, as usual, I start speaking French with the cab driver, giving him the directions to go back to my home. That is when I realized that he was very confused asking me twice in French where the address is and very quickly I noticed that he was having trouble in understanding me. Thus, I switched to English and he said: thank you, I have just arrived in Quebec and my French is very poor. That situation reminded me of when I arrived in Quebec as a fresh immigrant, where I had a lot of trouble communicating with people for still having difficulties with the English and not knowing much of French. I saw myself in the opposite side now, where I was acting as the "host" adapting to the language difficulty of a fellow immigrant, and I sympathized with his situation, which was the same as mine not too long ago. After that, I started asking him about how was he liking Quebec so far. He said his first impression was that he was not welcome here. Overall, his clients were quite upset that himself as a cab driver could not speak much French, and a few got to the extreme of leaving the cab and going to another driver for that simple reason. He said he was relieved that at least his kids would be able to take a formal education here and would not go through this same situation that he was living, that is if he would not decide to move from here before that was complete. I could not help but to feel bad for him and saw another side of immigrating to Quebec, of how difficult it must be to settle here in more daily jobs rather than coming here to pursue a higher level of education or as a specialized/skilled worker. (Journal #1) Reflecting upon the above story, José compared his own experience as an immigrant with that of the cab driver, highlighting that he also went "through difficulties setting in." He further raised two issues with his reflection: One, now I see now how my problems were not half as bad as they could have been if I had not come here with an academic title. Second, when you speak both languages, as most people here do, it is not all that difficult to switch between them. So, I keep asking myself what exactly is the big deal in doing so to help someone who is still settling. I do understand that there are political issues behind rigorously keeping the French culture alive in the province, but would not the human side come before that? (Journal #1).

It emerges that José's experience with the cab driver led to a greater self-awareness – being cognizant of his status as a skilled, educated immigrated compared to a lower status job of a cab driver. He further posed a fundamental question of the importance of *individual human being* over the policies, by which it is inferred that those policies and immigrants' needs and expectations may not go hand in hand.

The theme of the unwelcoming environment was also reflected in Aramesh's narratives. For example, a challenge she encountered when trying to speak in French was being corrected by the French speakers: "I think people in Quebec, they try to revise [correct], when we speak, [like] "oh, it's not correct" "this is correct…" Aramesh did not like the fact that she was being corrected by the French speakers who interacted with her:

R: You didn't like it when people corrected you?

Aramesh: No, I didn't like…

R: But you were learning the correct way of saying things…?

Aramesh: I like to speak correctly but I think require these people understood ourselves. Because at the same time we think about our sentences and translate our sentences from Persian to English or French, and I think… and another problems about speak English… and [the] Quebecoise. I think they try to use the French grammar in their sentences… I like to speak English with its grammar. They speak English with [French grammar] and sometimes I lost where is the verb, subject, … yeah. (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 13)

While Aramesh wanted to speak accurate French, she did not accept being judged all the time by the French speakers. She expected to receive more support from people on the social level.

"One day I went to a cosmetic store. I found a seller to guide me to buy a cream that I required. From my home to store, I was reviewing all sentences for my conversation. When I arrived there, I forgot all sentences. I completely felt that the seller was waiting to hear my question around five minutes. I had to say something, and I tried to summarize sentences as possible as I could. I spoke but I was not satisfied with my first communication out of school" (Aramesh, Journal #1).

Figure 6.2. Cosmetic shop (by Aramesh)

I asked her if she could provide examples of the situations in which she felt being corrected or judged:

Aramesh: For example, Jean Coutu, and pharmacy… because I really like to search for the cosmetic products and I really, I'm not very familiar with all of the expressions and names of products. I think sometimes this reflection [reaction] is for our insulting. I feel that. Because sometimes I understand that they can understand my requirements [needs] but they say: "oh, what's that? "what you mean?"

R: So, are you saying that when you asked the sales assistant about a product, she pretended that she didn't understand you? She didn't make an effort to help you and you felt that you were being insulted?

Aramesh: Yes, and she tried to use in these feelings to, eh, eh, tolerate… and finally I accepted… their, eh… their sentences, their ideas. Sometimes I became tired of discussion… (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 24)

In her narratives above, Aramesh felt that she was being mistreated. She also felt that the sales clerk could have been more accommodating by being more patient with her inquiries. The conversation between Aramesh and the sales clerk was in French. When I asked if she had the same experience in her interactions in English, she responded: "I think in French it is more than English. The Quebecoise… they really want you to speak French correctly. Their own accent their own language and something they want to speak that." Experiencing similar situations in other places, Aramesh decided to use English instead of French. She was exposed to English since childhood, though sporadically, and felt comfortable using it:

R: If you stay in Quebec, how do you think that English would help you when the dominant language is French?

Aramesh: sometimes I think about moving to another country and I think English is very dominated to French. I think there are many details and I'm very comfortable with English…

Self-representations of inclusion

The professional integration in Quebec (except for a few cases), requires a functional level of French proficiency (McAndrew & Arcand, 2013; Oakes and Warren, 2007). However, many immigrants can integrate socially in Montreal knowing the English language only. My participants felt that they had to make a choice as to whether to attach to the anglophone or francophone part of Montreal. In this sense, Martina found herself caught between the two poles:

And so I kind of had the feeling I have to choose: do I want to be integrated with the anglophone society or do I want to be integrated with the French society because it's going to be very difficult to straddle this gap? And since I was living in

an English-speaking environment, that choice was basically made for me, right? (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 5)

The above extract explains some of the reasons why immigrants in Montreal feel they would need to choose as to whether to join the francophone or anglophone sides. It is worth noting that the francophone/anglophone border is not a clear-cut distinction. However, geographically speaking, the well-established francophone or anglophone residentials neighbourhoods are known to most Montrealers. Martina, for example, studied and worked at an English university in Montreal. As in her words, the choice was already made for her. Martina, however, was aware of the fact that Montreal is different from the rest of Quebec, in the sense that, immigrants have the liberty to choose their place of residence.

For José, making friends only from the immigrants was associated with not making a significant social adjustment. After five years, he started to "interact more with people here" (making friends from non-immigrant French and English speakers), and thereby felt being more accepted and "things started to get better." As for his perception of integration and adaptation to the new society, José argued that he felt integrated because he was not a student anymore and could receive the services similar to regular residents (e.g., bank services). He also made more friends from Quebeckers and learned "more about the customs and habits" of Quebec society. That was another reason that he felt integrated.

José was not being worried about himself while having a conversation with natives [French and English speakers] of Quebec and Canada anymore as he was already familiar with the cultural values and norms of the new society. That made him safe and secure and made it easier to communicate with other people. He, however, admitted that it was

easier for him to communicate his ideas more clearly in English. That is why he also felt

integrated into the anglophone part of Montreal: "I felt integrated and identified with the

English part of Quebec, but yet not as much with the French front of the province" (José,

Journal #3).

Ethnic community avoidance

Diversity and multiculturalism can pose challenges to the immigrants' integration

process. In the early years of their arrival, many immigrants tend to stick to their ethnic

communities to alleviate the tensions, anxieties, and confusions caused due to the process

of relocation and mobility. However, as the immigrants' contact with their ethnic

community becomes too close and long-lasting, they might fall prey to *a social/cultural*

bubble, surrounded by their compatriots. As a result, they might be deprived of the wider

social settings, losing the greater opportunities of engaging in the social activities in the

receiving country. When immigrants stick only to their own communities and are in

regular contact with people from the same ethnicities, their interactions become limited.

That might also directly impinge on their language learning practices. Knowing this,

Anna decided to self-manage her interactions with and her attachment to her ethnic

community, distancing herself from the Romanian community:

> What I have noticed, you know, trying to make my way, is that the Romanians in
> the Romanian community have a hard time adapting to their life here, had a hard
> time learning French or English, had a hard time explaining stuff to their kids at
> school. Because they spent so much in the Romanian community so they didn't
> adapt well… (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 14)

Using the phrase "hard time," Anna felt that the Romanians do not invest as much

as they should in adapting themselves to the host society because of their strong

attachment to the Romanian community. They complain that they are not well-received

by the Quebec society. Anna added that they will be frustrated their whole life "because

the Québécois don't accept immigrants" (of course some do and some don't), which she felt was not true. It also depends on "how much you are planning on investing into your integration in here. Because if you come and plan on staying in your community then it's not gonna work" (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 15).

Immigrants, indeed, are different from each other. Some might not display a clear tendency for an attachment to their ethnic community for a variety of reasons. Personal preferences and adaptation to the norms of the receiving country would also play a role in the integration process:

> And what I learned here is of course you have to sell yourself in order to be successful in North America but that was my personality so it matched well with my personality. So when I was in Romania, maybe I was regarded as sometimes too positive, people are not that positive in Romania, I have to say it. It's an ex-communist country and because of the problems that we had in the past people are always sad-looking. It's not because they're sad, it's just the culture, they're very… they have a big heart but you have to get to it. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 16)

"To sell yourself" is a feature which Anna conceived of as effective in her social and professional integration in Quebec, as reflected in neoliberalism. Coming from an ex-communist country where conservatism, modesty, and quietness were considered the norms, she exhibited a trait which was not appreciated in Romania but was seen as an asset in Canada. Comparing the norms in the two countries, Anna explained how an unacknowledged trait in her home country worked well in Canada:

> I'm usually the person who smiles all the time you know and it's my personality my outgoing personality and I didn't quite feel like I was matching to the culture there. I feel like I'm more matching to the culture here than there… but yes what I learn is that I have to sell myself here in order to succeed. So basically what we would call bragging in Romania would work very well here. I did that and I'm proud that I managed to do this. This would be regarded as bragging in Romania. (Anna, Int. 2, Excerpt 17)

Anna associated "bragging" in Romania with *showcasing* one's skills or selling yourself in Canada. For Anna, the latter was a valuable strategy. While some skills and

abilities were accepted traits in the new country, they were largely regarded as deviating from the norms of the home country. In her home country, there was no place for bragging, but modesty and conservatism were appreciated. A significant theme that emerged from Anna's accounts was her continued process of contrasts and comparisons between her identities in her home country and the new country, as well as her experience of immigration to Western Europe before her arrival in North America. She compared her present and past identities to maintain her sense of self when encountering times of frustration, change, and unpredictability.

Chan Xin's also argued that immigrants will remain "outsiders" in the host society and cannot fully integrate. For Chan Xin, "personality" was a significant factor in an immigrant's integration process. She described herself as an introvert who did not participate much in social activities. She indicated that "working environments" also plays a role in whether one becomes integrated or isolated. At the time of the interview, she worked for an American company in which she used only English in workplace communication. That further added to her sense of isolation:

> Chan Xin: I really think that personality is a great factor… one of my friends, she is Chinese too, but I find she is integrated very well here. That's what I find, that's my perspective from what I see. Even though when I ask here "do you feel like home here?" she says "no."
> R: Why do you think she is well-integrated?
> Chan Xin: Well, after her education, she found a very good job, highly paid and also I feel she takes change like, she goes to many different activities, she tries, she really tries to know the people better here, like human resources…
> (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 13)

Giving an example, Chan Xin showed how she felt that her friend was integrated, primarily due to her personality of being sociable, as someone who "tries to know people better." Despite her investment in being integrated, she did not "feel like home" in Montreal. Comporting with her friend's approach to integration, Chan Xin argued

that *feeling integrated* and *feeling at home* are two different concepts. She added that her low French proficiency and thereby relying on her husband for many issues were among other reasons why she felt a sense of isolation.

In her story at the notary's where the conversations occurred in French, she explained how she felt uncomfortable being dependent on her husband:

> Here [with the notary] like I need to rely on [my husband], what did they talk about? What did they say? And then I'm like half understand, half don't understand, I don't feel like I am in China. In China, I will take more charge[responsibility], maybe asked more questions, to make sure what I am doing, here you know nothing…It's like I am living here but not everything is %100 clear for me, I'm trying to understand, to see what is possible. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 14)

Due to her low French proficiency and her heavy reliance on her husband, Chan Xin felt insecure, half-informed, and puzzled at times. Responding to the question whether she felt privileged that she was married to a Quebecois, Chan Xin argued that she did not "see it as a privilege" but thought that "it has helped [her] to integrate better into Quebec society." She was "shy" and it made it difficult for her "to know the culture" of Quebec:

> Chan Xin: But living with someone who is from here, that would help. I don't see it as a privilege, because I don't believe a very Quebecoise privilege, seeing it that way…
> *R: Compared to your friends, do you think things have been easier for you?*
> Chan Xin: I think, yeah for example, with [my husband], it's a good thing and it's a bad thing, because I trust him a lot and I count on him a lot and taking care of [baby] more. But he is taking care of the house, finance, taxes, etc. because he knows all these already. But sometimes my friends could manage to do these things also, because there is always the Chinese community here. Even though we don't know French well, but there is always Chinese information you can find. I believe without [my husband] I will be able to do these things by myself, but since I have him I have become lazy. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 16)

The extract above reveals Chan Xin's mixed feelings about *being privileged* because of having a partner who was originally from Quebec. On the one

hand, she expressed a sense of relief that her husband handled the issues for which the knowledge of French was essential. On the other hand, she wished to keep her independence. She referred to her Chinese friends, who were able to do their work independently, or with the help of the Chinese community in Montreal. The multicultural nature of Montreal, indeed, has created a safe space for those who are not able to perform the tasks that require a high level of French or English proficiency (e.g., tax return, government-related organization, etc.) by assigning those tasks to the professionals from their home country. Chan Xin's perceptions of her personality traits also came up as an exciting topic of discussion. She viewed herself as shy and modest. However, similar to the other participant, Anna, she argued that those personality traits were seen differently in the two cultures:

> I think I am still a shy person but I push myself a little bit more. Because in China, yes, modesty is a high value but here if you're too modest nobody looks at you, nobody knows what's your idea, what you are thinking, they just feel that you are dumb, you know, because you didn't speak it out. Yes, I feel I pushed myself a little bit further but I am still shy. (Chan Xin, Int. 1, Excerpt 17)

While "modesty" and "shyness" are appreciated characteristics in China, they would not work for Chan Xin's benefit in Canada and, in her view, would portray her as "dumb."

To sum up, participants' discussion of how they felt integrated into the Quebec society was an important theme that emerged throughout their narratives as a response to the interview question on their perception of integration. For them, integration was a timely and challenging process, yet their feeling of integration was largely connected to their attachments, commitments, and ownerships. They named having a partner, friends, property, or permanent job as the reasons that would lead to greater integration. Some participants even used strategies such as avoiding interacting with people from their

ethnic communities as a way to interact in Quebec society by creating more opportunities to speak French and English.

Employment Trajectories and Communication in the Workplace

"Why I didn't move to Toronto?" (Dariush, Int. 1).

In this section, I present the accounts of skilled immigrant participants' trajectories in relation to employment, linguistic adaptation, and socialization in the workplace. I begin with the narratives of Dariush who, as a chemist with ten years of experience, immigrated to Quebec with the hope of gaining quick employment in his field. However, he felt that immigrant professionals were not welcomed in the labour market if they did not have adequate Canadian experience. Therefore, as an experienced and skilled immigrant, Dariush realized that he had to start from scratch. In his early months of arrival, he looked for careers with high salary, since he felt that he deserved those jobs given his long experience in his field. Not being able to find the jobs he was looking for, Dariush associated his unsuccessful professional experience with his low French proficiency and argued that the French language is the first and most important factor in the employment process in Quebec.

He recounted one of his job application experiences for a large pharmaceutical company. When he was in Iran, he had dreamt of working at the Pfizer company (an American pharmaceutical corporation headquartered in NYC). Once in Montreal and after several applications for the positions available at that company, he was invited to a job interview. He could not pass the French language test which he had to take at the end of the interview, however, and thus did not get the job. Dariush argued that his inability of doing the professional chemistry test in French was because of his unfamiliarity with such tests in the French language. He had learned conversational French in the

francization program, but not the professional specific subject matters such as chemistry.

Dariush completed all levels in the francization program. He commented that "in MIDI

(*Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion*), French courses [are]

designed just for practicing listening and speaking skills in general communication."

Thus, "[f]or somebody who [is] studying in those courses, professional French language

will not improve." At the job interview, he was told that he had to do the written test in

French.

Figure 6.3. Pfizer (by Dariush)

Elaborating on his unsuccessful experience of employment at the Pfizer company,

Dariush maintained an argument that he was not convinced why he was not allowed to do

the test in English while all documents in a pharmaceutical company are based on the

international organization of FDA (Food and Drug Administration): "I work in lab for ten

years and I know the procedures, they are the same, all of them are the same," said

Dariush in his first interview. He could think of only one reason for his unsuccessful job

application: he argued that placing heavy emphasis on French in a job position which, in his view, does not require a high level of French is just a strategy to filter the applicants.

Working in a lab environment with an English document does not need the level of French on which he was being tested. Discouraged by this negative experience, Dariush stopped the job searching process for a couple of weeks and started to reflect upon his past and current situations. He was disappointed but still hopeful to pursue his dreams. He felt that he was wasting his time searching for a job in such companies and thought about re-locating: "Why I didn't move to Toronto?" Realizing that language was the only barrier in the process of his professional identification, he also thought about moving to other places, outside Quebec, where a pressure on French was not an issue.

Reflecting upon his French learning experiences, Dariush continued applying for jobs though. He finally found another position, applied for it, and got hired. After a while, however, he started to think about the job he was doing. As a chemist with extensive work experience, Dariush was doing a low-status job as a technician which required minimum qualifications. He did not, however, consider those jobs as permanent and confirmed that a low-level job would be very helpful at the entry level and would prepare the person get into the job market. Yet he consistently argued that "even the advanced courses of francization do not prepare professionals for the job market."

Small story #5: Simone's workplace communication challenges
This experience happened in 2013. I had a 4-month internship in a government office as a part of my master's formation in Quebec. I submit[ed] my application and I was accepted with no restrictions. As there was no free office for me in my department, they put me on another floor, close to a team that did not work with me. Everyone around me was from Quebec. Even after a few weeks, integration was difficult and I felt isolated, because there wasn't anyone I worked with near me and I for my part found it difficult to know how I had to approach people. I was trying to do my best, but I did not know exactly how should be a professional approach to realise my tasks. My direct manager gave me specific tasks in which I had to ask for data from other members of the team. Every morning when she came and spoke with me, I tried to say the state of way of my task. After few weeks I had not received the data I needed. I kept telling her every morning that my colleague did not provide me the data. One morning she became

angry with me, saying that I could not stop complaining, and that I should go and speak to the head of the institution if I wanted effective action. At that point I realized how difficult it was to get a clear message when working in a foreign language. At the end of my internship, this same person made my assessment saying that I don't make a big effort to integrate with my colleagues.

The small story above demonstrates Simone' challenges at her workplace. Despite her good level of French proficiency, she found it difficult to communicate with her colleagues, not because of the language issue, but due to the unfamiliar workplace culture. Once she arrived in the office, she was already positioning herself and other co-workers: "Everyone around me was from Quebec." She did not feel integrated "even after a few weeks": "I felt isolated, because there was anyone [no one] I work near me and I for my part found it difficult to know how I had to approach people." Simone did not know how to approach people. She did not have any difficulty with the language, French, but felt that she did not belong to that group of employees. Although she did not mention this explicitly, she felt isolated because of her perception of herself as an "immigrant." Her feeling of isolation and rejection at the workplace could be explained by the fact that her workplace community of practice became a *clique.* Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder (2002) define the clique as follow:

> A community of practice can become a clique when relationships among members are so strong that they dominate all other concerns. Frequently, cliquish communities are dominated by a powerful core group that acts as an imperious gatekeeper. They become exclusive, either intentionally or as an unintended outcome of the tightness of their relationships. (p. 145)

The "cliquish communities," however, need "new blood, people who are not overly caught up in the thicket of internal relationships and who can reopen the community's horizon" (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002, p. 145). Unlike Simone and as evident in the following extract, Dariush recounted his positive experiences of language practice

at his workplace, where his co-workers were accommodating and easily switched to

English or French:

> In our company the language is French so it's a rule. To talk with co-workers, director, but if I couldn't understand something they explain to me in English. But at outside no…when we speak with a Quebecoise, at first they listen to us. When they find you are not Quebecoise or your first language is not French they changed the language into English. (Dariush, Int. 1, Excerpt 7)

Dariush argued that he benefited from his colleagues' switching to English at his

workplace because his French proficiency was not high enough to maintain a

conversation with them. Outside of workplace, however, he expected to hear more

French than English. While his first choice in both places (at workplace and in society)

was French, he sometimes preferred to use English because it was easier for him, and he

was able to speak longer in English. He compared his process of learning French and

English with other immigrants and particularly those whose mother-tongue languages

were closer to French "[a]nd for them speaking in English is difficult, Romanian,

Moldavian, Nigerian, Algerian" and thus argued that "they are not interested in speaking

English."

While Dariush found English easier, he was enthusiastic to improve his French for

two main reasons: first, to pass the *ordre des chimistes du Quebec* exam and to "reach the

advanced level" in Quebec, which allowed him to obtain higher-status professional

careers.

Personal transition in migration

Emotion. As an underlying theme that emerged from some participants'

narratives, the notion of emotion, was dominant in their interactions and key to their

investment in language learning. Throughout her narratives, Aramesh, as an example, felt

the need for support in her social interactions and expressed her concern about not having

enough emotional support in her social life:

> You cannot imagine learning new language under pressure is how much difficult.
> There were some facts that were caused to create our negative emotional pressure
> such as not to have enough motivation to learn French, not to be familiar with
> different cultures, not to have enough emotional support. (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt
> 21)

Aramesh described her emotional struggle in her language learning and use. She

was overwhelmed by a feeling of apprehension that dented her confidence in speaking in

social interactions. For example, she chose the online shopping rather than going to the

stores to avoid interacting with the sales clerks face-to-face, a strategy which slowed

down her learning progress to the point that she felt lonely and frustrated.

She recounted an unsuccessful interaction with a building concierge when she

wanted to rent an apartment. The building concierge spoke only in French and thus

Aramesh and her husband made all efforts to communicate with her in French too.

However, after their conversation, the response they received from the concierge was "I

could not understand anything from your sentences!" In the following accounts she raised

her expectations of the people around her as regards the emotional support:

> I required the other Quebecoise understood this feeling and I required to have this
> relationship as a baby, I required to have an opportunity to speak and to encourage
> me or something like that. I think I required to start my life again, sometimes I am
> concerned about my age, I don't I really don't have a lot of time to achieve my
> goals. But it's the reality that I chose it. (Aramesh, Int. 2, Excerpt 24)

"Understanding this feeling" and "hav[ing] this relationship and opportunity to

speak" were her expectations to "start [her] life again." She expressed her concern about

her age and that she might not have had enough time to achieve her goals because she

was getting older and older. Yet she accepted the reality the she had made the choice (about immigration) and thus had to face up to it.

Self-awareness. The immigrant participants of this study also discussed the positive and negative impacts that the immigration and mobility process had on their personalities and worldviews. In the accounts presented below Martina, as an example, explained how the immigration process had a positive impact on her personality, including on her views towards other ethnicities, helping her know the world better:

> I think I became way more open-minded than I used to be. I'm way less conservative than I used to be and much more… I think one thing that has certainly changed is I am now comfortable with anything unknown or foreign or strange, versus before that was still something where you kind of like, "Oh. What is this? What am I going to have to deal with or where--?" Versus now where I'm like, "Oh. Wait--." And that applies to everything, not just to people. It applies to food as well. Where you just get much more open and you're thinking, oh, this is something I don't know. Interesting. I want to know more about it. Right? Versus I think ten years ago I think I would have just been more like, yeah, something I don't know, do I need to know about it? Probably not. So I think that's definitely a positive change. And I don't think that would have just happened by getting older. I think if I would have stayed in Austria I don't think that change would have happened. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 11)

The narratives above reveal that Martina became more interested in learning about the world around her, its people and their culture, and considered it as a positive change brought about by the immigration process. Another positive change was being flexible as regards her *values*: "I'm much less married to an idea than I would have been before leaving Austria." Martina did not uphold her earlier convictions anymore, although she still had her values which were "fairly stable." The reason was that she had seen "so many different perspectives" and had learned that "everything has more than one side, even more than two sides, and there is never an easy solution to anything" (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 12). Martina further noted that she did not like being generalized as "European," in the receiving country:

And then coming here and having people say, "Oh, Europeans," and me going, "Wait a minute. There is not such a thing as Europeans [laughter]." Right? You don't know how often I've heard from people, "Oh, you Europeans, you always have dinner so late," and I'm going [laughter]–you do understand that Italians and Austrians and Germans and Swedish have very different ways… [laughter]. (Martina, Int. 1, Excerpt 13)

The extract above shows that although immigrants in Montreal have come from a variety of ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds, generalization and stereotyping are still encountered. In Martina's case, she positioned herself in connection to local identity as it displays in the social process (Bamberg, 1997; De Fina, 2013).

Loneliness: the case of Aramesh. In the early months of their arrival, several participants of this study felt lonely and confused. For some, making connections with the people around them was not easy. They experienced personal and social changes which occurred because of the immigration process. Aramesh, for instance, acknowledged that immigration is a *process* and like other processes, *change* is an indispensable part of it. Comparing her life back home and the one in Canada, she argued that the "weather" and "language" were the two issues she was constantly concerned about. As for the language, she struggled with producing linguistically and culturally correct sentences: "I think here most people are positive and I think in my country it was not like this. I think I'm trying to become a strong person but during this period I become very weak but there is not a person to help me and then I try to become strong and stronger…" She also experienced personal changes, comparing the people of her home country with those of the receiving country. Being positive, was an appreciated characteristic in the new place, while back home, people tended to be more negative. Aramesh thus learned to be more positive as well as strong-minded.

In the following small story, Aramesh recounted her experience of loneliness in the early months of her arrival. She felt lonely and confused, affected by the culture shock. However, she still wanted to communicate with the people around her:

Small story #6: Aramesh at the park
I was at home. I was alone. I couldn't access to the internet and I didn't have mobile and was very bored about that. Because I didn't have any friend. At that moment I decided to go out and walk, and I was walking and I said… I walked until I find something exciting for me… I really need to be happy to change my state… I walked and walked until I found this park. In future I understood that it was Westmont. I went to the park and sat on a bench and think about my past life and future life and I found that I can't have any communication with other people. They are very hard, cold, and I can't have any communication and I was fighting with this. At this moment suddenly one beautiful gorgeous child called me and she said hey … I was in my dream… and she said "are you his mother?" something like that… I think one person called me and she wanted to have this conversation here and I said "no, I'm not his mother?" it was the first conversation with this child. And also there are a lot of animals here, squirrel, and they came here too and you are not alone. And after that I found a library in the Westmont and I went all the time in this place…

Aramesh later explained that she felt restricted in her social life and in particular in her attempts to make friends. While she wished to make more friends, she was hesitant because it was hard for her to "trust people." For her, making friends in the new society was not easy at all, mainly because she could not find the opportunities to make new friendships.

 To sum up, several participants' initial experience of seeking employment was not successful due to their low French proficiency. While they were able to maintain a functional conversation in French, the employers perceived their French language skills as inadequate. The insufficient French language was a real obstacle for some, and for others provided a pretext for their unsuccessful job applications. Left with this impression, some participants, such as Simone felt that the problem was their inadequate academic and professional skills and competencies. While Simone was a university professor in Brazil, she felt devalued and at times degraded in Quebec. She generated

high motivation for being a well-respected, independent immigrant. She was a single parent of two young children and wished to pursue a career related to her field of studies – geometrics. Studying, parenting and occasional working did not leave her any time for attending social activities.

Also, participants reported that the reality of the labor market and the ability to use French did not match their expectations. Some were told by their employers that their fields required a decent level of French-English bilingualism. Several participants also made a choice of limiting their social interactions with the immigrants from their home countries in the hope of making more friends from the francophones and anglophones, thereby improving their communication and social skills.

Chapter Summary

As plurilingual immigrants, participants' narratives provided valuable insights about the trajectories of a select group of well-educated immigrants. Participants' complex experiences of investing in constructing and negotiating social and professional identities emerged from their narratives. They had different and complex experience of learning English and French in social interactions. To re-adjust their professional and social identities, participants accumulated further cultural capital and communicative resources. They positioned themselves as emerging professionals in the workplace communities, investing in becoming qualified as active members of workplaces. Participants also found themselves in a situation where they felt they had to make a choice as to whether integrate into the English or French part of Montreal. Overall, it emerged that participants' social identifications, community memberships, and their lived experiences were all at the service of re-negotiation and re-construction of their social and professional identities.

Chapter Seven: Discussions

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I engage with, discuss, and theorize the significant themes that emerged from the findings presented in Chapters Five and Six. The theories and concepts which framed this study and the underlying themes explored in the extensive data source are synthesized and discussed concerning the four guiding research questions. Drawing on the theoretical framework, I present an argument for how the ten skilled immigrants of my inquiry perceived their language learning experiences in Montreal. I also explain how they experienced the prevailing notions of identity, social and professional inclusions, opportunity and access, employment, and mobility. Finally, I propose an analytic framework which could be used to explore adult immigrants language learning experiences.

Revisiting Context and the Theoretical Framework

In Quebec, the immigration selection system has emphasized the selection of skilled and well-educated immigrants through its *points system* (MIDI, 2015; Reitz, 2012). Choosing to elaborate its own policy in respect to diversity rather than adopt Canada's multicultural policy, Quebec has opted for an intercultural policy which claims to embrace integrationist approaches, assembling immigrants into a French linguistic community (Reitz, 2012). Also, as part of provincial autonomy, Quebec has some control over immigration and has given priority to the French language. Montreal has been the immigration destination of more than ninety percent of immigrants to Quebec. Since a vast majority of these immigrants are plurilingual, Montreal has become a multilingual, multicultural city, although it functions within the official French language framework. The plurilingual participants of this study are called upon to learn French and English

adding to what are often already complex multilingual repertoires and trajectories, investing time and energy and drawing on multiple strategies in their desire/effort to acquire educational and linguistic resources that they can use in the Quebec job market.

As discussed in Chapter Three, in Bakhtin's (1981) Social Theory, language is socially and dialogically constructed through the interlocuters' thoughts and feelings. In this sense, linguistic production denotes viewing language-in-action and emphasizes the role of the human being as a social actor within the broader sociocultural environments (Bakhtin, 1981). Bakhtin (1984) argues that it is because of "the dialogic interaction of those who make use of" language that language exists and is alive (p. 183). It is also through this dialogic interaction that one can construct a self as to his or her surrounding environments and others (Bakhtin, 1981). In my inquiry, Bakhtin's concepts of the dialogism, authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse enriched my understanding of how the ten skilled immigrants perceived their lived experiences, and how they positioned themselves through dialogue with self and others as they acquired one or two new languages in Quebec.

In this study, language and the social relations of power proved to be crucial elements in participants' positioning in various sociocultural environments (Bakhtin, 1981). Therefore, it was imperative to understand the participants' positioning in their social relations through language. Bourdieu's theory of capital enhanced my understanding of how participants experienced the realization of their language learning and practice in different contexts. Bourdieu's (1991) various forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, symbolic, and linguistic capital), and his concept of habitus were useful in exploring the dynamics of power relations in different social spaces or fields.

Participants of my study made attempts to accumulate different forms of capital, to gain recognition and acceptance in the new society and the social and workplace communities. They drew upon various strategies within their habitus in learning an additional language and adapting to the new settings. They were already aware of how to be *strategic* partly because of having the right educational capital, which equipped them with the skills and knowledge of effective strategies. My participants migrated to engage in new local communities of practice, and ended up negotiating multiple identities as regards their expected social and professional communities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

The concept of communities of practice helped me explore participants' engagement in participation, learning, and their investment in accessing resources and opportunities, representing the ongoing construction of identities. In this respect, identity formation is both active and interactional (Wenger, 1998). I mainly explored the issues of *access* and *participation* in relation to *desired* communities of practice as the two decisive considerations in the newcomers' migration trajectories. The linguistic practices, as represented in the participants' involvement in the activities of various communities, reveal their already acquired capital as well as their social and cultural competencies (Wenger, 1998).

Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Three, the immigrants' cultural capital – including their educational resources, credentials, as well as their linguistic resources – accumulated through their personal histories and lived experiences, consist of values that are exchangeable as regards a variety of social fields (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984). As language learners, the immigrant participants of this study made investments to acquire material and symbolic resources to raise the value of their cultural and symbolic capital. Their investments aimed to renegotiating their social and professional identities (Norton,

2013, 2014). Learning strategies (including the language learning strategies) shaped a huge part of participants' investments in their settlement and integration processes in Quebec society.

The study also drew on Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment, which "occurs at the intersection of identity, ideology, and capital" (p. 36). This new model which is built on Norton's previous studies, is a response to "the new world order, characterized by mobility and technology," and thus calls for "a critical examination of the relationship between identity, investment, and language learning" (p. 36). Norton defines identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 45). The learners' investment in a language means that they "acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). Inspired by Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1991), Norton argued that the concept of investment "recognizes that the conditions of power in different learning contexts can position the learners in multiple and often unequal ways, leading to varying learning outcomes" (p. 37).

Addressing the Research Questions

The four guiding research questions that framed this study and enhanced my understanding of ten skilled adult immigrants' lived experiences in Quebec follow:

1) What can be learned from the language learning experiences of ten plurilingual skilled immigrants in Quebec?

2) What do they perceive as their experiences of constructing and negotiating identities through their use of multiple languages in intercultural Quebec?

3) How do they invest in their language learning and in their social and professional integration processes, as they strive to attain desired/expected career-employment opportunities/communities?

4) What are their understandings of their inclusion and adaptation processes in Quebec? *Sub-question:* What barriers do they perceive in their social and linguistic integration in Quebec and to their language learning (both French and English)?

In the following sections, I engage with and discuss the major themes that emerged from the participants' narrative accounts presented in Chapters Five and Six. I integrate the major themes with the theories and concepts that proved relevant to exploring the guiding research questions. Principally, I noticed three major themes emerging from my inquiry: 1) investing in language learning strategies and cultural capital; 2) re-negotiating multiple identities in mobility; 3) expressing a desire for greater social receptiveness.

Investing in Language Learning Strategies and Cultural Capital

Since 1969 Canada has been committed to English and French official bilingualism. The number of plurilingual individuals who speak other languages along with English and French, however, is on the rise in the Canadian provinces (Statistics Canada, 2017). As a result of Bill 101 in Quebec, French has become the official language of daily life in the workplace and education environments. Yet plurilingualism has been rising in Quebec despite the government's policies and programs to promote the French language and Quebec's nationalism (Lamarre, 2007; Pagé & Lamarre, 2010). While the nationalistic discourse stresses the value of French in the Quebec society, it is hiding the reality that French-English bilingualism is a more valuable resource in workplaces (Paquet & Levasseur, 2018).

Having been conscious of this complex reality, the participants of this study developed their plurilingual repertoires through accumulating communicative strategies, genres, and skills by way of formal and informal methods of accessing the linguistic and cultural resources. Those resources were bound up with situated economic and political conditions (Heller, 2002). The relationship between language and identity in the globalized new economy can be examined through looking into "how resources are distributed, what the source of their value is, and how actors are positioned with respect to them" (Heller, 2003, p. 476). Participants had an awareness of the benefits of a plurilingual repertoire in their pursuit of professional employment. As a result, almost all participants invested in learning both English and French to access more employment opportunities, rather than investing in learning one language only – either English or French.

While participants acquired further linguistic and cultural capital, they were not necessarily able to access better social status and greater upward mobility (achieving a desirable social and professional standing in Quebec). Also, while most of them reported mastering a functional level of French and English proficiency as their additional language, the individual learning process they went through for both languages were different, complicated, and painful at times. Language learning appeared to be a challenging yet interesting task for some participants, while it turned out to be an intense activity for others.

As for the formal ways of learning the French language, seven out of ten participants attended the government-funded French language program – francization – as well as the full-time and part-time French and English courses offered by the government-funded cultural centers or by the private/semi-private language schools in

Montreal. While most participants had a positive experience with the francization program overall, they noted that even after completing all the courses offered by the program (including the advanced levels), they were not ready to get into the professional labor market due to their insufficient French language skills as confirmed by the employers. The topic of insufficient francization was dominant in the participants' narratives of the francization program at least for the types of jobs they were aiming to find.

As a result, a lack of confidence in their ability to use French to a desirable degree in the eyes of employers made some participants redirect their attention to learning English. They were hoping to get more employment opportunities inside Quebec or exploring the career opportunities outside the province (a potential reason for leaving Quebec). Some participants also applied for the jobs for which they seemed to be overqualified, but which required a higher level of French proficiency than they had.

In this respect, the conversion of accumulated linguistic capital did not lead to a desirable outcome (Bourdieu, 1991). Put differently, what they had in their cultural capital was deemed insufficient. It highlights how context plays a role in determining value in a field or market (Bourdieu,1986, 1991). Participants' investments in developing their plurilingual repertoires was based on the assumption that learning both English and French would offer them better career opportunities and an easier process of integration (Pagé & Lamarre, 2010). Their different job search scenarios, however, indicated that the accumulated linguistic capital did not always result in positive outcomes.

That said, capitalizing on language learning strategies outside the classroom emerged as a significant theme for the participants of this inquiry. Participants used various learning strategies for learning French and English. These included using

technologies (e.g., the language learning mobile applications and software such as Duolingo and HelloTalk), and participating in the digital communities of practice and virtual learning spaces (e.g., Mundo Lingo, Facebook groups, blogs, and websites such as the Meetups Montreal).

Another strategy was taking part in a linguistic exchange program where individuals (immigrants and non-immigrants), meet to improve and practice their additional language speaking skills in each other's language. Getting out of the city of Montreal to have more opportunities to practice French and getting married to a francophone Quebecker were among different strategies that participants deployed. As well-educated immigrants, participants engaged in challenging learning strategies such as reading a whole book (either in English or French) in the early stages of learning, subscribing to the local newspaper (e.g., the Montreal Gazette), and reading the papers daily. Finally, limiting interactions with their fellow compatriots and making friendships with the residents from the francophone and anglophone communities were other strategies which were used by the participants of this study.

In short, what makes this study different from similar studies is identifying different strategies that were used by the immigrant participants and the specific challenges they faced once they deployed those strategies. Table 4 presents the examples of strategies for language learning and includiosn in context used by the participants of this study, adapted from Oxford (2019). The strategies are categorized as those set in the cognitive domains, motivational domains, social domains, as well as across various domains.

Table 4.
Examples of strategies for language learning and inclusion in context. Adapted from Oxford (2016).

Strategy set or Meta strategy Set Where the Strategy Came From	Strategy in Context
Going Beyond the Immediate Data (A strategy set in the cognitive domain)	Comparing the grammar, syntax, and the form of mother-tongue language with those of L2 (Anna: French & Romanian; Martina: French & German; Simone and José: French, English, and Portuguese).
Organizing Learning and Obtaining Resources (A meta strategy set across various domains)	• Using technologies (e.g., language learning mobile applications and software such as Duolingo and Hello Talk) (Ruiyi, Chan Xin, José, Anna, Olive). • Participating in the digital communities of practice and virtual learning spaces (e.g., Mundo Lingo, Facebook groups, blogs, and Meetups Montreal) (Martina, Chan Xin, Dariush, Ruiyi, Mostafa).
Planning (A meta strategy set across various domains)	• Reading books (either in English or French) in early phases of learning (José, Anna, Olive, Martina). • Subscribing to the local newspaper (e.g., the Montreal Gazette), and reading the press daily (Anna, Ruiyi). • Getting outside the city of Montreal to have more opportunities to practice French (Anna). • Getting married to a francophone Quebecker (Chan Xin). • Having a partner who was an anglophone Quebecker (José). • Maintaining the plurilingual repertoire (all participants).
Conceptualizing Broadly (A strategy set in the cognitive domain)	Multilingual notebook with lines and arrows (Chan Xin).
Conceptualizing with Details (A strategy set in the cognitive domain)	Reading books, newspaper, and other texts while focusing on the form (grammar) (Olive, Chan Xin, Ruiyi, Anna).
Paying Attention (A meta strategy set across various domains)	• Attention to the cultural norms (words used in a romantic relationship and swearing by girls) (Chan Xin). • Attention to the values in culture and how they are seen in Canada (Anna, Aramesh, Dariush).
Interacting to Learn and Communicate (A strategy set in the social domain)	• Taking part in a linguistic exchange program (Ruiyi, Chan Xin, Dariush) • Asking people to speak French when they were trying to switch to English (Olive, Anna)

	• Distancing oneself from one's ethnic community (Aramesh, Anna). • Making friendships with the residents from the francophone and anglophone communities (Dariush, Chan Xin, Ruiyi, Martina). • Getting outside the city of Montreal to meet more francophones (Anna). • Meeting with native speakers to practice English and French (Ruiyi). • Interacting with colleagues at work in English or French (Chan Xin, Anna, Dariush).
Using Positive Self-Talk and Positive self-Image (A strategy set in the Motivational domain)	• Having been able to read in three languages (Anna). • Finding a job in a Francophone schoolboard (Anna, Chan Xin). • Viewing oneself as a successful immigrant (Dariush). • Perceiving oneself as sociable, open, and ready to communicate (Anna, Ruiyi). • Successful workplace integration (Simone).
Reasoning (A strategy set in the cognitive domain)	Making deductions about English and French based on their grammatical, morphological, and pronunciational similarities and differences (Ruiyi, José, Simone, Martina, Olive, Anna).
Activating knowledge (A strategy set in the cognitive domain)	• Reviewing in mind what one already knows about the topic of conversation and practising in advance of an interactional situation (Martina, Aramesh). • Rehearsing phrases before going into a store (Olive).
Learning Despite Knowledge Gaps in Communication (A strategy set in the social domain)	• Not remembering the word "chatterbox" and used the French word "*bavard*" (Ruiyi). • Looking at other English learners of class, Ruiyi tried to learn the strategies they used or the way they acted.
Changing cognitive appraisals of situations (internal or external) to shape emotions (A strategy in the affective domain)	• Changing cognitive appraisal negatively, not interacting with French speakers after an initial negative experience (Aramesh).

The interplay between identity, ideology, and capital. Drawing on Darvin and

Norton's (2015) new model of investment, I describe in the following paragraphs the

interplay of identity, ideology, and capital in the context of Quebec. According to Darvin

and Norton (2015), the researcher can investigate the learners' investment "in language

and literacy practices of classroom and communities" through examining the interplay of

identity, ideology, and capital (p. 29). An understanding of the realizations of power in

various contexts can be reached through an examination of ideology and capital, or how

speakers gain and lose power. In this respect, learners' identities may be devalued by the

dominant ideologies of the host country (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Language learners,

nevertheless, have the agency to either recognize or oppose the ideological dispositions

by claiming their right to speak through investing in learning and acquiring material and

symbolic resources (Darvin & Norton, 2015). In Quebec, the linguistic capital of learners

conflicts with the dominant language policy and ideologies.

The immigrant participants of this inquiry felt that their linguistic capital was being

measured against the value system, reflecting the broader sociopolitical and linguistic

context of Quebec. As a result, they heavily invested in accumulating further capital. The

result was that in some cases, their accumulated capital deemed to be insufficient, leading

to restricting their "connections to networks of power" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 44).

Therefore, they were not able to negotiate high professional status, and in some instances

had to lower their professional expectations (as evident in the narratives of Dariush, Chan

Xin, and Ruiyi).

According to Darvin and Norton (2015), investment in language learning results in

higher value in cultural capital and social power. The participants of this inquiry learned

French and English for certain benefits (Darvin & Norton, 2015). They learned those

languages to gain meaningful employment and enter into university, and to develop new

skills (largely evident in the narratives of Ruiyi, Anna, Chan Xin, and Dariush). Other

reasons for learning English and French included making friends (mostly apparent in the

narrative accounts of Dariush, Aramesh, Simone, Martina, and Olive); or pursuing a

romantic relationship along with other reasons (as was the case for Chan Xin, José, and Martina).

Participants aimed at investing in learning French and English to "acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). They were hoping to carve out a successful career and reconstructing their professional identities. For Darvin and Norton (2015), identity is "... a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities" (p. 45). From a poststructuralist perspective, identity formation is a process that takes place on interactional occasions through the processes of negotiation and contextualisation (Block, 2007; De Fina, 2003, 2006; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000). Also, as sites of struggle, identities are influenced by structures of power and ideological sites of control of the society (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; Darvin & Norton, 2015).

According to Darvin and Norton (2015), leaners' habitus "shaped by prevailing ideologies, predisposes them to think and act in certain ways. It is, however, through desire and imagination that they can invest in practices that can transform their lives" (p. 46). The participants of this study desired to get access to employment opportunities and to be culturally and socially integrated into the Quebec society, and hence agentively invested in learning both French and English as well as in the social and professional-related activities (making friends and doing an internship). They used various strategies (including language learning strategies) as *an investment in action*, to achieve their goals and experience a smoother integration process. They strove to acquire and invest in different forms of capital to settle more smoothly and securely in the new society.

The immigrant participants of this study, as human agents, showed the ability to choose and evaluate what they desired to become in Quebec to achieve their desired professional and personal goals. As language learners, participants carried a set of capital (including their plurilingual repertoire) upon entering into the Quebec society. They sometimes struggled to acquire new linguistic or social capital due to their perceived challenges.

Drawing on Weedon (1997), Norton (2010) argued that "it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across a range of sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to– or is denied access to– powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak" (p. 351). Notably, an immigrant may be highly invested in language learning but may not be able to access the social and professional communities of practice. Put differently, having a high level of language proficiency is a necessary but not sufficient factor for social and professional integration. In the immigrant-receiving societies such as Quebec, racism, discrimination, and even anti-immigration, are determining factors in the immigrants' integration and adaptation trajectories.

Linking language learning strategies to investment. While strategies are relevant to a learner's decision about investing, they were not directly addressed in Norton's concept of investment and Darvin and Norton's new model (Oxford, 2016). Oxford (2016) argues that:

> considering existing material resources (e.g., jobs, money) and symbolic resources (e.g., prestige, educational honor such as diploma or certification, and further educational opportunities) that might be gained through investing in the L2; imagining the social power and cultural capital these resources would bring; identifying power relations in the environment, and determining whether those relations are welcoming or marginalizing; evaluating dominant ideologies in

relation to power relations; recognizing identity struggles that might occur in learning the L2. The information gained through the strategies named in this paragraph can lead to a major motivational strategy: deciding whether to invest or resist investing. (p. 192)

For Oxford (2016), learner's decision to invest in the L2 is "a legitimate motivational strategy… followed by a host of cognitive, affective, social and other strategies to make the investment successful" (p. 192). As part of the social strategy, the learner may either find allies or display resistance as "a logical strategy if one's access to material and symbolic resources is likely to be obstructed or one's professional achievement or cultural background is already being ignored or denied" (p. 192).

Another point of contention is that Quebec has been capitalizing on the skilled immigrants' transnational networks. Their diverse social and cultural capital is viewed as a valuable resource for capitalization in neoliberal ideology. The skilled immigrant participants of this study, however, did not feel that their accumulated capital was being acknowledged in Quebec. Instead, they were made to acquire further and often unnecessary cultural capital such as retraining, as part of their new professional development, to discover and maintain their professional and social identities /status in the host society. For the immigrants of this inquiry, the process of negotiation of identities in Quebec was closely related to their French language skills. Participants' perceptions of their French language skills, though confirmed and validated by their language proficiency certificates and testing results, were seen as insufficient for their professional communications. A constant emphasis on participants' linguistic competencies led to their re-considerations and modifications of their sense of professional self, which in turn, impeded their transition in the new professional settings. Some participants (e.g., Simone and Aramesh) even cast doubt on their professional

capabilities due to their perceived language problems. The interplay of the educational capital and linguistic capital came up as a topic of discussion in the focus groups.

I asked participants if they believed that there was any relationship between higher education and language learning. I also asked them if they were or became better language learners because of their higher educational and professional qualifications. Although participants expressed mixed opinions on this particular topic, the academic and professional skills that they had developed throughout their long schooling and professional experiences, contributed to their language learning. José, as an example, argued that the organizational skills which he had learned during his Ph.D. studies, helped him learn both French and English. Notably, for Anna, Martina, Chan Xin, and Olive, the link between educational level and language learning was particularly strong. Their schooling and professional backgrounds were directly or indirectly related to the field of education or language education. It does not imply, however, that those who were outside these fields were not good language learners. Dariush with a degree in Chemistry, Simone in Urban Planning, José in Bio-chemistry, and Ruiyi in Accounting, were quite successful in learning both English and French as their additional languages in Montreal.

The plurilingual immigrant participants of this inquiry brought a set of dispositions from their home communities, including their social and educational backgrounds, attitudes, and skills which shaped their habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). These *cooperative dispositions* included a set of tastes, values, and skills – and the languages-learning related components such as language awareness, social values, and learning strategies (Canagarajah, 2014). Holding a practice-based view of language, Canagarajah argued that:

Multilinguals bring a set of language assumptions, social orientation, and strategies of negotiation/learning that help them develop performative competence and engage in translingual practices. These dispositions are developed in social contexts through everyday experiences, as in habitus. (p. 91)

Habitus (Bourdieu, 1986) is referred to as cooperative dispositions by Canagarajah (2014), and includes generated practices, perceptions and attitudes towards the language and culture of the new society and to the process of learning. Drawing on their prior experience and current positions, the participants strove to access different forms of capital in Quebec society through their social interactions and the strategies they deployed to learn a new language and become integrated.

As well-educated immigrants, my participants transferred the skills and qualifications acquired in their countries of origin and developed those skills in the new society which helped them critically analyze their surroundings, evaluate the situations, and make strategic decisions in critical situations. According to Darvin & Norton (2015), the learner's investment in a language is tied to expected benefits - the acquisition of a wide range of symbolic and material resources which result in higher value in their cultural capital and social power (Bourdieu, 1986).

Participants brought with them educational capital, including information and knowledge, in the hope of making successful social and professional adjustments in the host society. This awareness of the importance of the *circulation of capital,* though not guaranteed or straightforward, is evident in Dariush's following statement: "I worked in the pharmaceutical industry at the same position. I know the job duties; also all of the document[s] in [the] pharmaceutical industry are in [the]English language according to food and drug administration of [the]USA." Also, because of the circulation of their

linguistic capital, participants used the comparison between language learning experiences in their home countries and the new society as a base for their learning successes or failures. Comparing and contrasting the experiences of pre-migration and post-migration also explained the participants' perceptions of their linguistic and social integration processes.

Drawing on Mezzadra and Neilson's (2013) *border as method*, Canagarajah (2017) suggested treating "mobility as method." He has pointed out that mobility should be approached not just as "a topic to be discussed under existing paradigms, but exploring how it shapes the way we study and interpret social and communicative practices" (p. 6). This implies that "language plays a significant role in establishing and enabling transnational social fields" (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 6). In my inquiry, the participants' relationships with language also changed with mobility, signifying awareness-raising of different languages, since "[m]obility has challenged the static, objective, and bounded ways in which we perceived social or communicative activities" (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 6). Meaning is thus considered as "multimodal and multisensory," encompassing "affective, imaginative, aesthetic, and material considerations in our analysis" (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 7). My participants became more sensitive to the notions of diversity, fluidity, complexity, practices, processes, affective, and material factors in re-construction and re-negotiations of their multiple identities (Canagarajah, 2017).

In my inquiry, the participants' mobility and migration processes are defined as *volitional*, meaning that that their agency was at play in moving outside their countries (though some of them including Dariush, Aramesh, José, and Simone felt compelled to leave their home countries due to lack of opportunities or the volatile living conditions). The traditional push/pull factors can explain this human movement (Anthony, 2007). In

other words, while several participants of this study left their countries due to lack of opportunities for social and economic development (push factors), others were looking for the possibilities for a better life and advancement in the new society (pull factors) (Canagarajah, 2017).

That said, the narrative accounts of participants revealed that a combination of push and pull factors was decisive. For instance, as a scientist and researcher, José articulated his reasons for coming to Canada in the following statements: "research-wise… Canada had much more research incentives than back in Brazil… there is much more awareness of our role here," and "I come from Brazil, and it's swollen in corruption all the time." For Aramesh, the social push factors were causal: "They respect all people [in Canada]. In my country, there is [a] difference between man and woman, and the law is very complicated. I think here; especially women didn't have such a problem… here I have the freedom, and I'm relaxed… ." In her search for freedom and comfort, Aramesh migrated to Quebec with her husband, acknowledging the perceived social value of *respect* in the new country. The professional, educational, and social pull factors were significant determinants for participants such as Martina, Chan Xin, and Olive. For example, Martina was primarily offered a Ph.D. position in Montreal, Chan Xin came across a job as a Mandarin language teacher, and Olive came to live with her partner. They all decided later to stay, work, and live in Quebec.

To sum up, what the qualified educated immigrants with a functional knowledge of French need is access to continued language support and learning on the job. If Quebec wants to benefit from the capital or expertise that immigrants bring with them from their home countries as well as what they acquire in Quebec, there should be higher sensitivity

to continued language learning on the job (I have elaborated on this in the implications section in the last chapter).

While some participants heavily invested in acquiring further cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) by pursuing additional university degrees, they were still thinking of acquiring more educational qualifications. Aramesh, for instance, noted that "[m]aybe I continue my new field and a new job by helping of these new certificates and skills." Notably, several participants whose fields were related to social sciences and humanities (e.g., language education) (including Olive, Anna, Martina, Chan Xin), were partially self-employed during their early settlement through giving private and tutoring classes. The job instability, along with sporadic scheduling made them pursue further educational qualifications to access better employment opportunities.

Others required to acquire the host country's credentials to adjust to the new professional setting and local social and professional codes and values. Dariush, José, Mostafa, and Ruiyi fit into the second group. Both Dariush and José were hoping to practice their professions as professional chemists. Mostafa and Ruiyi were planning to work as a professional engineer and accountant, respectively. They all wanted to engage in and *align* themselves with the workplace communities (Wenger, 2000). A serious challenge faced by these immigrants was that their professions often fell within the public/governmental sectors and thereby regulated and unionized, which made an entry for newcomer participants difficult. For example, Ruiyi imagined herself working as a chartered professional accountant (CPA) in Quebec but having a graduate degree in accounting was not enough: "I have to… take the exam, the big final exam and then go to the designated place to practice for two years." Dariush, for instance, was planning to be a member of the *Ordre des chimistes du Quebec*. He argued that one's professional status

before immigration did not matter. Rather, in order to work in Quebec one must acquire additional qualifications: "I'm chemist but as a chemist you must be a member of *Ordre des chimistes du Quebec*" (Dariush). As understood by Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of *situated learning,* "the mastery of knowledge and skills requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community" (p. 29).

Notably, the professional experiences of participants were framed within the two major themes of *language skills* and *work experience*. Half of the participants in this study did not face much difficulty with their English language skills, because their previous job experience and the nature of their professional skills required a decent amount of English language proficiency. Thus, they particularly invested in learning French, aligning themselves with new professional settings. In other words, they were invested in a reasonable amount of linguistic capital and were making further investments in their social and cultural capital.

On the other hand, those whose jobs were more internationally comparable (e.g., chemist, physicist, biologist) were not really concerned about developing a high level of language skills (in English and French) and acquiring relevant Canadian work experience. However, their perceptions of the relationship between their profession and the level of language proficiency were contradictory. Mostafa and Dariush, for instance, argued that the nature of their work did not require a high level of language ability. They were therefore taken aback by not getting the jobs they had applied for due to their low-level language skills. For them, the conversion of their already-possessed capital into a valuable asset in the new society was "a site of struggle" meaning that "what may be valued in one place may be radically devalued in another" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45).

To sum up, nearly all participants of this inquiry felt that their former language skills and educational qualifications were not sufficient to enter the Quebec labor market. They needed to renegotiate a sense of professional identity and securing work in their professional fields. After all, the perception of one's deficient language skills was relative. Those who were stronger in one language, either English or French, were more motivated to pursue their professional pathways in the same language. However, those participants who made an almost similar amount of investments in learning English and French were open to exploring a variety of professional pathways. They desired to find their professional *voice* through positioning themselves in the social and professional environments (Davies & Harré, 1999).

Re-negotiating Multiple Identities in Mobility

The ten participants of this inquiry (re)negotiated their multiple identities as to their past, present, and imagined social and professional identifications, highlighting the changes and obstacles they had faced during their mobility and settlement processes in Quebec. Mobility, as the new social order, came to the scene as a framework for comparing and contrasting experiences before the immigration and afterward (Blommaert, 2013).

The participant Anna, for example, consistently referred to her different experiences before immigrating to Canada and after her settlement in Quebec. She had moved to Italy "trying to settle there" before coming to Canada but realized that "being an Eastern European moving to Italy doesn't work." She did not want to apply for any lower-status jobs there and was looking for opportunities to practice in her field – language education. However, she was not able to find a job as a language teacher, and that made her feel like "a second-hand citizen there and then." Anna's aspirations and

desire to pursue a profession in her field was a strong drive for pushing her into going through second immigration and coming to Canada. By emphasizing her identity as "You know, I am the same person," Anna argued that she was *the same person*, yet it was the context that changed and created changes in her life. She appreciated her positive experiences in Canada where she was able to find a job in her field: "so I can say that I am happy with how I'm seen here, even though I am the one that's not being born speaking English and in my job that's usually a problem but… still, I've overcome them."

Agency in the making. Among the participants of this inquiry, Olive, Anna, Martina, Chan Xin, Aramesh, and Simone made great efforts to be part of the local institutional context. Reflecting on the future possibilities, they desired to be part of a workplace community and achieve financial security (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Simone, for example, built an argument on her professional status as a university professor in Brazil. She perceived herself in statements such as: "I imagined continuing giving classes in university here." Imagination thus signified constructing an image of Simone's self and the community that she wished to be part of (Wenger, 2000).

The discussion of social identity, along with the professional identity, as another layer of participants' multiple identities, was evident in their narrative accounts. Martina, for instance, was able to secure a permanent job and maintain a functional level of conversation in French (though she was not confident about it herself: "I think for many years, I felt I'm just somewhere in between. You get this feeling of I can't go back but I'm not really here either." Block (2002) uses the term *critical experiences* to describe such periods in someone's life and defines it as:

periods of time during which prolonged contact with an L2 and a new and different cultural setting causes irreversible destabilization of the individual's sense of self. There is, in a sense, an element of before and after in critical experiences as the individual's sociohistorical, cultural and linguistic environment, once well-defined and delimited, becomes relatively ill-defined and open-ended. (Block, 2002, p. 4)

Aramesh and Simone's professional status as former university professors shifted from a "well-defined and delimited" positioning to an "ill-defined and open-ended" stance. This shift made them invest in further educational and professional qualifications to achieve relative stability. The ongoing struggle between previous social and professional identifications and the present experiences of re-adjustments and adaptation is not "a question of adding the new to the old. Nor is it a half-and-half proposition whereby the individual becomes half of what he/she was and half of what he/she has been exposed to" (Block, 2009, p. 21). Rather, the result is what Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1996) described as *hybrid* and *third space* identities. Martina translated an expression in her mother-tongue language (Dutch) to express her feelings of living in Montreal for around a decade: "In German, we would say sitting between two chairs."

When asked about their perceptions of their national identities, several participants described it as "half-half" (e.g., Dariush, Chan Xin, Ruiyi) or "a bit of everything" (e.g., Olive, José, Martina, Anna), regardless of their length of residence in Quebec. These *hyphenated* nature of identities are other manifestations of hybridity (Higham, 1955; Hua, 2017). Most participants noted that they viewed themselves as a melange of their national identity and the Canadian identity. Some participants such as Dariush even presented a hierarchical order of their national identity, starting from Iranian, Canadian, and Quebecois/e. Almost all participants made a clear distinction between a Canadian and Quebecoise identity. Many of them were highly vocal about their perceptions of

Quebec as being different from other Canadian provinces and thus made it as a basis for their arguments on language, identity, and immigration.

The cultural anthropologist Mattews (2000) argued that "identities are not entities into which one is 'raised'; rather, one 'assumes' an identity and then works on it" (cited in Block, 2009, p. 22). The individuals around the world have a range of identities under the influence of advanced technology, the digital world, and other outcomes of globalization. While some studies have overestimated the individual agency in the third spaces, social constructs, such as ethnic affiliation, continue to play a crucial role in individuals' choice and decision makings in their day-to-day activities (May, 2001).

Moreover, making difficult choices played an essential role in the life trajectories of the participants in this inquiry. My participants described their critical experiences and their challenges to integration concerning the three domains of *educational*, *social*, and *professional* settings. Aramesh and Mostafa had negative educational experiences, struggling with their supervisors at university. In Aramesh's case, she ended up quitting the program. José and Martina recounted their social critical experiences in which their interactions with French speakers were unsuccessful, exerting an adverse impact on their perceptions of their social adaptations. Dariush and Simone's critical professional experiences resulted in changing their workplaces and even pursuing different professional pathways. The narrative inquiry used in this study helped highlight participants' critical experiences (Block, 2002). It also served as a framework to describe "critical parts of people's lives which are often overlooked or not revealed through traditional empirical methods" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 71).

Immigrants strive for a stable life to resolve the conflicts and alleviate their ambivalent feelings, emphasizing the consciousness of the feeling. Identity is thereby a

self-conscious and reflexive process in which individual agency plays an important role (Miller, 2014). This is where the debate sparks off as to what extent identity is a self-reflective project, and to what extent it emerges from the social structure. The former focuses on the role of agency and decision making, leaning towards psychology, and the latter has been put forward in sociology.

As I discussed in Chapter Three, the modern and post-modern ages have offered individuals with a variety of choices. They have to make *agency-enhancement choices* (McKay & Wong, 1996) during critical and demanding situations of their lives. Migration is a complicated process, and immigrants are likely to face more life-changing choices than others and thus have to make decisions about those choices. These decisions are directly connected to the multiple identities that they construct and negotiate. The issue of individual agency denotes that all individuals can *make choices* even in the most extreme conditions of their life (Giddens, 1991). In my study, several participants had to make choices as to various contexts or environments. Several participants, for example, had to make a choice of integrating into the anglophone or francophone part of Montreal (as reflected in the sociolinguistic landscape of Montreal).

Traditionally, the dividing line between the francophones and anglophones of Montreal has been represented by St. Laurent Boulevard, which stretches from south to north, passing through the heart of Montreal (Lamarre, 2014). The eastern side of the boulevard has hosted people mostly of francophone origin. The anglophones have been living in the western side of it. This distinction, which was metaphorically described as "a Berlin wall of the mind" in a New York times' article (Bilefsky, 2018), reminds us of the MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* (1945/2006). While this dividing line has become blurred for several reasons, it is still believed that the francophones and anglophones (or the

francophiles and anglophiles) have either intentionally or under certain circumstances have chosen where to live and work in the Greater Montreal region.

The distinction is blurred due to rising bilingualism among new generations of Quebeckers (Lamarre, 2013). The huge immigration wave in the post two-solitudes era, which allowed many other languages and cultures to function within the French and English languages, has led to the emergence of *multiple solitudes (*the appearance of multiple languages and identities, though not a new phenomenon). The allophone immigrants are caught in this battle of English/French dichotomy and often need to make choices as to whether to join the anglophone or francophone side, depending on their language learning trajectories and their career circumstances among other reasons. As for the participants of my study, Simone and Chan Xin, chose to live in Longueil and LaSalle (the Montreal's' francophone-dominated region and borough). Anna, who originally lived in NDG (more English-speaking dominant) had to move to Saint-Jerome (a francophone populated suburban city), because of job commitment. Dariush and José also lived in the anglophone part of Montreal.

Another situation where my participants needed to make a decision was the choice of accumulating additional cultural and symbolic capital in the new society. Participants were presented with the opportunity/option of acquiring further educational and professional qualifications and credentials, rather than doing general labor (e.g., working in a department store). Aramesh always referred to her professional identity as a university professor in Iran and imagined enjoying a similar professional status in the new society, showing her unwillingness to do work unrelated to her educational and professional background. Aramesh and several other participants shared narratives of events from both home and host countries. Those narratives served as a form of

assessment and critique of the social and professional practices in one country by referring to their previous experiences in another place (Lam & Warriner, 2012).

The type of choices each participant had to make also differed in terms of different contexts and situations. Aramesh decided "to choose [her] friends" only from those outside her ethnic community. Simone decided to obtain two master's degrees in Quebec after completing the first one in her country of origin, with the hope of gaining recognition and becoming qualified for the career positions in the government offices. Ruiyi heavily invested in honing her English and French language skills. She also completed a graduate diploma, aiming to apply for a professional certificate program which made her qualified to work as a professional accountant in Quebec. The acquisition of additional educational qualifications, however, did not necessarily guarantee a better quality of life and a smooth process of inclusion for the participants.

Making choices did not always lead to an upward movement of educational or professional status. Some participants, such as Chan Xin and Ruiyi, argued that they had to lower their professional expectations after completing a graduate degree in Quebec to find employment. In the case of Chan Xin, she perceived herself as not competent enough to compete with the "Canadian-born" job applicants. Conversely, Dariush, who was a chemist, decided to give up his job to apply for a master's degree. He did not want to do the "technician's work" for the rest of his life and thus felt over-qualified for those jobs. The participants had to make choices when they were available to them or when changes occurred in their life.

The role of *agency* in language learning has been well-documented in second language research (Baynham 2006; Duff, 2012, Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000; Mercer, 2011; Miller, 2014; Toohey & Norton, 2003). The ability to make choices is an outcome of

learner agency perceived as "the capability of individual human beings to make choices and to act on these choices in ways that make a difference in their lives" (Martin, 2004, p. 135). To be part of the *imagined community* (Anderson, 1991), and in particular, the imagined/expected workplace community, immigrants need to get involved in the communities of practice and relationships in the host society through engagement and imagination (Wenger, 1998). The participants thus deployed various strategies which could pave the way to get into their desired communities of practice.

A discussion on immigrants' identity should thus pivot around viewing identity as both a psychological concept as well as a social construct. The former refers to the notions such as the self-conscious and reflexive project of an individual agency created and maintained by individuals (Miller, 2014). The latter highlights the importance of social structures to the shaping and negotiating of new identities. This distinction has been crucial in my understanding of the relationship between individual and society, agency and structure, as well as language learning as an individual factor versus language learning as a social construct.

In my study, the social context/structure was connected to the individuals' agency, their choices, and the challenges they encountered. For example, experiencing the Montreal switch along with the complex sociolinguistic dynamic of Montreal had an impact on participants' choices of using French, English, or both. The reality of workplace communication also required that participants chose to develop their plurilingual repertoire through investing in bilingual French-English learning. Also, when participants realized that their former credentials were not recognized in the new society, they chose to acquire further educational/cultural capital. In this regard, participants' agency and social structure were linked within a broad societal context of

Quebec/Montreal, thereby either cultivated or confined their sense of agency in decision making.

As a realization of a sense of agency, some participants avoided spending so much time with their ethnic communities. Upon starting their new life in the receiving country, many newcomers make efforts to find and assemble into the community of their fellow compatriots. Making connections with one's compatriots reflects their emotional, social, cultural, and professional investments. As I discussed earlier, immigration brings about tensions due to a fear of the unknown, which prevents many immigrants from making significant changes or progress in the preliminary stages of their migration. The initial challenges, unfamiliarities, anxieties, and uncertainties could be soothed by having a simple chat in one's mother-tongue language. Hence, in a multicultural city like Montreal, many immigrants tend to gravitate to their ethnic or national communities, particularly in the early years of settlement. A drawback to immigrants' attachment to their ethnic communities is that their integration into the new society could be curtailed, if not hindered.

In Montreal, depending on the place of residence, one can find professionals from many countries of origin, including doctors, bank clerks, accountants, car dealers, and technicians, to name a few. Immigrants' personal and everyday affairs, therefore, could be conducted in their language of origin other than French or English, thereby facilitate their settlement and integration experiences. In my inquiry, however, several participants decided that distancing themselves from their ethnic groups was a step towards integration. Anna, for example, argued that "Romanians in the Romanian community had a hard time adapting to their life here [Montreal], had a hard time learning French or English, had a hard time explaining stuff to their kids at school." Informed by this, Anna

did not want to spend so much time with Romanians "because [Romanians] spent so much in the Romanian community [that] they didn't adapt well…."

Likewise, Dariush adopted a similar approach as Anna for reasons such as having more opportunities for language practice. He was determined to seize every opportunity to practice his English and French language skills. His fellow Iranian compatriots in his language classes, however, "[didn't] like to communicate in French…[and were] not interested in speaking in English [either]." Thus, what seemed to be a helpful strategy in learning additional languages became a challenge which made Dariush think about making friends outside his ethnic community. José and Simone, the two Brazilians of the study, went through a similar experience, although their workplace environment played a crucial role in their interactional decisions. The English-speaking individuals surrounded José during his graduate studies. He even spoke in English with a new Brazilian student who joined their research group. Simone did not need to communicate with Portuguese speaking immigrants because her French was good enough to meet her personal and social needs.

Except for the early stages of settlement, most participants of this inquiry, either intentionally or unknowingly, did not choose to mingle with immigrants from their home countries. The reason could be because they did not perceive it as a *worthwhile investment* or strategy if they wanted to get integrated into Quebec society. Or, perhaps their closest community and identification was with people who share their educational, and sometimes professional, backgrounds rather than ethnicity. However, for some participants such as Aramesh, Dariush, and Simone, the avoidance of interacting with people from their ethnic communities caused feelings of isolation. Others such as Anna, became more sociable and comfortable accepting the culture of the new society. As a

result, they used distancing from their ethnic groups as a strategy to make further investments in integration into the Quebec society.

That said, most participants showed a different behaviour in their interactions on social media. They mainly used their mother tongue languages with their long-time friends and family members and were rather active in their digital ethnic communities. In other words, while they intentionally decided to physically distance themselves from their ethnic communities, they seemed to act differently in virtual spaces such as Facebook and Instagram. Ruiyi argued that social media is a space where she could easily express her feelings in Mandarin with her friends back home. The prevailing presence of digital technology and communication tools have allowed individuals "to remain connected on the move and to cross borders virtually at the click of a mouse or swipe of a finger, and to build new communities as illustrated by several available transnational digital case studies" (Hua, 2017, p. 119; Lam, 2014). As a result, participants were using social media as a different space with different conventions guiding interactions (they were in Montreal but may as well have not been in Montreal when they communicated with friends and family via internet). In this regard, participants developed a *sens pratique* (Bourdieu, 1986) or practical sense, which refers to "a more durable sense of the communicative game" (in Bourdieu's term), and which "is a practical mastery of the logic or immanent necessity of a game, which one gains through experiencing the game" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47). Drawing on *sens pratique*, Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) developed the notion of *symbolic competence* or the "individual repertoires in multilingual settings and refers to the shifting of codes to reframe power in specific communicative events," activating what Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) called *spatial repertoire* (Darvin & Norton, 2015, pp. 47-48).

To recap, migration brings about social, cultural, and emotional instabilities as "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and certainty" (Mercers, 1990, p. 43). The participants' experiences in the present study revealed that their social, professional, and ethnic identities were both complex and interconnected.

Expressing a Desire for Greater Social Receptiveness

The Quebec government has made significant efforts to offer immigrants the programs and services with French being the key element. The *moral contract* outlined in Quebec's 1991 immigration policy document *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble* stressed the need for "being open to others as the host society and in developing harmonious intergroup relations" (Gouvernement du Québec, 1991, p. 17). However, despite implementing the strict policies and ambitious plans to attract and keep immigrants, little attention has been devoted to the engagement of the host community to facilitate immigrants' language learning and integration process (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

The participants of my study were quite vocal throughout their narratives about their unsuccessful experiences with the speakers of the host society and argued that their interactions did not conclude a *moral contract*. Martina, for example, felt that "there is no will from the host society to help the newcomers." She realized that her expectations before immigration bore little relation to the reality of the Quebec's society. Several participants felt the need for additional support from the host society. They expressed their dissatisfaction when they found themselves in situations "trying your best to integrate but what you receive is, not a cold, but a less welcoming environment that you would hope," commented José.

The theme of *social receptiveness* (Piché & Frenette, 2001) was overwhelmingly dominant in the dataset. Social receptiveness is defined as "the attitudes and efforts of the Quebec population with respect to immigration and intercultural relations," and is centered around the acquisition of the French language, and the communication accommodation in social interactions (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 139). In José' view, Quebec is a "very unwelcoming place, when you don't speak French or even if you speak French a bit but you are not their stereotype, that's where things start to get hard." Martina recounted her negative experience when she was trying to speak French with the francophones she met, but instead got "this thing of [d'anglophone toi?]" – a discourse which not only violated the moral contract, but also ended up in stereotyping the interlocutor. It also signified an obstacle to Martina's social identity negotiation, because she did not feel she *belonged* and was labelled as the *Other* (Norton, 2013).

The notion of social receptiveness also denotes that communication is *a two-way street*. This means that both sides of the dialogue (immigrants and the host society) should maintain a dynamic relationship, without imposing one's norms on the other. The participant, Aramesh, felt that she was being imposed upon as is clear in her narratives: "The Quebecoise they really want you to speak French correctly. Their own accent their own language and something they want [you] to speak…"A successful interaction requires that both sides make effort to understand each other and to be more attentive to each other in social spaces or the contact zone, "without relying on their own assumptions of meaning" (Canagarajah, 2014, p. 83).

This was not how Aramesh felt: "because sometimes I understand that they can understand my requirements, but they say: 'oh, what's that? 'what you mean?'" In addition, she did not feel comfortable when people corrected her: "I think people in

Quebec, they try to revise [correct], when we speak, [like] 'oh, it's not correct' 'this is

correct'" Obviously, Aramesh did not see being corrected by the francophone

Quebeckers as a positive contribution towards improving her French language skills.

Rather, she regarded it as an example of their lack of communication accommodation,

and as a result decided to avoid interacting with francophone at some point of her life.

While the francophone Quebecers would like to see French continue as a language in

North America, they must "adopt some form of more unconditional hospitality" (Oakes

& Warren, 2007, p. 139). As for Aramesh, being in a very emotional state along with a

sense of disappointment affected her subsequent experiences of using the language

learning strategies. This implies that, similar to an individual's habitus, different

personalities affect strategy and investment to different degrees, highlighting the

intersection between research on learners founded on psychology and a research built on

social theory.

The experience of unsuccessful interactions with the host society also revealed that

the participants' internally persuasive discourses constantly struggled with the dominant

authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1986). In exploring the internally persuasive discourses

of immigrants, the concept of *answerability/responsibility* offers valuable insights on

individuals' interactions in various social contexts (Bakhtin, 1993). The discourses of

skilled immigrants of this inquiry were in response to their everyday realities and to their

linguistic experiences in Montreal. Discourses are interactive by nature and require that

immigrants position themselves in the discursive practices through a sense of dialogic

responsibility (Vitanova, 2004). This view also indicates that "voices represent particular

socioecological positions in particular dialogic relationships that are not fixed or

immutable but rather shift as power relations change between speaking subjects"
(Vitanova, 2004, p. 263).

The different voices of participants as heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981) through their
use of different languages, represent their different *positionings* in relation to the existing
power relations. The discursive discourses of the host society can be framed within two
perspectives: while the *authoritative discourse* puts an emphasis on the French language,
the *internally persuasive* discourse of individuals of the host society tends to generate a
binary of francophone and anglophone, and thus making judgments about immigrants'
attachment to either side. Upon hearing the words "d'anglophone toi?" from a
Quebecker, Martina responded rather sarcastically that "actually, no, my mother tongue is
German," yet she was surprised when she received the response "yeah, but you're either
francophone or you're anglophone." She ultimately came up with "No, that's not how the
world works… there are zillion languages out there. Trust me [laughter]" (Martina).

Answerability in Bakhtin's view is "infused with a sense of moral responsibility
toward the Other and with a particular emotional-volitional tone (a complex of one's
desires, feelings, and ethical evaluation)" (Vitanova, 2004, p. 263). In several
participants' eyes, *a sense of moral responsibility* towards immigrants was missing in
their experiences in various social spaces. Bakhtin (1993) noted that the emotional-
volitional tone is the driving force behind one's acts and of central importance to
answerability.

According to Bakhtin (1993), the experience becomes "actively thought
(experienced) in an emotional-volitional tone" once "the valid-in-itself content of a
possible lived-experience (as thought)… enter[s] into an essential inter-connection with
an actual valuation" (p.33):

We use the term "emotional-volitional tone" to designate precisely the moment constituted by my self-activity in a lived-experience-the experiencing of an experience as *mine: I* think- perform a deed by thinking. This term is used in aesthetics but has a more passive signification there. What is important for us is to relate a given lived-experience *to me* as the one who is actively experiencing it. (p. 36)

The active state of emotional-volitional tone makes an individual display a unique sense of answerability in the new sociocultural realities among different voices. Bakhtin's concepts of answerability/responsibility and the emotional-volitional tone proved useful in understanding the participants' responses to the everyday realities of their interactions with the residents of the adopted country (Bakhtin, 1993). But what can be done in the situations where the moral contract is violated, or responsibility is not fulfilled, or the two sides of the dialogue do not satisfactorily respond to their communication needs? Part of the answer lies in fostering greater awareness of the linguistic and social needs of the newcomers.

Anna and Dariush noted that there should be a higher level of French language requirement in the immigration-selection process. This way, immigrants can learn profession-related language skills faster and easier. Dariush added that it is hard for the employers to "trust" the new immigrants for not having the Canadian work experience, and that "some companies don't want to take the risk of hiring [someone] for the first time." He perceived himself as a successful immigrant, mainly because he was able to find a job and that his French was improving. In his view, having a job and the right level of French in Quebec are considered the two main factors for being a successful immigrant. He expressed his interest in living and working in Quebec. He also pointed out that he would leave the province if he were not able to find a career as a professional chemist.

José stressed that while immigrants should make more investments in their process of inclusion and adaptation, the host society needs to be "re-educated" to arrive at an understanding that "as [it is] important… to [defend] your language, your habits, [and]…your culture, it is [also] important to be open because the population of Quebec is getting older, not getting any bigger, they would need the immigrants… ." Offering a rather radical solution for preventing the departure of skilled immigrants from Quebec, José added that: "It's a bit of taboo. It's not going to be comfortable for me to talk about it because I mean it's one step towards what I would consider discrimination."

Therefore, major efforts should be made to create a safer environment for both sides – the immigrants and the host society – so that they could engage in a healthy, mutual dialogue. In José' view, many people in Quebec are not well-informed of the importance of immigration and immigrants. Some of them even consider immigrants as their "enemy," but in reality, immigrants are "coming to help":

> The majority, specially people who are skilled, they are not coming to use resources, they are coming to bring expertise, coming here to bring human material, coming here to establish family, you know, coming here to integrate in to that society. So I mean stop seeing us as… the immigrants, after all that's what we are, we are trying to integrate, but don't see us as aliens, as invaders, not what we are. We are coming here to establish ourselves and contribute to their society. So I mean the idea of us coming here and just seizing jobs and ruining Quebec society that's not accurate. That's one thing…I don't know who would do that… especially in the front… but that's something that would definitely change, the vision needs to change. That's what's happening in US, right. The immigrants are being radicalized as like… (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 32)

José hammered away at his point about the necessity of entering into a serious and constructive dialogue between the immigrants and the Quebec society and emphasized the significance of rejecting the common stereotypes about immigrants. Using "coming to" and "are not coming to," he highlighted the reasons for immigrants' coming to Quebec to make a contribution to the social and economic sectors of the society, "to

integrate" and "establish themselves," but not to "seize jobs" and "ruining Quebec

society." What he suggested implies that there is a need to change the radical thinking

developed due to the tensions created by English/ French dichotomy in the higher

positions of the society: "Quebec has a lot of work to do in sorting their duality first, the

English versus French, to integrate."

Some participants also wrangled over the linguistic category of francophone,

anglophone, and allophone. Criticizing the notion of "category," José commented:

> Well, in my opinion there shouldn't be categories at all. That's the main thing… If you want to expel everyone from the province, go ahead, but at the same time you need them. And like, Quebec is remarkably hard to make concession. That's why it is much easier to negotiate with an English Quebecer… I mean you want the immigrants but you are not doing enough for them. So it's kind of convoluted and distorted logic. I hope it changes but… (José, Int. 2, Excerpt 31).

Using the expressions such as "convoluted" and "distorted logic," José further

disparaged the English/French tensions, leading to what he described as a situation in

which it is "remarkably hard to make a concession." He later told a story of a negative

social interaction in which a bus driver did not accommodate his low French proficiency

and even uttered discriminatory remarks. José considered that incidence as a situation

where "discrimination and cultural level go side by side." By "cultural level," he referred

to "the people who lack the opportunity for education." An interesting point that emerged

in these narratives was that José regarded the discriminatory behavior *an option* that the

people of the host society could take up. For him, the host society is provided

with *choices*, and practicing discrimination is a choice that it could make, along with

other options.

He felt that education plays a vital role in enhancing people's understanding.

Nonetheless, he argued that educated people are not necessarily more understanding, but

it's more likely to happen…." José concluded that changes are inevitable because "Quebec has changed... the whole world changed. Time is changing, but my perception is that the mentality is not following it." He added that "the changes that have to happen to help integrate people better are not following the same pace of…."

To sum up, the answerability of the host society to immigrants is of vital importance and needs to be taken seriously. Otherwise, the host society would end up losing a large amount of capital that was brought in and generated by skilled and highly educated immigrants. Both the immigrants and the host society should engage in a constructive dialogue to better meet the needs of immigrants and to keep them in the receiving country. In Quebec, this is more difficult due to the priority given to the French language.

AILLE: An Analytic Framework

In the previous sections, I discussed the key themes emerging from the narrative accounts of participants of this study concerning the theoretical framework used and the existing research. In the following section, I present an analytic framework which could be applied to the study of Adult Immigrant Language Learning Experience (AILLE) (see Figure 7.1). This analytic framework is a response to linking the individual dimensions with the societal dimensions of language learning, identity, and investment and integration. Drawing on my reflections on the main findings, recurring themes, commonalities, as well as the existing concepts and theories on adult immigrants' language learning, I theorize that the individual's experience is shaped and constructed in a mutual dialogic relationship with the societal factors. The individual dimensions are subdivided into *plurilingual repertoire, subjectivity*, and *agency*. The societal dimensions are a combination of the interrelated aspects of historically-constructed contexts,

including the *socioeconomic/ sociopolitical influences*, and the notion of *social receptiveness/answerability*. In the following paragraphs, I present the descriptions of the components of the proposed analytic framework.
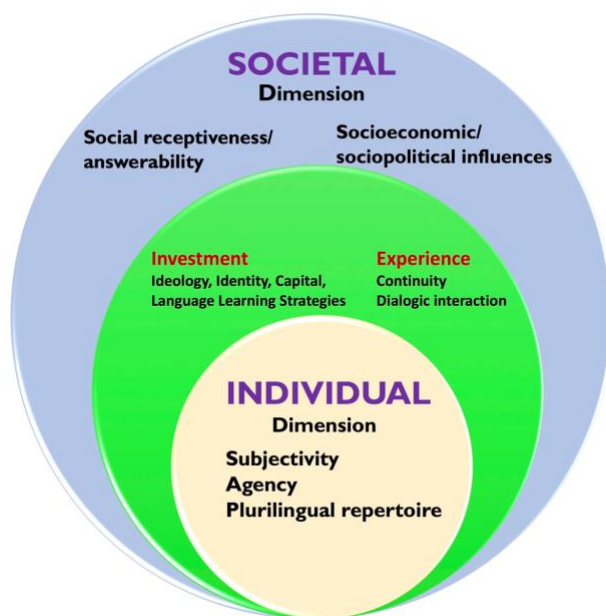

Figure 7.1. Adult Immigrant Language Learning Experience (AILLE)

The Individual Dimension

    Subjectivity. According to Heller (2007), the notion of *subjectivity* is associated with poststructuralist social theory. Subjectivity is concerned with "the ontogenesis and ontology of consciousness," in a sense that "individuals come to know themselves, reflexively, as selves, and to experience the world and their own being-in-the-world accordingly" (Heller, 2007, p. 235). Subjectivity conceptualizes "the dynamic tension between the individual as social actor or agent and the subject position that she or he occupies within a given social order" (p. 235). Heller (2007) has argued that language is key in the process of production of subjectivities, and raises important questions for the study of bi/multilingualism: "What constitutes a bilingual subjectivity? In what ways

might bilingual subjectivities differ from monolingual subjectivities?" (p. 236). Such questions, as Heller (2007) has noted, highlights the issue of language socialization, which aims to develop "locally intelligible subjectivities" (p. 236).

Kramsch (2009) has noted that subjectivity is "associated with the cognitive and emotional development of the self" (p. 16). She describes the multilingual subjects as "people who use more than one language in everyday life" in any forms and modes (p. 17). Highlighting the symbolic nature of the *multilingual subject*, Kramsch argued that it is possible to view language learning "as the construction of imagined identities that are every bit as real as those imposed by society" (p. 17). In this globalized economy, knowledge of multiple languages is seen as an 'asset' "which lead[s] to economic profit and material success" (p. 18).

I found that for many of my participants, learning an additional language equaled "a means of empowerment" which allowed them to "open up sources of personal fulfillment that might be forced by an exclusive emphasis on external criteria of success" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 18). The participants' narratives, however, presented a neoliberal view of personhood which is "responsible, autonomous, self-sufficient, and entrepreneurial leads, simultaneously, to a celebration of choice and self-realization through the market" (Allan & McElhinny, 2017). The neoliberal view downplays the role of market: individuals would think it is up to them, without recognizing factors or structures that do not give much wiggle room. This new form of subjectivity is linked to "a neoliberal theory of human capital in which one's entire being is viewed as a business – a Me, Inc. (Allan & McElhinny, 2017; Gershon, 2011).

Norton (2010) has described three defining characteristics of subjectivity: the multiple, nonunitary nature of the subject; subjectivity as a site of struggle; and

subjectivity as changing over time (p. 350). In this respect, "subjectivity and language are theorized as mutually constitutive" in poststructuralist theory (Norton, 2010, p. 350). Norton (2010) concluded that the conceptualization of subjectivity as multiple and changing is consistent with identity positions. In other words, "while some identity positions may limit and constraints opportunities for learners" others "may offer enhanced sets of possibilities for social interaction and human agency" (p. 351).

Agency. The second component of the Individual Dimension of AILLE is *agency*. According to Duff (2012), agency refers to "people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation" (p. 413). In "the complex totality of individual's lived experiences," the notion of agency serves as "a socially mediated phenomenon in relation to learning and using an additional language" (Miller, 2014, p. 3). My participants had to make choices in various situations, which led to their personal or social transformation. Agency as a socially mediated phenomenon implies that immigrants are positioned as "active shapers of their realities" and that "social constraints are at work at every juncture in their activity" (Block, 2009, p. 223). My participants agentively chose to participate or not to participate in various learning contexts. They also chose whether to become part of communities of practices "as acts of resistance to what they saw as undesirable identity options for themselves in these situations" (Miller, 2014, p. 7). In this sense, the interrelationships between identity, agency, and the learner's situated experiences of language learning highlights "the dialectic between the individual and the social – between the human agency of these learners and the social practices of their communities" (Toohey & Norton, 2003, p. 58).

Moreover, studies have shown the role of agency as a starting point for learner's decisions to use language learning strategies (Gao & Zhang, 2011), for learner-initiated, goal-directed action (Mercer, 2015), and as a contributor to the use of learning strategies (Oxford, 2008). For learners, agency plays a role in their ability to use the strategies as well as their decision or choice to act by using those strategies (Oxford, 2015).

The plurilingual repertoire. According to Gumperz's notion of verbal repertoire (Gumperz, 1964), an individual's plurilingual repertoire is built on his/her linguistic and communicative repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). One's plurilingual repertoire addresses issues such as social interaction, language practices, and use in various communities. Linguistic repertoire encompasses the use of linguistic features but also deals with language power and learner's motivation and desire to learn the language (Busch, 2015). Linguistic repertoire also includes the emotional/bodily dimension of language such as joy, anger, fear, and anxiety (Busch, 2015). The data from this inquiry revealed that participants' linguistic repertoire is embedded in their ideological, historical, and biographical aspects. In other words, an individual's past, present, and future, all contribute to developing their linguistic and thereby plurilingual repertoire (Busch, 2015).

The languages in a plurilingual repertoire are not separate entities, but they all form one repertoire, rather than separate languages. In other words, the languages in one's repertoire are integrated and combined (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009). Plurilingual immigrants are able to use their languages in various contexts. I have explored in my inquiry how participants increased their plurilingual repertoires through learning French and English, and how they used different languages of their repertoires in various contexts.

The Societal Dimension

    The socioeconomic/sociopolitical influences. Migration is not merely a move from one place to another. Rather, immigrants move in search of a better socioeconomic life for themselves and their family members (Tovares & Kamwangamalu, 2017). The socioeconomic and sociological pressures in the host society often decelerate the seamless economic and social integration of immigrants. These pressures "works against the maintenance and inter-generational transmission of immigrant languages: A majority language must be learned to function successfully and move up in the host community" (Tovares & Kamwangamalu, 2017, p. 218).

    In my study, I found that the socioeconomic/sociopolitical influences, along with the notion of social receptiveness in Quebec, play key roles in immigrants' language learning processes, and their experiences of integration and belonging. My participants learned French and English to attain upward socioeconomic mobility by gaining employment. Language practices (or plurilingual practices) and ideologies are fundamental in the socioeconomic processes (Han, 2013). They are "an inherent and important dimension of trade migration, which provides a strategic entry point for studying multilingualism as well as social processes" (Han, 2017, p. 260).

    Social receptiveness/answerability. Globalization and modernity disregard the notion of *the state* as a critical factor in linguistic and cultural processes (Blommaert, 2005). Due to the processes of globalization in the late modernity period, "the nation-state seems to become less and less of a factor in determining people's identity, networks, and practices" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 217). These identities, networks, and practices have direct relationships with language. The political community and the national majority form the sociopolitical nation in Quebec (Seymour, 1999). Viewing language as political

implies that immigrants come to Quebec, assuming that French is the official language. However, they realize that English is also widely used (Georgeault, 2006), and even essential for accessing better employment opportunities. The politicized notion of language also highlights the issue of answerability/responsibility and social receptiveness. The social receptiveness underlines the significance of a series, constructive dialogue between immigrants and the host society. In my study, inadequate or a lack of social receptiveness created emotional inconveniences and hindered participants' process of integration and adaptation.

   Experience and investment. So far, I have explained the individual and societal dimensions of my analytic framework. Drawing on the findings of my inquiry and the existing theories and concepts, I theorize that the individual and societal dimensions are linked and framed by the concepts of *experience* and *investment*. Drawing on Dewey's (1938/1997) concept of *experience*, and its two main components of *continuity* and *interaction,* I argue that human experience lies at the heart of the narrative mode of thinking (Bruner, 1986). In Dewey's theory of experience, as presented in his seminal book, *Experience and Education* (1938/1997), "experience is part of the problem to be explored" (p. 25).

   Hence, to better understand the stories of adult immigrants, the research should examine the meaning of experience in these individuals' lives. According to Dewey, the two principles of *continuity* and *interaction* are fundamental in the constitution of experience. The continuity of experience implies that any experience is built upon the previous experiences and further builds, modifies or affects any experiences that come after. As I discussed in Chapter Five and Six, my participants were constantly comparing and contrasting their previous and current experiences, arguing that the quality of their

experiences in the new country was affected by their former experiences in the home country.

This also brings about the *interactional* component of experience. Individuals live in a series of situations in the world with the ongoing interactions between themselves and other objects. Therefore, experience is a result of a transaction between an individual and his environment (Dewey, 1938). Thus, "all human experience is ultimately social; it involves contact and communication" (p. 38). The narrative inquiry used in my study allowed me to explore participants' experiences in relation to the continuity of their past, present, and future, as well as their interactions with various situations and environments.

Moreover, Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment consisting of the three components of ideology, identity, and capital elucidates the concept of *investment*. This model regards the multiple aspects of language learner's identity construction processes through "one's relationship to the world" (Norton, 2013, p. 4). An investigation of ideology and capital offers insights on how a learner gains or loses power within the power structures and dominant ideologies of the host society. According to Darvin and Norton (2015), language learners can voice their opposition to the ideological disposition of the new society through their sense of agency. It allows them to recognize their right to speak by investing in acquiring symbolic and material resources. In the case of the present study, the adult immigrants positioned themselves in various socio-political environments, influenced by Quebec's language policy and planning. The immigrants used their different forms of capital, including cultural and symbolic capital, to invest in making and doing identities. Learning strategies (including language learning strategies) – as an investment in action – emerged as a significant theme for the participants of my inquiry. It is argued that a successful investment process would entail both formal and

informal forms of learning. As for language learning, this highlights using language learning strategies inside the classroom as well as looking for opportunities to use and practice the language outside the formal settings.

To sum up, my proposed analytic framework intends to link the individual to societal dimensions in the processes of investment in language learning and identity construction. In the case of adult immigrants, the concept of habitus can better explain this relationship. As stated by Bourdieu, one's habitus is linked to social structures and institutions. The relationship between the *habitus of plurilingual social actor* and *the habitus of broader societal institutions* in the neoliberal era needs to be stressed. An understanding of the interplay between individuals' trajectories and the social structures would help us better understand the role of the actors in the *market* or *game* (in Bourdieu's words). It would also raise awareness about the experiences of the ethnic groups and minorities, and help counter the ongoing issues of discrimination, racism, and immigrants' settlement trajectories.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I engaged in the discussion of the major themes emerging from the findings as regards the lived experiences of the ten skilled immigrant participants. I explained how the relevant theories and concepts helped me unfold the participants' life stories and their main challenges. It was evident that the immigration policies and language ideologies in Quebec, represented as the authoritative discourse, were confronted with the participants' perceptions, ideas, and feelings, and their internally persuasive discourses. While the immigration process had a positive impact on most participants, some became more tolerant and open-minded, yet others felt marginalized and isolated.

In some cases, the participants' self-conception and confidence were in conflict. They were concerned about how they positioned themselves and were positioned by others. Participants' false expectations about the social, professional, and educational systems of the new society generated high tensions in their social identification processes. Some of them felt the need for more emotional support in their social interactions. Several participants of this inquiry harshly criticized the way the host society treats the immigrants. In their views, Quebec regards immigrants as "wanted but not welcomed," as commented by José. It is thus essential that both sides (immigrants and the people of the host society) engage in a constructive dialogue to clarify and acknowledge the immigrants' needs and expectations. Finally, I have argued that AILLE, as a analytic framework, attempts to theorize the language learning experiences of adult immigrants, embracing the key elements of the individual and societal dimensions of their lived experiences.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Implications

Chapter Overview

This chapter begins with a synopsis of the thesis, along with a summary of the findings, vis-à-vis the guiding research questions. Following this, I discuss the theoretical and pedagogical implications, as well as the implications for policymaking. Then, I discuss the contribution of the inquiry to the existing literature, along with the directions for future research, inspired by the questions that the process of undertaking this inquiry and writing the thesis have raised. The thesis closes with final remarks.

Thesis Synopsis

I commenced the thesis in Chapter One by describing the immigration to Quebec and depicting Montreal as the context of my research where language is the main political issue, as reflected in Bill 101, adopted in 1977. I set the scene for the overall objectives of my research which was about documenting the language learning and identity construction trajectories of ten skilled immigrants with diverse ethnic, educational, and professional backgrounds in Montreal, Quebec. In Chapter Two, I presented the history of immigration to Quebec, the complex sociolinguistic dynamic of Montreal (Lamarre, 2013), and the characteristics of the skilled immigrants who came to the province the past decade. In Chapter Three, I discussed the relevant theories and concepts to my inquiry and explained how the notions of identity, investment, discourse, and ideology were represented in the participants' day-to-day interactions in Quebec. Drawing on poststructuralist advances, I have conceptualized the language learning process in relation to the notions of mobility, time, and space.

Chapter Four provided a description of the narrative inquiry methodology and the multiple tools of inquiry which I used to elicit data from participants (semi-structured interviews, journals, photographs, focus groups, and researcher's documents). In Chapters Five and Six, I presented and discussed the main themes that emerged from the participants' narratives and were key to their representations and their access to opportunity and resources in the new social and professional spheres. The findings provided data on the language learning and identity construction of participants, their investments in social and symbolic materials, and their challenges in the Quebec society. In Chapter Seven, I engaged in and synthesized the three major themes emerging from the findings: 1) investing in language learning strategies and cultural capital; 2) re-negotiating multiple identities in mobility; 3) expressing a desire for greater social receptiveness.

I argued that participants increased their plurilingual repertoires through investing in various strategies for learning French and English. They perceived plurilingualism as a form of cultural capital, and as a sense of empowerment, which would result in the privilege of gaining easy access to the Quebec society and its labor market. The participants' unsuccessful social and professional scenarios, however, disproved (or challenged) a prior assumption.

As highly educated immigrants, participants employed various strategies in language learning, while, figuratively, traveling back and forth between their home countries and the receiving country. Most participants had a profound awareness of the importance of learning French as a necessary step towards their social and professional re-adjustments, yet they encountered communication challenges. While they felt committed to using French in their social interactions, there were situations where they

preferred to use English (e.g., in situations related to healthcare). Also, they accumulated further cultural capital and communicative resources to become qualified as active members of their present and imagined workplace communities. Some participants attributed their unsuccessful experience of gaining employment to their low French proficiency. Others, in contrast, regarded it as a pretext provided by the employers to filter the job applicants.

Another important theme that emerged from the participants' narratives was the negotiation of multiple identities (social, professional, and ethnic). A strong desire for being a member of their imagined/desired workplace communities was evident throughout their narrative accounts. Some of them decided to distance themselves from their ethnic group communities as a strategy for quickly integrating into the Quebec society through making friendships with the francophones or anglophones. And all the while, almost all participants expressed a feeling of in-betweenness in Quebec. Some of them chose as to whether to integrate into the francophone or anglophone part of Montreal depending on their social and professional circumstances.

Finally, a desire for greater social receptiveness was evident throughout the narrative accounts of almost all participants. They felt the need for more emotional and communicative support from the host society in their day-to-day interactions, and in various social and professional spaces. The study found that participants' social identifications, community memberships, and their lived experiences were all influenced by the re-negotiation and re-construction of their social and professional identities. The study also found how they felt downgraded and how their status in the receiving country was different from the one in their home countries.

Further, the presence of the dominant French language in the policy discourse, along with the reality of French-English bilingualism in the social and professional spheres, make Quebec a different context of research compared to other provinces in Canada. The unique context of Quebec, therefore, distinguishes my inquiry from similar studies conducted elsewhere. In the next section, I discuss the implications of this inquiry for other areas of research.

Implications of the Research

I agree with Strong-Wilson (2006) that "the act of conducting research does come back to the researcher" (p. 74). I have thus pondered over my responsibility to represent my participants' stories and the questions that Strong-Wilson poses: "How do we become open to others' stories? How do we begin from those stories, pedagogically as well as theoretically? How do stories shift and move, and what role do researchers play in that process?" (p. 74). With these questions in mind, I present the theoretical and pedagogical implications of my study, along with the recommendations for policy-making concerning adult immigrants' language learning, their identity construction, and integration processes.

I begin with the theoretical implications of the inquiry. Poststructuralist thought, identity theories, and the multilingual turn in language learning have informed my conception of plurilingual adult immigrants' language learning trajectories (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Block, 2006, 2007; May, 2014; Norton, 2000, 2013). Drawing on the poststructuralist approach and its emerging concepts such as mobility, identity, and investment, I have interrogated the ways in which the participants of my inquiry perceived and experienced their language learning and identity formation processes as plurilingual subjects. Poststructuralism also allowed me to look into both the individual

and societal dimensions of identity and language learning. In this respect, the broadly poststructuralist approach to identity is both poststructuralist "in its embrace of hybridity and third place" and at the same time "has also included and retained structure" (Block, 2009, p. 24). I would thus argue that poststructuralism would be an appropriate theoretical underpinning to link the human agency and social structure in a study of migration and language.

In my inquiry, I have come up with the Adult Immigrant Language Learning Experience (AILLE) analytic framework, which I presented and described in Chapter Seven of the thesis. I would argue that AILLE strives to fill the gap in the existing research on adult immigrants. It also provides insights on the language learning and lived experiences of skilled immigrants in intercultural Quebec. I have theorized that a study on migrants should count both the individual and societal factors in deciding on the research design. The notions of subjectivity, agency, and plurilingual repertoire need to be taken into account, and should be linked to the socioeconomic/sociopolitical influences. To properly connect the two dimensions, I have argued that researchers could explore the concepts of *investment* and *experience*.

I also argue that a significant theoretical contribution of my study to the existing literature is how strategies are the actions through which we can see *investment.* I have described various strategies that immigrant participants used in language learning in their process of adaptation. Those strategies are weighted towards particular fields (which Bourdieu will see as inherently competitive). The individuals' habitus plays a role in who wins or loses power in a field. My participants came to Quebec with a high degree of capital (e.g., cultural and linguistic capital), possessing a higher social class and educational advantages, compared to the ones who do not come with significant capital.

As a result, they were able to develop and deploy effective learning strategies, including language learning strategies.

According to Oxford (2011, 2016) and her S2R model, "almost everyone can learn an additional language effectively by employing appropriate strategies, assuming some basic interest in learning the language and sufficient time. Strategies can be learned through mediation or assistance" (Oxford, 2011, p. 27). She argued that "not every student has strategic expertise at the outset. Expertise in employing language learning strategies "is not present in every learner; it . . . needs to be developed" with help or mediation from others" (Gu, 2010, p. 1, cited in Oxford, 2011). The language programs, including the francization program, can incorporate the mediated learning elements in the S2R model into their courses. By the help of well-trained language teachers, students can be offered the strategies they can benefit from outside their formal classes. Therefore, the knowledge of strategies used inside and outside class can work in parallel.

I also argue that narrative inquiry, case study, and ethnography would be appropriate methodological choices for AILLE. In my inquiry, I used the narratives of participants to yield valuable insights into the participants' experiences. The semistructured interviews conducted in a conversational style allowed me to establish rapport with the participants, in a sense that most of our conversations were quite natural and often spontaneous (De Fina & Tseng, 2017). Because of this flexible nature of narrative inquiry, participants took the liberty to tell their stories and anecdotes without feeling restricted to the boundaries of the structured interviews. Similar to De Fina and Tseng (2017), I would argue that using narratives, compared to other qualitative methods, provides a more comprehensive and in-depth reflection of individuals' life stories in the sociolinguistic research on migrants.

The pedagogical implications of this study are also important. In this research, the participants' experiences of formal language learning in the francization program indicated a mismatch between their experiences of language learning in their classes and their language use and practice in real-life situations. As an example, participants reported that the French training that they received in the francization classes was not adequate for the jobs they were applying to get. It is also quite possible that participants' expectations went beyond their language levels. According to Kramsch (2014), "there has never been a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what the students will need in the real world once they have left the classroom" (p. 296).) As a result of the great changes that have occurred in the world over the past decades "language teachers are no longer sure of what they are supposed to teach nor what real world situations they are supposed to prepare their students for" (Kramsch, 2014, p. 296).

In this inquiry, the participants' formal learning circumstances (in the classroom), coupled with their informal language practices in the social and professional spheres, were regarded as strategies for learning and practicing additional languages. Participants felt that their investments in their formal language learning did not meet their needs in the new social and professional environments. Hence, they decided to look for other ways to reach a desirable level of language proficiency to gain entry into the job market.

Furthermore, as highly educated individuals, participants drew on their expanded literacies, plurilingual repertoires, learning skills, imagination, and perseverance. Two factors can explain the inconsistency between the perceived language learning inside and outside the classroom. First, the dissimilarity between the language taught in the formal system (standard French) and the Quebec French – a specific regional variety of French. Second, the inadequacy of the levels of French language proficiency skills as required in

preparation for the employment purposes. One suggestion for the francization program would be to emphasize the incorporation of cultural references, local expressions, and slangs, into the curriculum. Also, skilled immigrants can benefit from the *customized courses* (relevant to the professional fields) at higher levels. They can learn the language through the content of specific subjects (e.g., Chemistry, Psychology, etc.).

Another pedagogical implication would be to better prepare immigrants to integrate into their imagined social and professional workplace environments. To that end, the government programs need to facilitate their social and professional adjustments by addressing their real linguistic needs and preparing them for the reality of resettling in a new context. They should also examine the period it takes for immigrants to get into the labour market and the challenges they face. The government can take effective measures in helping immigrants find the right employment opportunities and eventually get employed in their field of expertise. The professional internship, as an example, should be taken more seriously. One of the participants, Simone, for instance, had applied for a professional internship program at the Ville de Montreal (the City of Montreal) known as *parrainage professionnel*. Such internship programs should be introduced to the new immigrants as early as possible so that they learn about the Quebec workplace culture in a more informed way. Participating in the internship programs would also improve the linguistic skills of immigrants in real workplace environments. The reason is that they can often get adequate, if not ample, opportunities to practice the language with their colleagues. The participants of this inquiry who attended the internship programs pointed out that they learned "the workplace culture," and developed the social and professional skills needed to enter the Quebec labor market. For most participants, it took a long time to learn about the right career paths and obtain the information they needed about the

labor market in Quebec. Thus, more services like the internship opportunities should be available to immigrants, so that they could enter the workplaces more seamlessly. Language learning becomes easier while the immigrant is doing the internship.

Another measure that could be taken by the government could be offering the information sessions to the skilled immigrants beyond the francization program. Many skilled immigrants need to receive more pertinent, factual, and complete information on the labour market in their field of expertise. While government and non-government organizations organize workshops and information sessions, an emphasis could be placed on hiring a group of professionals who have already been established in their field and could help the newcomers find their professional paths more easily through a mentorship program. This could be done through a collaboration between the government and the ethnic and cultural communities. The mentorship and the apprenticeship programs could also prepare the skilled immigrants to gain entry into their professional imagined communities (there are Facebook pages and blogs, often organized more around country of origin, which help immigrants who are either thinking of coming or need information in the early period of settlement).

In the end, I discuss the implications of this research for policymaking. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy was not well-received in Quebec, and thereby interculturalism was chosen. Quebec's francophones believed that multiculturalism was fudging the issue of Quebec as a *société distincte* through the recognition and promotion of bilingual, multicultural identities (Labelle, Rocher, and Rocher, 1995), and a fear that francophones would be considered an ethnic group, rather than as a founding "nation" with special characteristics.

That said, a serious discussion was generated by participants of this study on the topic of the departure of skilled immigrants to other provinces. The departure of a large number of immigrants including skilled immigrants has been well-documented in the Quebec's media (see Hendry, 2018; Paperny, 2012; Scott, 2014; Welsch, 2014) and the research done by Renaud et al. (2001). Among the reasons for the departure of immigrants is the high rate of unemployment along with the integration challenges. For several participants of this study, the reasons for the departure of skilled immigrants from Quebec to other provinces included the lack of job opportunities, and the difficulty of acquiring a high level of French language skills. The participants of this study sought opportunities elsewhere so that they could make *choices* as to whether to stay on or leave Quebec, or even return to their home countries. Notably, immigrants consider the option of moving to other provinces in Canada in the case that their job-hunting process would lead them into a cul-de-sac. While they make serious attempts to re-construct their social and professional identities in Quebec, they face severe challenges, including the issue of language, along with the contentious Bills.

The recent Bill 21, known as "An Act Respecting The Laicity Of The State" introduced by the current political party in power, The *Coalition Avenir Quebec* (CAQ), is such an example. The Bill will ban civil servants in positions of authority from wearing religious symbols at several jobs. Such coercive measures could have adverse consequences. The number of people who leave Quebec because they have to quit their jobs will result in more people leaving Quebec. And if they stay on in the province for whatever reason, they will probably end up doing the lower-status jobs, thereby wasting the resources and capital they have been investing in for a long period of time. The integrity of Quebec as a democratic society can be preserved only by acknowledging the

rights of its individuals, and their languages. Language and religion shape a large part of the immigrants' culture.

The skilled immigrants' capital can be released in the workplace communities through a smooth transition in their professional environments. The imagined economic benefits for Quebec cannot be reaped when immigrants only partially participate in professional settings or when their participation is hindered through the existing obstacles. While immigrants are selected based on their contribution to the economic objectives of Quebec society, their social, symbolic, and cultural capital matter only prior to immigration, and not often recognized once they are in Quebec. In part, this is because Quebec's socioeconomic structure is following the tenets and principles of capitalism and neoliberalism with a heavy emphasis on the economic benefits. It is essential that new immigration policies and programs address the need for immediate social and professional participation, acknowledging the immigrants' diverse lived experiences, and their ways of accessing opportunities and services. Getting a job is an essential element of integration and the eventual social networks in French (Renaud, et al. 2001).

Moreover, in June 2019, the Quebec government passed the immigration reform legislation, which primarily affects the immigration selection process. The Act Bill 9 claims to "increase Québec's socioeconomic prosperity and adequately meet labour market needs through successful immigrant integration" (National Assembly of Quebec, 2019). It is also expected to better match the needs of employers with skills of prospective immigrants, reducing the waiting time for those waiting for permission to work in Quebec. The high level of French knowledge is still an essential factor to enter the labour market, as stated in Bill 9, before arrival in Quebec.

The implications for the intercultural policy in Quebec also need to be discussed. As another implication for policymaking, the professional internship and intercultural communication programs should be taken more seriously. The grassroots programs such as *jumelage intercultural* and *jumelage linguistique,* which, more or less, have been running at the local levels, could be incorporated into a broader level of intercultural policy for the cultural and linguistic integration of adult immigrants. Also, an emphasis on French proficiency is an essential determinant of selecting new immigrants and accelerating their integration process through the *francization* program. That said, drawing on immigrants' plurilingual repertoire and their multilingual competencies, rather than overlooking them, would create an environment in which the French language can be learned through conciliatory efforts in a gentle, more supportive, and a friendlier learning context. Providing immigrants with decent jobs – according to their skills and talents – can help them integrate both economically and linguistically.

Whatever the reason for immigration might be, the process itself entails numerous challenges. Immigrants are often placed in a situation in the host society where constructing new identities comes to the fore with the aim of creating stability and balance in their life. A stable life, however, requires having a decent job, which in Québec is often a sequel to fair, if not high, French language proficiency. Thus, acquiring more education, making new connections, or even learning new skills by immigrants, are all for the purpose of finding a job as this is the start of a stable life in the new society. Instead of *forcing* these people who have multilingual, multicultural repertoires to adopt a French language and culture, a situation can be created for them to become a *Franco/Québeco-phile* and develop a *francophile repertoire* as a response to the emerged and still emerging counter-discourse.

To sum up, the experience of engaging in different communities for immigrants often bears upon forging new identities. Immigration is the beginning of a shift in immigrants' identities– a shift in their professional, academic, cultural, or social identities. Identity is always fluid and in a state of flux (Bauman, 2004). It is, therefore, crucial to know how these individuals construct and negotiate their identities, or how they shift back and forth from among their floating identities. In Quebec, immigrants' multiple identities bring about a juxtaposition of diverse cultures, complexifying interculturalism, and its relationship to the mainstream French language. As a province which is often regarded as a cultural and linguistic minority in Canada, Quebec holds a unique position due to its focus on the French language. I would argue that instead of relying on statistics and numbers, which report on the immigrants' language learning and integration processes, a more comprehensive framework is needed to understand the complex, multifaceted nature of Montreal, and the interplay between its individuals, identities and languages. The framework would then emphasize the individuals' stories of their lived experiences.

Directions for Future Research

My inquiry contributes to the topic of migration, language, and adult immigrants, and the under-researched research on skilled adult immigrants and their language learning in Quebec. Given the importance of skilled migration for the social and economic fabric of the Quebec society, more research is needed with a focus on adult immigrants' lived experiences. Also, it would be exciting if future studies explore the role of language in the social and professional experiences of skilled immigrants from a more diverse background. In doing so, I would argue that qualitative studies would offer a more comprehensive image of the immigrants and would better equip the researcher

project the voices of immigrant participants. The findings of my research revealed that my participants further developed their plurilingual repertoires in their search for social and professional adaptation through learning French and English. I have found that language is one of the reasons, and not the only one, why skilled immigrants may end up reaching a disadvantaged status in the Quebec society.

Another issue that needs much attention is the convertibility mechanisms of immigrants' capital (cultural, social, economic, or symbolic), to accelerate their integration into the labor market. Vigouroux (2017, p. 323) suggests that this could be done through a set of methodological considerations through documenting: (1) the processes that produce the different forms of capital; (2) their modes of acquisition and accumulation; (3) the field(s) in which they are mobilized; (4) the positions they enable social agents to claim or secure in this field; and (5) how they are mobilized and represented (Bourdieu, 1986). For many skilled immigrants, the institutions in the receiving country do not recognize or even completely ignore the accumulated capital of skilled immigrants. One approach that such institutions take is giving credit to the skilled immigrants' capital not based on their skills, competence, and qualifications, but on the basis of the symbolic capital that the immigrants' prior degrees and qualifications carry. That is, many institutions increasingly value the places (i.e., country, university, company), where the capital was acquired, rather than evaluating the quality of the accumulated capital (Vigouroux, 2017). Also, when the capital is acquired in a language other than the one(s) used in the receiving country, the convertibility of immigrants' capital is further constrained by the language itself. That is why many skilled immigrants (including some of the participants of this study) choose to pursue a university degree in the institutions of the host country.

Emphasizing the significance of language in skilled migration, Lising (2017) argued that "although language is central in carrying out one's work… sociolinguistic research in skilled migration has shown that earlier studies have either totally ignored or relegated the study of the role of language in skilled migration to the periphery" (p. 297). More research is needed to interrogate the role of language in adult immigrants' trajectories. More importantly, further studies need to examine the process of developing a plurilingual repertoire among adult immigrants, and how they use their languages in the new social and professional settings.

The immigrants' language practices, their identification processes, and their socioeconomic integration have been the topic of much research in recent years. The narrative accounts presented in this research provided a detailed description of the lived experiences of the ten plurilingual skilled immigrants living in Montreal, Quebec. I have shown that despite the challenges and struggles facing the individual immigrants, they were continuously seeking different resources and opportunities to overcome the structural hurdles. I argue that, as researchers, we need to delve deeper into the issues by taking the individual dimension more seriously. And as every person has a different starting point, trajectories and settlement experiences, their processes of adaptation and readjustment to the new society also vary. The socioeconomic/sociopolitical perspective mostly views immigrants as either integrated or not. We need more stories to be unfolded, heard, and transmitted, to unpack the terms we use to describe those immigrants.

The future studies on adult immigrants in Quebec could explore the experiences of those immigrants who have left Quebec to other provinces through other qualitative research designs such as ethnography. Comparing the experiences of those who stayed on

and those who left the province can offer valuable insights into the immigrants' reasons for departure and their perceived obstacles and challenges in the host society. Future research could also use the analytic framework proposed in this study. My proposed analytic framework aims to bridge the gap between the individual and the societal dimensions. More qualitative research in the context of Quebec is needed to explore this gap. It would be great if future researchers study the narratives of participants on digital and online spaces as well. The mediated contexts, such as social media, where adult immigrants have a greater presence than the physical spaces, via sharing their stories with others, are valuable contexts of narratives. The research designs and research tools should pivot around exploring the digital stories of participants, in which they often use their multiple languages in various social spaces (as it was the case for the participants of this study).

While this study explored a select group of skilled immigrants' experiences from a diverse background, future studies might want to conduct comparative research on different ethnic groups of skilled immigrants in Montreal to compare the social and professional integration experiences of skilled adult immigrants with different ethnic communities and educational trajectories. Also, future researchers may want to conduct a comparative study on male and female skilled immigrants to see if gender would be a factor in the social and professional identification processes and their integration in the Quebec society.

As the dominant practice all over the world (Myers-Scotton, 2006), the plurilingual practices and their benefits need to be recognized by educators and policymakers (Lising, 2017). Put differently, the recognition of the rich communicative resources of the multilingual immigrants and their upward social and professional mobilities in the

receiving country (Canagarjah, 2013, 2017). In Quebec, the emphasis on the French language, at the policy level, works as a gate-keeping mechanism and thus does not recognize the benefits of plurilingual practices. The reality of the workplace market, however, requires a bilingual French-English, especially for prestigious jobs. Finally, it would be beneficial to do more research to examine the impact of language policy and workplace language reality. In the case of Quebec, it would be useful to see to what extent the French language policies and regulations have penetrated the real workplace environments where plurilingual immigrants function. I hope that I have the chance to explore some of these questions in the future.

Closing Remarks

My inquiry underscored the interconnections between language, identity, investment, and power relations, and their pivotal roles in the integration process of immigrants. It also explored the habitus of the immigrants who arrived with educational capital and the discourse around their change of status and expectations. The analysis of data revealed that societal structures and individual desires are inextricably linked. The conditions and processes of immigrants' life trajectories are shaped by their identity constructions as regards the ideological factors. A desire to enter the Quebec labor market emerged as a recurring theme for all immigrants. All participants pursued two significant goals: learning French and finding a job related to their professional background. While their ways of making entry into the Quebec society were different, learning French appeared to be a prerequisite for securing a decent, well-paid job in the Quebec society. Some participants chose not to invest in learning further French or gave it up as they perceived it as too much investment, and instead capitalized on learning English.

The participants who studied French in the francization program made an argument that their insufficient French language skills held them back in gaining entry into the Quebec labor market. Even those who had completed all the courses of the program were not confident about their French language skills. They felt that what initially prevented them from direct access to the job market was their inadequate French language skills as well as the lack of local experience and credentials. Many of them, therefore, decided to invest in acquiring further credentials by completing a university degree as well as through gaining local experiences and skills. As a result, they engaged in the internship programs offered by their educational institutions or took part in voluntary work. For others doing lower-status jobs, in the early settlement years, was an investment towards being prepared for high-status career positions. Consequently, their English or French language skills were further improved, depending on the language of education and workplace environment. Furthermore, most participants assumed that they could have gained entry into the labor market faster and more easily through learning French. Therefore, they spent a great deal of their time in the early settlement period on investing in learning French. They became discouraged, however, by their unsuccessful experience of securing a decent job. As a result, instead of further improving their French skills, they decided to acquire additional social and professional skillsets, plus improving their English language skills. Pursuing an academic degree and participating in the programs and workshops offered by government agencies seemed to be the strategies that most participants adopted to pave their paths to the labor market. Lastly, in my study, I wanted to project the voices of ten skilled immigrants who lived in Montreal, Quebec, to portray a snapshot of their lived experiences. I hope that this inquiry can contribute to the research on skilled and well-educated immigrants overall.

References

Abbott, H. P. (2002). *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adamuti-Trache, M. (2013). Language acquisition among adult immigrants in Canada: The effect of premigration language capital. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *63*(2), 103-126.

Allan, K., & McElhinny, B. (2017). Neoliberalism, language and migration. *The Routledge handbook of migration and language*, 79-101.

Allen, D. (2006). Who's in and who's out? Language and the integration of new immigrant youth in Quebec. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 10*(2), 13.

Allwood, J. (2001). Cooperation and flexibility in multimodal communication. In H. Bunt and R-J. Beun (eds), *Cooperative Multimodal Communication*, Berlin: Springer.

Amireault, V. (2011). Identity Construct of Adult Immigrants Learning French in Montreal. *Comparative and International Education/Éducation Comparée et Internationale*, *40*(2), 61-74.

Amireault, V. (2007). *Representations culturelles et identite d'immigrants adultes de montreal apprenant le francais.* (Order No. NR32136, McGill University (Canada)). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses,* 423.

Anctil, P. (1996) La trajectoire interculturelle du Québec: la société distincte vue à travers le prisme de l'immigration. In A. Lapierre, P. Smart and P. Savard (eds.) *Language, Culture and Values in Canada at the Dawn of the 21st Centuy/Langues, cultures et valeurs au Canada* à l'aube du XXIe siècle. Ottawa: International Council for Canadian Studies/Carleton University Press. pp. 133-54.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books.

Anthony, D.W. (2007). *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions in Globalization*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Armony, V., Barriga, M., & Schugurensky, D. (2004). Citizenship learning and political participation: the experience of Latin American immigrants in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *29*(57-58), 17-38.

Bamberg, M. (1997). Positioning between Structure and Performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7, 335–42.

Bamberg, M. (2006). Stories: Big or small: Why do we care? *Narrative Inquiry,* 16, 139-147.

Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Small Stories as a New Perspective in Narrative and Identity Analysis. *Text & Talk*, 28, 377–96.

Bakhtin, M. M./Medvedev, P. N. (1978). *The formal method in literary scholarship: A critical introduction to sociological poetics*. (Trans. Albert J. Wehrle). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M.M. Bakhtin*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics (C. Emerson, Trans.).* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays.* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Eds.; Y. McGee, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1993). *Toward a philosophy of the act* (V. Liapunov, Trans.). Austin: Texas University Press.

Bauman, Z. (1988). Is there a postmodern sociology?. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *5*(2-3), 217-237.

Bauman, Z. (1999). *Culture as praxis*. Sage.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Oxford: Polity.

Baynham, M. (2006). Agency and contingency in the language learning of refugees and asylum seekers. *Linguistics and education*, *17*(1), 24-39.

Beck, U. (1992). From industrial society to the risk society: Questions of survival, social structure and ecological enlightenment. *Theory, culture & society*, *9*(1), 97-123.

Bhabha, H.K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bilefsky, D. (2018, March 5). In Montreal, a Berlin Wall of the Mind? Retrieved Oct. 4, from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/05/world/canada/montreal-french-english-divide.html.

Bill 9. *An Act to increase Quebec's socio-economic prosperity and adequately meet labour market needs through successful immigrant integration.* (2019). Retrieved from http://m.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-9-42-1.html.

Bearse, C., & de Jong, E. J. (2008). Cultural and linguistic investment: Adolescents in a secondary two-way immersion program. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *41*(3), 325–340.

Bélanger, A., Sabourin, P., & Lachapelle, R. (2011). Une analyse des déterminants de la mobilité linguistique intergénérationnelle des immigrants allophones au Quebec. *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, *40*(1), 113-138.

Blaser, C. (2006). *Integration linguistique et performance economique d'une cohorte d'immigrants a montreal: Une approche longitudinale.* (Order No. NR23791, Universite de Montreal (Canada)). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses,* 243.

Block, D. (2002). Destabilized Identities and Cosmopolitanism across Language and Cultural Borders: Two Case Studies. *Hong Kong Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *7*(2), 1-19.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories* (Language and globalization). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Block, D. (2007a). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal 91*(5), 863–876.

Block, D. (2009). *Second language identities.* London: Continuum.

Block, D., Gray, J. & Holborow, M. (2012). *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics*. London: Routledge.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2013). Complexity, accent, and conviviality: Concluding comments. *Applied Linguistics, 34(*5), 613-622.

Blommaert, J. (2015). Chronotopes, scale and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44: 105-116.

Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2012). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. In I. Saint–Jacques & J. Weber (Eds.), Multimodality and multilingualism: Current challenges for educational studies (pp. 11– 32). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Blommaert, J., & Dong, J. (2010). Language and movement in space. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *The handbook of Language and Communication* (pp. 366-385). Blackledge.

Bouchard, C. (2012). *Méchante langue: la légitimité linguistique du français parlé au Quebec*. Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal.

Bouchard, G. (2015). *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*. University of Toronto Press.

Bouchard, G., & Taylor, C. (2008). *Building the future, a time for reconciliation: Abridged report*. Québec: Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accomodement reliées aux différences culturelles.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16*, 645–668.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste.* London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In *The Sociology of Economic Life* (pp. 78-92). Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. London: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture.* London and Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago press.

Bousmah, I., Grenier, G., & Gray, D. (2018). *Linguistic distance, languages of work and wages of immigrants in Montreal*. Department of Economics Faculty of Social Sciences University of Ottawa.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners.* Sage Publications.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds* (The jerusalem-harvard lectures). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods* (Fifth ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burck, C. (2005). *Multilingual living: Explorations of language and subjectivity*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Busch, B. (2015). Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire: On the concept of Spracherleben—The lived experience of language. *Applied Linguistics*, *38*(3), 340-358.

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2004). Language and Identity. In A Duranti (Ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 369-394). Blackwell Publishing.

Buscher, M., Urry, J. and Witchger, K., eds. (2011). Introduction: Mobile methods. In *Mobile Methods* (pp. 1–19). London: Routledge.

Calinon, A. (2009). *Linguistic and sociolinguistic factors of integration within a multilingual context: The case of immigrants in montreal.* (Order No. NR97598, Universite de Montreal (Canada)). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses,* 385.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2014). Theorizing a Competence for Translingual Practice at the Contact Zone. In Stephen May (ed), *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education* (77-102). New York: Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. (Ed.). (2017). *The Routledge handbook of migration and language*. Taylor & Francis.

Capps, L., & Ochs, E. (1995). *Constructing panic : The discourse of agoraphobia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. (1995).

Cenoz, J. (2013). Defining multilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *33*, 3-18.

Cervatiuc, A. (2009). Identity, good language learning, and adult immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 8*(4), 254-271.

Chase, S.E. (2003). Taking Narrative Seriously: Consequences for Method and Theory in Interview Studies. In Y.S. Lincoln & N.K. Denzin (Eds.), *Turning Points in Qualitative Research:Tying Knots in a Handkerchief* (pp. 273–96).Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Chiasson, G., & Koji, J. (2011). Quebec immigrant settlement policy and municipalities. In E. Tolley & R. Young (Eds.), *Immigrant settlement policy in Canadian municipalities*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Chicha, M.T. (2009). *Le mirage de l'égalité: Les immigrées hautement qualifiées à Montréal*. Montréal, Qué.: Centre Métropolis du Québec.

Chicha M.T. (2012). Discrimination systémique et intersectionnalité: la déqualification des immigrantes à Montreal, *Revue femme et droit/Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 24, 82-113 (RAC).

Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (1994). Language choice among immigrants in a multi-lingual destination. *Journal of Population Economics*, *7*(2), 119-131.

Chun, C. (2016). Exploring neoliberal language, discourses and identities. In Preece, S. (ed.), Routledge handbook of language and identity. Abingdon: Routledge, 558−571.

Clandinin, D. (2006). Narrative inquiry: A methodology for studying lived experience. *Research Studies in Education, 27*(1), 44-54.

Coffey, S. (2010). Stories of Frenchness: becoming a Francophile. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *10*(2), 119-136.

Connelly, F., & Clandinin, D. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14.

Conrick, M., & Donovan, P. (2010). Immigration and language policy and planning in Quebec and Canada: Language learning and integration. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 31*(4), 331-345.

Coste, D., Moore, D., & Zarate, G. (2009). Plurilingual and pluricultural competence. *Language Policy Division. Strasbourg: Council of Europe*.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (Second). London: Sage.

Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2009). Invisible and visible language planning: Ideological factors in the family language policy of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec. *Language policy*, *8*(4), 351-375.

d'Anglejan, A., & Renaud, C. (1985). Learner characteristics and second language acquisition: A multivariate study of adult immigrants and some thoughts on methodology. *Language Learning*, *35*(1), 1-19.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, *35*, 36-56. doi:10.1017/S0267190514000191.

Davies, B. & Harre´, R. (1999). Positioning and personhood. In R. Harre´ and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Positioning Theory* (pp. 32–52). London: Sage.

De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

De Fina, A. (2009) 'Narratives in interview – the case of accounts: for an interactional approach to narrative genres'. *Narrative Inquiry* 19(2), 233–258.

De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Analysing narratives as practices. *Qualitative Research, 8*(3), 379-387.

De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (Eds.). (2015). *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. John Wiley & Sons.

De Fina, A., & Tseng, A. (2017). Narrative in the study of migrants. In *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language* (pp. 381-396). London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Denzin, N.K. (1989). *Interpretive Biography.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed., pp. 1–45). Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage.

DesRoches, S. J. (2014). Quebec's interculturalism: promoting intolerance in the name of community building. *Ethics and Education*, *9*(3), 356-368.

Dewey, J. (1938/1997). *Experience and Education*. New York: Macmillan.

Dudley, L. (2007). Integrating volunteering into the adult immigrant second language experience. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *63*(4), 539-561.

Duff, P. A. (2007). Multilingualism in Canadian schools: Myths, realities and possibilities. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics / Revue Canadienne De Linguistique Appliquee, 10*(2), 149-163.

Duff, P. (2012). Identity, agency, and SLA. In Mackey, A. & Gass, S. (eds.), Handbook of second language acquisition (pp. 410–426). London, UK: Routledge.

Duff, P., Wong, P., & Early, M. (2000). Learning language for work and life: The linguistic socialization of immigrant Canadians seeking careers in healthcare. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *57*(1), 9-57.

Duranti, A., & Goodwin, C. (1992). *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon* (Studies in the social and cultural foundations of language, no. 11). Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press.

Early, M. & Norton, B. (2012). Language learner stories and imagined identities. *Narrative Inquiry,* 22(1), 194-201.

Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Communities of practice: where language, gender and power all live. In Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz & Birch Moonwomon (eds.). *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference* (pp. 89-99). Berkeley CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faist, T. (2013). The mobility turn: A new paradigm for the social sciences? *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(11): 1637–1646.

Firmin, M. (2008). Interpretation. In L. Given (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Vol. 1* (pp. 458-459). Thousand Oaks: CA.

Flores, N**.**, & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review,* 85, 149–171.

Fontana, A., & Prokos, A. H. (2016). *The interview: From formal to postmodern*. Routledge.

Fortin, S. (2003). *Trajectories migratoires et espaces de sociabilité: Strategies de migrants de france a montreal.* (Order No. NQ80445, Universite de Montreal (Canada)). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses,* 398.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interview and Other Writings* 1972-1977, *C. Gordon (trans)*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fraenkel, J. R. & Wallen, N.E. (2006). *How to design and evaluate research in education.* New York: MacGraw-Hill.

Freedman, S. W., & Ball, A. (2004). Ideological becoming: Bakhtinian concepts to guide the study of language. In A. Ball & S. Freedman (eds), *Bakhtinian perspectives on language, literacy, and learning*, 3-33.

Gagné M. and Chamberland, C. (1999). L'évolution des politiques d'intégration et d'immigration au Quebec. I*n* M. Mc Andrew, A.C. Decouflé et C. Ciceri, *Les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration au Canada et en France: analyses comparées et perspectives de recherche*, Paris/Ottawa, Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité, CRSH, p. 71-90.

Gagnon, A. G. (2000). Plaidoyer pour l'interculturalisme. *Possibles*, *24*(4), 11-25.

Gagnon, A.G. (2004). Pour une reconnaissance mutuelle et un accommodement raisonnable – le modèle québécois d'intégration culturelle est à préserver. *Le Devoir*, 17 May. http://www.ledevoir.com Accessed on 1 August 2019.

Gagnon, A.G. and Iacovino, R. (2002). Framing citizenship status in an age of poly-ethnicity: Quebec's model of interculturalism. In H. Telford and H. Lazar (eds) *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001. Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*. Montréal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 313–42.

Gagnon, C., & Dion, J. (2018). *La francisation et l'intégration professionnelle des personnes immigrantes*. Conseil supérieur de la langue française.

García, O. & Flores, N. (2014). Multilingualism and common core state standards in the United States. In S. May (ed.), *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education* (pp.147-166). New York: Routledge.

Gardner, R. C. (1985). Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitude and Motivation. Baltimore, MD: Edward Arnold.

Garnham, B. (2008). Data generation. In Lisa M. Given (ed), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Sage Publication: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Gauthier, C. A. (2016). Obstacles to socioeconomic integration of highly-skilled immigrant women: Lessons from Quebec interculturalism and implications for diversity management. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *35*(1), 17-30.

Gee, J. (1986). Units in the production of narrative discourse. *Discourse Processes, 9*(4), 391-422. doi:10.1080/01638538609544650.

Georgeault, P. (2006). Langue et diversité: un défi à relever. *Le français, langue de la diversité québécoise. Une réflexion pluridisciplinaire*, 283-325.

Georgeault, P., Plourde, M., (2008). Conseil supérieur de la langue française. *Le français au Quebec: 400 ans d'histoire et de vie* (Nouv. éd ed.). Montreal: Fides.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2015). Small stories research: issues, methods, applications. In A. De Fina, & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 255-271). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Germain, A., & Radice, M. (2006). Cosmopolitanism by default: Public sociability in Montreal. In *Cosmopolitan urbanism* (pp. 124-141). Routledge.

Gershon, I. (2011). Neoliberal agency. *Current Anthropology* 52(4): 537–555.

Gervais, P. (1994). *Les acquis en production écrite d'élèves allophones intégrés en sixième année en comparaison avec leurs pairs francophones*([monograph] / faculty of education, McGill University).

Ghosh, R. (2004). Public education and multicultural policy in Canada: The special case of Quebec. *International Review of Education, 50*(5), 24-24.

Ghosh, R., & Abdi, A. A. (2004). *Education and the Politics of Difference: Canadian Perspectives*. Canadian Scholars' Press Inc. 180 Bloor Street West Suite 801, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2V6, Canada.

Ghosh, R., & Galczynski, M. (2014). *Redefining multicultural education: Inclusion and the right to be different* (Third ed.). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Ghosh, R., McAndrew, M. & Babaei, M. (in-press)**.** The Context of Reception**.** In M. Bakhshaei, M.McAndrew, & R. Ghosh (Eds), *From Immigration to Integration: South Asian Population Quebec.*

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gouvernement du Québec (1991). *Au Québec, pour bâtir ensemble. Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration*. (Reprint of 1990 edition). [Québec]: Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration.

Gouvernement du Québec (1977). *La politique québécoise de la langue française*. [Québec]: Gouvernement du Québec.

Gumperz, J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist*, 66: 137-153.

Gumperz, J. (1972). The communicative competence of bilinguals: Some hypotheses and suggestions for research. *Language in Society, 1*(1), 143-154. doi:10.1017/S0047404500006606.

Gunter, H. (2004). Labels and labelling in the field of educational leadership. *Discourse, 25*: 21-41.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity* (pp. 222-237). London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs ''identity''? In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1–17). London: Sage,

Hall, S., & Du Gay, P. (1996). *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.

Hamilton, L., & Corbett-Whittier, C. (2013). *Using case study in education research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Han, H. (2012). Being and becoming "A new immigrant" in Canada: How language matters, or not. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 11*(2), 136-149.

Han, H. (2017). Trade migration and language 1. In *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (pp. 258-274). Routledge.

Haneda, M. (2005). Investing in foreign-language writing: A study of two multicultural learners. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 4(4), 269–290.

Harper, D. (2003). Reimagining visual methods: Galileo to Neuro- mancer. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed.). (pp. 176–198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity* (Vol. 14). Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to post-nationalism: A critical ethnography of language and identity*. Oxford University Press.

Heller, M. (2007). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke. England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heller, M. and Duchene, A. (2012). Pride and profit: Changing discourses of language, capital, and nation-state. In A. Duchene and M. Heller (eds.), *Language in Late Capitalism* (pp. 1–22). New York: Routledge.

Heller, M. & Levy, L. (1992) Mixed marriages: life on the linguistic frontier. *Multilingua* 11 (1), 11-43.

Helly, D. and van Schendel, N. (2001). *Appartenir au Québec. Citoyenneté, nation et société civile. Enquête à Montréal, 1995*. Sainte-Foy: L'institut québécois de recherche sur la culture/Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

Hendry, L. (2018). 'I didn't come here to live this kind of life': Skilled immigrants on desperate hunt for jobs in Quebec, *CBC*, Sept. 25. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/i-didn-t-come-here-to-live-this-kind-of-life-skilled-immigrants-on-their-desperate-hunt-for-jobs-in-quebec-1.4833739.

Hennink, M. M. (2014). *Focus group discussions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Higham, J. (1955). *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*, 1860–1925. New Bruns- wick, NJ: Rutgers University.

Hua, Z. (2017). New orientations to identities in mobility. *The Routledge handbook of language and migration*, 117-132.

Hymes, D. (1996) *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality. Toward an Understanding of Voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.Institut de la statistique du Québec (2018). *Le bilan démographique du Québec. Édition 2018*, [En ligne], Québec, L'Institut, 174 p. [www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/statistiques/population-demographie/ bilan2018.pdf].

Juteau, D. (2000). Du dualism canadien au pluralisme Québécois. In McAndrew, M., & Gagnon, F. (Eds.). *Relations ethniques et éducation dans les sociétés divisées: Quebec, Irlande du Nord, Catalogne et Belgique*. Editions L'Harmattan.

Kano, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *2*(4), 34-58.

Kim, J. (2016). *Understanding narrative inquiry: The crafting and analysis of stories as research*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Kostov, C. (2008). Canada-Quebec immigration agreements (1971–1991) and their impact on federalism. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, *38*(1), 91-103.

Kramsch, C. (2009). *The Multilingual subject: What learners say about their experiences and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2013). *The Multilingual Subject-Oxford Applied Linguistics*. Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2014). Teaching foreign languages in an era of globalization: Introduction. *The modern language journal*, *98*(1), 296-311.

Kramsch, C., & Whiteside, A. (2008). Language ecology in multilingual settings. Towards a theory of symbolic competence. *Applied Linguistics*, *29*(4), 645–671.

Kubota, R., & Lin, A. (2009). Race, culture, and identities in second language education. *Race, culture and identities in second language education: Exploring critically engaged practice New York, NY: Routledge*, 1-23.

Labelle, M., Rocher, F., & Rocher, G. (1995). Pluriethnicité, citoyenneté et intégration: de la souveraineté pour lever les obstacles et les ambiguïtés. *Cahiers de recherche sociologique*, (25), 213-245.

Labelle, M. & Salée, D. (2001). Immigrant and minority representations of citizenship in Quebec. In T. A. Aleinikoff and D. Klusmeyer (eds) *Citizenship Today. Global Perspectives and Practices*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 278–315.

Labov, W. (1982). Speech actions and reactions in personal narrative. *Analyzing discourse: Text and talk*, 219-247.

Lam, W.S.E. (2014). Literacy and capital in immigrant youths' online networks across countries. *Learning, Media and Technology, 39*(4): 488–506.

Lam, W. S. E., & Warriner, D. S. (2012). Transnationalism and literacy: Investigating the mobility of people, languages, texts, and practices in contexts of migration. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *47*(2), 191-215.

Lamarre, P. (2005). L'enseignement du français dans le réseau scolaire anglophone: à la recherche du bilinguisme. In A. Stefanescu and P. Georgeault (eds) *Le français au Québec. Les nouveaux défis*. [Montréal]: Fides, 553–68.

Lamarre, P. (2007). Anglo-Quebec today: Looking at community and schooling issues. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2007*(185), 109-132.

Lamarre, P. (2008). English Education in Quebec : Issues and Challenges. In R. Y. Bourhis (Ed.) *The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montreal, Quebec: CEETUM, Université de Montréal.

Lamarre, P. (2013). Catching "Montreal on the Move" and Challenging the Discourse of Unilingualism in Quebec. *Anthropologica, 55*(1), 41-56.

Lamarre, P. (2014). Bilingual winks and bilingual wordplay in Montreal's linguistic landscape. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 228*(228), 131-151. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0008.

Lamarre, P. (2015). Post-101 Quebec and defining Québécois today: Transformations and challenges from within. In K. Margaret, & M. Kennealy (Eds). *Irish and Québécité: New perspectives. McGill-Queens University Press.*

Lamarre, P. & Dagenais, D. (2003). Language practices of trilingual youth in two Canadian cities. In C. Hoffmann and J. Ytsma (eds) *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 53–74.

Lamarre, P., & Paredes, J. (2003). Growing up in trilingual Montreal: Perceptions of college students. In R. Bayley & S. Schecter (Eds.), *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies* (pp.62-80). Clevedon, English: Multilingual Matters.

Lamarre, P., Paquette, J., Kahn, E. and Ambrosi, S. (2002). Multilingual Montreal: listening in on the language practices of young Montrealers. *Canadian Ethnic studies/Études ethniques au Canada, 34*(3): 47–75.

Lamarre, P., & Lamarre, S. (2009). Montréal "on the move": Pour une approche ethnographique non-statique des pratiques langagières des jeunes multilingues. In T. Bulot (Ed.), *Formes & normes sociolinguistiques. Ségrégations et discriminations urbaines* (pp. 105–134). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Lantolf, J.P., & Pavlenko, A. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177).Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leung, C., Harris, R., & Rampton, B. (2004). Living with inelegance in qualitative research on task-based learning. *Critical pedagogies and language learning*, 242-267.

Levine, M. (1991). *The reconquest of Montreal: Language policy and social change in a bilingual city*. Temple University Press.

Linde, C. 1993. Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Lising, L. (2017). Language in skilled migration. In *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (pp. 296-311). Routledge.

Luconi, F. (1995). *Ethnie identity and stéréotypés: a pilot study among argentinean immigrants and Quebecers.* Thèse de doctorat non publiée, Université McGill, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

Lussier, D. (1997). Domaine de référence pour l'évaluation de la compétence culturelle en langues. *Revue de didactologie des langues-cultures,* 231-246.

Lussier, D. (2005). Language, Thought and Culture: The Basis for Intercultural Compétence and the Need for a Conceptual Framework to Guide Educational Training and Teachers' Practices. *Conférence annuelle de l'American Educational Research Association (AERA),* Montréal, 11-15 avril.

McAndrew, M. (2001). *Intégration des immigrants et diversité ethnoculturelle à l'école de demain. Le débat québécois dans une perspective comparative*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

McNamara, T. (2012). Poststructuralism and its challenges for applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics, 33*(5), 473-482. doi:10.1093/applin/ams055.

McKay, S. L., & Wong, S. L. C. (1996). Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students. *Harvard Educational Review*, *66*(3), 577–609.

Magnan, M. O., & Lamarre, P. (2016). Diversité, frontières ethnolinguistiques et éducation au Quebec et au Canada/Diversity, Ethnolinguistic Boundaries and Education in Quebec and Canada. *Minorités linguistiques et société/Linguistic Minorities and Society*, (7), 4-17.

Maguire, M. H. (2005, January). What if you talked to me? I could be interesting! Ethical research considerations in engaging with bilingual/multilingual child participants in human inquiry. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 6, No. 1).

Maguire, M. H., & Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2007). Multiple schools, languages, experiences and affiliations: Ideological becomings and positionings. *Heritage Language Journal*, *5*(1), 50-78.

Maguire, M., Beer, A., Attarian, H., Baygin, D., Curdt-Christiansen, X. L., & Yoshida, K. (2005). The chameleon character of multilingual literacy portraits: Re-searching

in "heritage" language places and spaces. In M. Kendrick, T. Rogers, & S. Smythe (Eds.), *Portraits of literacy across families, communities, and schools: Intersections and tensions* (pp. 141–170). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Mallea, J. (1984). Minority language education in Quebec and Anglophone Canada. In *Conflict and Language Planning in Quebec*, Richard Bourhis (ed.), 222–260. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mann, S. (2011). A critical review of qualitative interviews in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics, 32*(1), 6-24

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2015). *Designing qualitative research* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Martin, J. (2004). Self-regulated learning, social cognitive theory, and agency. *Educational Psychologist*, 39, 135–145. doi:10.1207/s15326985ep3902_4.

Mathieu, G. (2001). *Qui est Québécois? Synthèse du débat sur la redéfinition de la nation*. Montréal: VLB éditeur.

May, S. (2001). *Language and Minority Rights*. London: Longman.

May, S. (2003). Rearticulating the case for minority language rights. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 4*(2), 95-125. doi:10.1080/14664200308668052.

May, S. (2014). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education (Ed.)*. New York: Routledge.

McAndrew, M., & Arcand, S. (2013). Quebec immigration, integration & interculturalism policy: A critical assessment. *Diversité canadienne, 10*(1), 16-21.

MacLennan, H. (1945/2005). *Two solitudes*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

McNaughton, S. (2014). *Switching to English: Effects on motivation to use L2 French in Montréal* (Master's dissertation). Concordia University: Montréal, QC.

McQuillan, M. (2000). *The narrative reader*. London: Routledge.

McRoberts, K. (2008). *Beyond Quebec: Taking stock of Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Mercer, K. (1994). *Welcome to the jungle: New positions in black cultural studies*. New York: Routledge.

Mercer, S. (2011). The self as a complex dynamic system. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, *1*(1), 57–82.

Mercer, S. (2015). Learner agency and engagement: Believing you can, wanting to, and knowing how to. *Humanizing Language Teaching, 17*(4).

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation. *NIDA*, 147.

Mezzadra, S. and Neilson, B. (2013). *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Miller, E. R. (2010). Indeterminacy and interview research: Co-constructing ambiguity and clarity in interviews with an adult immigrant learner of English. *Applied Linguistics*, *32*(1), 43-59.

Miller, E. (2014). *The language of adult immigrants: Agency in the making*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI) (2015). Together We Are Québec: Québec Policy on Immigration, Participation, and Inclusion. (Québec: Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, November 2015) http://www.midi.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/Politique_ImmigrationParticip ationInclusion_E N.pdf.

Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI) (2017). *2012-2016 portrait de l'immigration permanente au Québec selon les catégories d'immigration.* la Direction de la recherche et de la statistique du ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion.

Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI) (2015). "Bulletin Statistique Sur L'immigration Permanente Au Quebec 2 E Trimestre Et 6 Premiers Mois De 2015." *Rapport Statistique Trimestriel Sur L'immigration Au Quebec* (n.d.): Retrieved 28 Sept. 2015. From <http://www.midi.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/recherches-statistiques/BulletinStatistique-2015trimestre2-ImmigrationQuebec.pdf>.

Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI) (2016). Tableaux l'immigration permanente au Québec, 2012-2016. Retrieved from http://www.midi.gouv.qc.ca/fr/recherches-statistiques/stats-immigration-recente.html.

Mishler, E. G. (1995). Models of narrative analysis: A typology. *Journal of narrative and life history*, *5*(2), 87-123.

Mishler, E. (1986). *Research interviewing : Context and narrative*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Mishler, E. (1999). *Storylines: Craftartists' narratives of identity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Moore, D., & Gajo, L. (2009). Introduction: French voices on plurilingualism and pluricul- turalism: Theory, significance, and perspectives. *International Journal of Multilingual- ism*, *6*, 137–153.

Moraes, M. (1996). *Bilingual education: A dialogue with the Bakhtin circle.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Morgan, B., & Clarke, M. (2011). Identity in second language teaching and learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (2nd ed.) (pp. 817-836). New York: Routledge.

Motha, S. (2014). *Race, empire, and English language teaching: Creating responsible and ethical anti-racist practice*. Teachers College Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple voices : An introduction to bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Nicholas, H., & Starks, D. (2014*). Language education and applied linguistics: Bridging the two fields.* New York: Routledge.

Nieguth, T., & Lacassagne, A. (2009). Contesting the nation: Reasonable accommodation in rural Quebec. *Canadian Political Science Review*, *3*(1), 1-16.

Norton Pierce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*, 9-31.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*, *6*(2), 159-171.

Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In Nancy H. Hornberger and Sandra Lee McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education. New Perspective on language education* (pp. 349-370). Multicultural matters: Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto.

Norton, B., & Gao, Y. (2008). Identity, investment, and Chinese learners of English. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, *18*(1), 109-120.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching, 44*(4), 412-446.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation (2nd).* Multilingual Matters, St. Nicholas House, Bristol, UK.

Norton, B. (2014). Identity, literacy and the multilingual classroom. In S. May (Ed.) *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education* (pp. 103-122). New York: Routledge.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL quarterly*, *29*(1), 9-31.

Nunes, S., & Arthur, N. (2013). International students' experiences of integrating into the workforce. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, *50*(1), 34-45.

Oakes, L., & J. Warren. (2007). *Language, citizenship and identity in Quebec*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

OECD. (2013). World migration in figures. *A Joint Contribution by UN-DESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development*. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf.

Ortega, L. (2014). Ways forward for a bi/multilingual turn in SLA. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education* (pp. 32-53). New York: Routledge.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International journal of multilingualism*, *7*(3), 240-254.

Oxford, R. L. (2011). *Teaching and researching language learning strategies* (1st ed). Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman.

Oxford, R. L. (2016). *Teaching and researching language learning strategies: Self-regulation in context*. Routledge.

Pagé, M., & Lamarre, P. (2010). *L'intégration linguistique des immigrants au Quebec*. IRPP (3), 1-39.

Paquet, R. G., & Levasseur, C. (2018). When bilingualism isn't enough: perspectives of new speakers of French on multilingualism in Montreal. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1-17. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2018.1543693.

Paperny, A.M. (2012). New Canadians love Quebec, but they're leaving it. *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 21. Retrieved from

https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/new-canadians-love-quebec-but-theyre-leaving-it/article6673482/.

Park, G. (2011). Adult English language learners constructing and sharing their stories and experiences: The cultural and linguistic autobiography writing project. *TESOL Journal*, *2*(2), 156-172. doi: 10.5054/tj.2011.250378.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual settings. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters*.

Pavlenko, A. (2014). *The bilingual mind: And what it tells us about language and thought*. Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re) construction of selves. *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*, 155-177.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 669-680). Springer, Boston, MA.

Pennycook, A. (2003). Global Englishes, rip slyme, and performativity. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, *7*(4), 513-533.

Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. Routledge.

Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2014). Metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires: "Pizza mo two minutes coming." *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *18*(2), 161–184.

Perrino, S. (2015). Chronotope: Time and Space in Oral Narrative, in A. De Fina, & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Handbook of narrative analysis* (pp. 140-159). Wiley, Blackwell.

Piché, V. & Frenette, L. (2001). Intégration et langue française. Une affaire de réciprocité pour la société québécoise. (Mémoire presented to the États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec, 12 March 2001, for the Conseil des relations interculturelles).

Piche, V., Renaud, J., & Gingras, L. (2002). Economic integration of new immigrants in the Montreal labor market: A Longitudinal Approach. *Population Paris, 57,* 57-82.

Piller. I. (2001) Linguistic Intermarriage: language choice and negotiation of identity. A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, and M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.) *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 199-230). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pink, S. (2013). *Doing visual ethnography* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Pittaway, D. S. (2004). Investment and second language acquisition. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *1*(4), 203–218.

Potowski, K. (2004). Student Spanish use and investment in a dual immersion classroom: Implications for second language acquisition and heritage language maintenance. *The Modern Language Journal*, *88*(1), 75–101.

Pradeau, C. (2016). "Quelles stratégies de communication et d'apprentissage pour favoriser l'intégration linguis- tique des adultes migrants? Étude comparative des documents de cadrage français, suisse et québécois pour l'en- seignement/apprentissage du français en contexte migratoire." Recherche et pratiques pédagogiques en langues de spécialité 35 (1): 1–20. doi:10.4000/apliut.5336.

Raymond, M.-J. (1995). *Les comportements et les attitudes de la clientèle immigrante vis-à-vis de l'étude du français.* Gouvernement du Québec : Ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles.

Reitz, J. G. (2012). The distinctiveness of Canadian immigration experience. *Patterns of prejudice*, *46*(5), 518-538.

Renan, E. (1990). What is a nation? (Translated and annotated by M. Thom). In H. K. Bhabha (ed.) *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1–22.

Renaud, J. (2006). Jobs commensurate with their skills? Selected workers and skilled job access in Quebec. *Centre d'études ethniques des universités Montrealaises, i-72.*

Renaud, J., Gingras, L., Vachon, S., Blaser, C., Godin, J. F. and Gagné, B. (2003). *What a Difference Ten Years Can Make! The Settlement Experience of Immigrants Admitted to Québec in 1989*. Sainte-Foy: Les Publications du Québec.

Richardson, L. (1994). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 516–529). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Richardson, L., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2005). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). (pp. 959–978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative Analysis*. Qualitative Research Methods Series, No. 30. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Riessman, C.K. (2005). Narrative Analysis. In *Narrative, Memory & Everyday Life*. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, pp. 1-7.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (2015). Entering the Hall of Mirrors. *The handbook of narrative analysis*, 219.

Rosaldo, R. (1993). *Culture and truth: The remaking of social analysis*. Boston, MA: Beacon.

Roy, S. (2008). French immersion studies: From second-language acquisition (SLA) to social issues. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 54*(4), 396-406.

Sarkar, M., Low, B., & Winer, L. (2007). "Pour connecter avec les peeps": Quebequicité and the Quebec hip-hop community. In M. Mantero (Ed.), *Identity and second language learning: Culture, inquiry, and dialogic activity in educational contexts* (pp. 351–372). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: The Sociolinguistic construction of identity. *Language in Society*, 25(2), 167-203.

Scott, M. (2014). Number of Quebecers leaving province is on the rise. *The Gazette*, Jan. 9. Retrieved from http://www.montrealgazette.com/technology/Number+Quebecers+leaving+province+rise/9360879/story.html.

Serebrin, J (2018). What are the jobs Montreal employers need to fill? *Montreal Gazette*, Fe. 2019. Retrieved from https://montrealgazette.com/business/local-business/report-shows-what-jobs-face-shortages-and-surpluses-of-workers-in-quebec.

Seymour, M. (1999). On redefining the nation. *The monist*, *82*(3), 411-445.

Shohamy, E. (2009). Language policy as experiences. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, *33*(2), 185–189. doi:10.1075/lplp.33.2.06sho

Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2002). Should I stay or should I go? Investigating Cambodian women's partici- pation and investment in adult ESL programs. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *53*(1), 9–26.

Stasiulis, D. (2013). Worrier nation: Quebec's value codes for immigrants. *Politikon*, *40*(1), 183-209.

Statistics Canada. (2008). *Canadian Demographics at a Glance.* Catalogue no. 91-003-X. Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/91-003-x/91-003-x2007001-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada. (2014). *Annual number of interprovincial migrants, Canada, 2011/2012 (table 2)*. Last updated June 18, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-209-x/2014001/article/14012/tbl/tbl2-eng.htm.

Statistics Canada (2017). *Montreal [Census metropolitan area], Quebec and Canada [Country]* (table). *Census Profile*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017.https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E (accessed July 9, 2019).

Steinbach, M. (2010). "Quand je sors D'accueil": Linguistic integration of immigrant adolescents in Quebec secondary schools. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 23*(2), 95-107.

Strong-Wilson, T. (2005). 'White female teacher arrives in native community with trunk and cat': using self-study to investigate tales of traveling White teachers. In C. Mitchel, S. Weber, K. O'Reilly-Scanlon (Eds.), *Just who do we think we are?: Methodologies for autobiography and self-study in teaching* (229-241). London: Routledge Falmer.

Strong-Wilson, T. (2006). Re-visioning one's narratives: Exploring the relationship between researcher self-study and teacher research. *Studying Teacher Education, 2*(1), 59-76.

Talmy, S. (2010). Qualitative interviews in applied linguistics: From research instrument to social practice. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *30*, 128-148.

Tinkler, P. (2013). *Using photographs in social and historical research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tovares, A. V., & Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2017). Migration trajectories: Implications for language proficiencies and identities. In *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (pp. 207-227). Routledge.

Toohey, K., & Norton, B. (2003). Learner autonomy as agency in sociocultural settings. In *Learner autonomy across cultures* (pp. 58-72). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge.

Waddington, D. I., Maxwell, B., McDonough, K., Cormier, A., & Schwimmer, M. (2012). Interculturalism in practice: Québec's Ethics and Religious Culture curriculum and the Bouchard-Taylor report on reasonable accommodation, in Besley, T. & M.A. Peters (eds.), *Handbook of Interculturalism, Education and Dialogue*. New York: Peter Lang, 312-329.

Warren, J. P. (2003). The history of Quebec in the perspective of the French language. In Larrivée (ed), *Linguistic conflict and language laws: Understanding the Quebec question*, 57-86.

Weber, J., & Horner, K. (2012). *Introducing multilingualism: A social approach*. London: Routledge.

Webster, L., & Mertova, P. (2007). *Using narrative inquiry as a research method: An introduction to using critical event narrative analysis in research on learning and teaching*. Routledge.

Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Second Edition. London: Blackwell.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning meaning and identity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University.

Wenger, E., McDermott, R., & Snyder, W. (2002). *Cultivating communities of practice: A guide to managing knowledge* (Netlibrary inc). Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press.

Welsch, A. (2014). Leaving Quebec for jobs. *The Gazette*, Jan. 9. Retrieved from http://www.montrealgazette.com/business/Archive+2013+Leaving+Quebec+jobs/9368459/story.html.

Wertsch, J. (1991). *Voices of the mind.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

West, C. (1992). A matter of life and death. *October*, 61 (summer), 20-3.

Wong, P., Duff, P., & Early, M. (2001). The Impact of Language and Skills Training on Immigrants' Lives. *TESL Canada Journal*, 01-31.

Woolard, K. A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, *3*(11).

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024-1054. doi:10.1080/01419870701599465.

Vézina, R. (2009). *La question de la norme linguistique*. Conseil supérieur de la langue française.

Vigouroux, C. B. (2017). Rethinking (un) skilled migrants: Whose skills, what skills, for what, and for whom? 1. In *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (pp. 312-329). Routledge.

Vitanova, G. (2004). Gender enactments in immigrants' discursive practices: Bringing Bakht in to the dialogue. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *3*(4), 261-277.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Participants' Small Stories and Photographs

A. Anna's Story

The house belongs to a friend. This friend who is a francophone she is over 60 years old. We were colleagues and she is from Serbia and we taught together at the Jewish community center… So we met through this… and we have been going to this place, going skiing, and going there over the weekend. With France, that's her name, we speak French, but with the other two guys we speak English and with my husband I speak Romanian. And it is fun that sometimes I speak to France in French and then everyone understands and then the other English teacher who was my colleague answers in English and my husband sometimes answers in English and sometimes in French contributing to the discussion in one of the two languages because he is more proficient in French than she is. And then my husband interacts either in English or French. It's fun… sometimes it's a discussion between the five of us… sometimes each of us has a discussion like my husband and I speak in Romanian while the other three guys speak in English. Because the fun part is that the francophone, France, and my friend who is an English teacher, they always speak in English. They never speak in French, although she had tried. Because she is not as good in French… It's interesting, you know, the type of interaction over there. So what I was saying is that sometimes I would speak in Romanian with my husband while the others would have a conversation in English or sometimes my husband and I would speak in Romanian, the English teacher with her husband would speak in Serbian and France would look at us or do something else. Sometimes it's interesting just sitting there and enjoying the fact that there are so many levels that are going around and everyone is feeling wonderful. But when we started visiting I wasn't as proficient in French as I am now and I would speak English but for the last three four years, I rarely speak English to France just because I see it as an opportunity to speak with her in French and to practice, practice, and practice as much as possible, although she likes it more. I saw it on her face that she enjoyed our conversation more if we speak in French than we speak in English.

B. Chan Xin's Story

Preparing CV and cover letter in French
I used to work in an English daycare, and also a Chinese weekend school where I can use my mother tongue. However, these days I have been preparing my French CV and interview to apply for a Mandarin teaching position in a French school. It is the first time I feel so nervous about an interview, and I feel I am so relying on [husband]'s help because I want my CV look professional. For the interview, at first, I tried to prepare it in French, but then I realized I couldn't think clearly in French. My thoughts were constantly interrupted by frequent search in dictionary, and I just couldn't think! So, I have to prepare all my CV, my cover letter and my interview in English, and then I translated them with [husband]'s help. I know [husband] is a French speaker, but I still doubt his translation sometimes. For example, when he helped me with my "thank you letter", he put "*je vous prie d'agréer, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués*" by the end of the email. I disliked it because I felt it sounded too cheesy and inauthentic, but he said in French it was just a politeness. I finally kept his translation, because thinking of the cultural proximity and distance, his culture (Quebec) is much closer to French culture (from France) than mine. However, one more time I realize I have to take more advanced class to improve my French if I want to live here in Quebec.

C. José's Story

The lunchroom
A few days back I was going to the lunchroom of my work place to eat and all the tables were full except one full of majorly French speaking people, including a colleague from my lab. He invites me to join them. They start talking in French about routine things, a regular conversation and most of the time, my colleague, who has hardly seen me speaking any French, started to translate it for me. Then, instead of answering them in English, I decided to join the conversation with in French, and it was really interesting how surprised he was. We started talking about trivial things, like weather, routines at work and home, things we do on weekends, and other small talk. Then one of the people who as on the table asked me why she has never seen me speaking French around. And that got me thinking, certainly I had bad experiences with impatient people every time I tried to communicate in French here in Quebec, but this time I felt that my French got better enough that I could keep a conversation easier without making people impatient or upset. (Journal #3)

D. Ruiyi's Story

My first job interview in French
And they were actually other high school students already just finished high school, trying to find a summer job. It was nothing for them. But it means a lot to me because the interview was actually in French. That was a group interview with people of eight and two of them were French, two of them were Montrealers, and one was from Morocco. So these five people, their first language was French. And another two people were Brazilian. So the Portuguese, they learn French—Yeah. So fast. [inaudible] probably. And I was the only Chinese there, and my French was the worst. And I think the interviewers knew the first moment I opened my mouth because that interview was in French. We had to answer questions. You had to understand first what they were asking, and then you had to give your opinion have to give your answer. I was so afraid. I never thought I could got hired [laughter]. And after one month, someone called me and told me that I got the job [laughter]. It was only a temporary job to-- you know [Cirque de Soleil]?

Cirque du Soleil

When I was working at Cirque du Soleil one day a girl came to me and told me that a man sitting beside her is always on his phone because-- it was all dark in the tent, so if someone was on their phone, it was very…So the girl was afraid to talk then and so she wanted me-- I was the employee, right? She wanted me to talk to him. And I went to him. I was trying to speak French because most of our audience speak French. So I was trying to use French, but my French was not that good, right, so it's like I try-- yeah. And I was trying to explain not to use their phone because it's not good for other people. And he was still on his phone. He just ignored me. I thought he didn't understand my French, so I switched to English. And that was the moment he looked at me and got mad. He told me in French, "AU QUEBEC ON PARLE FRANCASE! That was the first and the only time I felt like someone is so rude. French is not my mother tongue, but at least I tried, right? I learned French here. At least, I tried. So but most of them are nice. I mean, someone told me if you speak French, even if they know it's not your mother tongue, but they will like you more if you at least show your effort, right? I'm trying. But I don't understand. That was the only person who was so rude [laughter]

E. Simone's Story

Job interview
After seven years living in Quebec and several attempts to return to the Quebec job market, last month (May 2017) I went to a job interview for a government agency and I'm hired. After uncountable interviews, this was the first time that I didn't feel devalued due to the fact that I was an immigrant and French was not my mother tongue. Some of my experiences give me the sensation that I have an intellectual disability and all my studies are not enough to get a decent job in Canada. Sometimes even before get in the interview, you see in interviewer's posture that they don't want foreigners there. But this time, I feel the contrary. The comment of the interviewer was that an immigration rises well the determination of a person and also his ability to adapt. And going back to school in Quebec also showed that I was able to adapt and fit into his team.

F. Mostafa's Story

My journal began In Quebec when I moved from US to Montreal in June 2014 to continue my studies as a PhD student at McGill University. I rented a truck to bring my furniture and stuffs to here. When I arrived to Montreal in June, I wanted to park the truck but I was not able to read the traffic signs in French even the stop sign was outlandish for me. I was disappointed at that time and was thinking to come back to US or return to my home country. I felt that the life is easier in US in terms of transportation and the quality of the life. For instance you I could able to go to school with my car there but in Montreal I did not have this option or on the other hand the customer service in US was much more supportive than here when I wanted to buy the wireless. At the end of the second week I decided to stay here and challenge myself with the new life to get more experience in the new atmosphere with different life style.

Moving to Montreal with Uhaul

The early months of arrival in Quebec
I started my school at [an English university] in September 2014 and the first six months was very tough for me and my wife due to some unexpected events. On the other hand the lack of French language knowledge was stopping me to live happily in Montreal. During that period of time, I heard the news that they are firing the people from Bombardier in addition of the bad news about the job market. These all bothered me that Quebec is not a good place to stay and live for a long time. After 6 months I had a big change in my life which was related to my studies. I changed my supervisor and the field of my study which was helped me to explore more in Quebec because this change helped me in order to have more free times. For example, we tried to explore the national parks in Quebec and we found them very interesting place to spend the time there. Because of these changes in my life, I feel that Montreal is a good place to live and there are lots of funs here to do in terms of hiking, camping, cycling and etc. After I finished my qualifying exam in PhD level, I registered for the French class in order to learn French and be able to communicate in French society. Once I learnt the basics of the French language, the life became easier for me in Quebec in terms of communication with the people. I was able to read the different signs and talk with the people in the city. For example, when I go to restaurant I can order in French and I feel that I am not strange in this city. Finally, learning the French gave me the confident that I can live in Quebec and planning for the future.

Appendix 2. Invitation to Participate in the Study

Dear all,

I am writing to see if you might be interested in completing a short questionnaire as part of my PhD research, which is about adult immigrants' language learning experiences in Quebec. If you're interested to complete the questionnaire, it should only take you about 10 minutes and you will be invited to enter in a draw for a $50 gift card to Amazon.ca (your contact information for the draw won't be linked to your responses). On the first page of the questionnaire, you will find a more detailed description of my research project and what your data will be used for if you decide to participate. If you have any questions about the research project, please don't hesitate to contact me at: mehdi.babaei@mail.mcgill.ca or call me at 514-623-3118.

Here is the link to the questionnaire: https://goo.gl/forms/yp7Sd9lUqcU04sJX2

Here is a brief description of the study:
I am currently looking for people who would be interested in the possibility of participating in a project about adult immigrants' language learning experiences in Quebec. You would be offered a compensation of $100 at the completion of the study. You would be asked to take part in two individual interviews, a focus group discussion, make four short journal entries, and take four pictures. Your participation would involve a commitment of about 8 hours (at times convenient to you) during the months of May and June 2017. If you are interested in participating in this study, please provide an email in the link above where you may be reached.

Also, would you mind sharing the link to the questionnaire with anyone else who you think would be interested in completing it? I am hoping to reach as many people in Montreal as possible: people who immigrated to Quebec around five years ago, have learned or are learning French and/or English.

Thank you very much in advance; your help is greatly appreciated!

Kind regards,

Mehdi Babaei
PhD Candidate, Educational Studies
DISE, Faculty of Education
McGill University
mehdi.babaei@mail.mcgill.ca

Appendix 3. Recruitment Questionnaire

Language, Identity, and Investment: Trajectories of Skilled and Well-educated Immigrants in Intercultural Quebec (REB #475-0516)

Consent for Participation in Research Study

You are invited to complete this questionnaire as part of a doctoral research project that is being conducted by Mehdi Babaei, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE), McGill University. The faculty supervisor of the researcher is Dr. Ratna Ghosh. This research study is an investigation of language learning experiences and the issues of identity, investment, and multilingualism. The study is focused on highly skilled adult immigrants, their language learning and lived experiences in Montreal. This consent form outlines your agreement to participate in this part of the study.

STUDY INFORMATION: This research study is about the language and lived experiences of highly skilled adult immigrants in Quebec.

RESEARCHER: Mehdi Babaei, PhD Candidate, Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE), McGill University: mehdi.babaei@mail.mcgill.ca; Phone number: +1-514-623-3118.

FACULTY SUPERVISOR: Dr. Ratna Ghosh, Professor, Rm. 322, Education Building, 3700 McTavish Street, (514) 398-4527 ext. 094761, ratna.ghosh@mail.mcgill.ca.

PROCEDURE: If you decide to complete this questionnaire, you will be asked to answer a number of multiple choice and short answer questions about your personal background and your language learning experiences. There are no right or wrong answers because the questions are about your own experiences. Completing the questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes. At the end of the questionnaire, you will be asked if you would be interested in participating in further stages of the research. If you agree to be contacted to participate in further stages of the research, you will be asked to provide an email address.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: You are under absolutely no obligation to participate in this research project or complete the questionnaire. If you do decide to participate but you then change your mind, you can withdraw your data. You can do so at any point during the completion of the questionnaire or at the end, before submitting it. All you have to do is close this browser window. Your data will thereby be withdrawn and the researcher will never have access to it.

RISKS & BENEFITS: This study involves minimal risk and discomfort levels not exceeding those encountered in everyday life. Possible benefits of participating in this part of the study include an increased understanding of your language learning experiences and how you construct new identities through your multilingual language practices.

COMPENSATION: Upon completion of the questionnaire, you will be invited to provide your email address to be entered in a draw to win a $50 gift card for Amazon.ca. This is optional and the email address you provide here will not be linked to your responses.

CONFIDENTIALITY: The data in this questionnaire will be collected anonymously. You do not have to provide your name or any other identifying information, unless you wish to be entered in the draw and/or agree to be contacted about participating in further stages of the research. In the write-up of the research output, the researcher will use a pseudonym when referring to participants. Neither your name, the name of any person mentioned in the questionnaire, or any information by which a participant or any person mentioned in the questionnaire may be identified, will be used in any reports of the data. All questionnaire data will be kept in password-protected files, on a password-protected computer, in the possession of the researcher. Only the researcher and his faculty supervisor will have access to the data. Only the researcher will know the passwords to the computer and the files, and his faculty supervisor will only have access to the data under the researcher's supervision. The data gathered by means of the questionnaire will only be used by the researcher, and only for the purposes of this research project. After the publication of the data, in accordance with the McGill Regulation on the Conduct of Research, the data will be kept securely for a period of seven years. During this time, the data will remain in the password-protected files, on the password-protected computer, in the possession of the researcher. Only the researcher and his faculty supervisor will have access to the data during this time. After this time, the files will be deleted.

DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS: The results of this study will be disseminated through a doctoral thesis written under the supervision of Dr. Ratna Ghosh. The expected completion date of the thesis is the last quarter of 2018. Findings from this study will also potentially be used to publish articles in peer-reviewed journals. Findings from this study may also be presented at one or more academic conferences.

QUESTIONS: If you would like to know more about the study, or if you have any questions regarding the information detailed above, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher at mehdi.babaei@mail.mcgill.ca. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398- 6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.(referring to REB file number #475-0516).

If you have read and understood the information above, and you do not have any questions, please click on the "agree" button below to confirm that you are 18+ years old and voluntarily agree to participate in this project. *
Check all that apply.

- ☐ Agree

Questionnaire (Google Forms)

Please answer the following questions about your background and your language learning experiences.

Background Information:

1. Name:
2. Gender:
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female

3. Please indicate your age group:
 - ☐ 25-29
 - ☐ 30-34
 - ☐ 35-39
 - ☐ 40 or over

4. What country were you born in?
5. How would you describe your ethnicity?
 - ☐ African American
 - ☐ Asian
 - ☐ Hispanic
 - ☐ Pacific Islander
 - ☐ White
 - ☐ Other:

6. What is your first language (mother tongue language)?
7. Do you speak other languages?
 - ☐ Yes
 - ☐ No
 If Yes, please specify:
8. What is the highest level of education you obtained?
 - ☐ High School
 - ☐ College/Vocational School
 - ☐ Bachelor's Degree
 - ☐ Master's Degree
 - ☐ Doctoral (PhD) Degree

9. In what field?
10. What was your main occupation in your home country?
11. For how long did you work in that job (years of work experience)?
12. What is your employment status in Canada/Quebec?
 - ☐ Full time employment
 - ☐ Part time employment
 - ☐ Student
 - ☐ Unemployed
 - ☐ Self-employed

13. What is your main occupation now?

14. What is your marital status?
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Single
- ☐ Other:

15. Do you have children?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. When did you immigrate to Canada/Quebec?
- ☐ less than 1 year ago
- ☐ 1 to 2 years ago
- ☐ 2 to 5 years ago
- ☐ more than 5 years ago

17. Under what category did you apply for immigration to Canada/Quebec?
- ☐ Skilled worker (express entry)
- ☐ Quebec-selected skilled worker
- ☐ Start-up visa
- ☐ Immigrant investors
- ☐ Self-employed
- ☐ Family sponsorship
- ☐ Refugees
- ☐ Caregivers
- ☐ Provincial nominees

18. What is your current immigration status in Canada?
- ☐ Permanent resident (PR)
- ☐ Citizen
- ☐ Temporary Foreign Worker
- ☐ Refugee
- ☐ Other:

19. Do you live on the island of Montreal?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐

Language learning experience:

20. Have you studied English or French in your home country?
- ☐ I studied English in my country.
- ☐ I studied French in my country
- ☐ I studied both English and French in my country.
- ☐ I didn't study English or French in my country.
- ☐ Other:

21. Have you studied English or French in Canada?

- ☐ I studied English in Canada.
- ☐ I studied French in Canada
- ☐ I studied both English and French Canada.
- ☐ I haven't studied English or French Canada.
- ☐ Other:

22. How do you evaluate your English?
- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Above average
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Below average
- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Don't know

23. How do you evaluate your French?
- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Above average
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Below average
- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Don't know

24. Do you have any additional comments that you would like to share about this topic?
Thank you for answering this questionnaire! Please write your email address in the box below if you would like to participate in the draw for a $50 gift certificate from Amazon.ca (please note that the email address provided here will not be linked to your responses).

Invitation to Participate in Further Research
Thank you again for your participation in my project by completing this questionnaire. I am currently looking for people who would be interested in the possibility of participating in the next stage of the project. You would be offered a compensation of $100 at the completion of the study. You would be asked to take part in two interviews, a focus group discussion, make journal entries, and take pictures for both individual and group analysis. Your participation would involve a commitment of about 8 hours (at times convenient to you) during the months of May and June 2017. If you are interested in participating in the next part of the study, please provide an email address (below) where you may be reached. Please note that, by providing an email address here, you are only agreeing to be contacted about participating in the next stage of the study, and you may decide later if you want to participate. Only suitable candidates for the next stage of the project will be selected. If you are interested in participating in the next part of the study, please provide an email address (below) where you may be reached.

Appendix 4: Consent for Participation in Research Study

Title: Language, Identity, and Investment: Trajectories of Skilled and Well-educated Immigrants in Intercultural Quebec

You are invited to participate a doctoral research project that is being conducted by Mehdi Babaei, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE), McGill University. This consent form outlines your agreement to participate in this part of the study.

Study information:
This research study is focused on adult immigrants with higher education qualifications, who have learned or are learning French in Quebec, and their language learning experiences. This consent form outlines your agreement to participate in this part of the study.

Researcher: Mehdi Babaei, PhD Candidate, Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE), McGill University: mehdi.babaei@mcgill.ca; Phone number: +1-514-623-3118.

Faculty supervisors: Dr. Ratna Ghosh, McGill University, Rm. 322, Education Building, 3700 McTavish Street, (514) 398-4527 ext. 094761, ratna.ghosh@mcgill.ca

Procedure:
Your participation in this study will involve approximately 10 hours of participation over three stages of research. In the first stage of the research, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview with the researcher at a location of your choice. In this interview, you will be asked to tell me about your background, your immigration experiences and your experiences of using the languages you know. The interview will be approximately 60 minutes and will be audio-recorded. In the second stage of the research, you will help me reach at a deeper understanding of your experiences through making journal entries and taking photographs over the course of two weeks, followed by the second interview. The second interview will address in-depth issues that emerge from the initial interview and your journals. We will also talk about the photographs you have taken. In the final stage of the research, you will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion, which will take place in the Education Building, 3700 rue McTavish, Montreal. The focus group will be approximately 90 minutes. The focus group will be audio recorded.

Voluntary participation:
Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer in the interviews and focus groups. You are free to decide not to take part in the research study. You are free to withdraw at any time.

Risks & benefits:
This study involves minimal risk and discomfort levels not exceeding those encountered in everyday life. Possible benefits of this study include increased understanding of the relationships between your language practices and experiences in Quebec.

Compensation:
Your complete participation in this study will involve approximately 10 hours of your time over a period of two months. Upon completion of the three phases of the study, a gratuity of $100 will be provided to you. Light refreshments will be provided at interviews and the focus group. Participants who participate in Phases 1-3 of the study will be offered $100 compensation. Participants will be welcome to withdraw from the study at any time; those who withdraw early will be compensated on a pro rated basis (i.e. $10 for Phase 1, $75 for Phase 2, 15$ for Phase 3). I will provide light refreshments at interviews and the focus group.

Confidentiality:
Your answers will be confidential. Before commencing the research study, you will have the chance to review all confidentiality and privacy agreements, and have the opportunity to withdraw at any point throughout the study. Furthermore, the records of this study will be kept private. Your name will be kept confidential and you will be asked to choose a pseudonym. Neither your name, the name of any person mentioned in the interviews or focus groups, or any information by which a participant or any person mentioned in the interviews or focus groups may be identified, will be used in any reports of the data. Physical research records will be kept in a locked file and any digital documents will be kept under password; only the researcher and the faculty supervisor will have access to the records. Physical and digital records (and any artefacts) will be kept for a period of seven years after the conclusion of the research.

Dissemination of results:
A preliminary draft of the thesis will be shared with you to ensure your insights are fully taken into consideration including any concerns you might have regarding anonymity and confidentiality of you as a person. The expected completion date of the thesis is the last quarter of 2017. Findings from this study may also be presented at one or more academic conferences. Findings will also potentially be used to publish articles in peer-reviewed journals. Every attempt will be made to consult with you on any additional publications and conference presentations, in case any issues arise in the future.

Please sign below if you agree to take part in this study. Sign only after having read the above consent document and having received satisfactory responses to any questions you might have.

Participant name (please print) _____

_____   _____
Participant signature   *Date*

If you would like more information about this study, please contact the researcher (contact information above).

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

Appendix 5: Interview Guide
(two semi-structured interviews)

INTERVIEW #1
(Themes: background info/life before immigration/expectations/wishes/ goals)
(45- 60 minutes: conducted at a convenient location for the participant or in my office in the Education Building, McGill University).
[The participant will be warmly welcomed to the interview and made to feel comfortable and at ease through casual small talk over light refreshments (e.g. coffee and snacks). After they have signed the consent form and have been given a copy to keep, the interview will begin and the audio recording started.]
"In this first part of the interview, I'd like to go over some of the answers that you gave in the questionnaire and get some more details from you."   *[I will go over the participant's responses to the questionnaire, asking them to elaborate on their answers. Possible follow-up questions are listed below.]*

PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION, LANGUAGE LEARNING EXPERIENCES, EXPECTATIONS, GOALS

*The information in your questionnaire gave me a quick overview of how you have learned languages and your past. I would like to get a bit more information. ***Can you tell me more about your educational and your language background?***   1) Tell me more about your educational background.   2) Tell me more about your work experiences and credentials in [your home country].   3) What language(s) did you grow up speaking?   4) Tell me more about the languages you learned in school.   5) Tell me more about **how** you learned French/English. How you felt about it at the time, how you feel about it now?   6) Describe any challenges and successes that you have experienced in learning English/French.   7) 7. Tell me about your expectations for your future life before your immigration to Quebec.

PART B: LANGUAGE LEARNING EXPERIENCES, SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION IN QUEBEC AND THE BARRIERS

[In this next stage of the interview, I'd like you to tell me more about the languages you know. Could you tell me when and where you use different languages you know? Please be specific in the languages you use in your daily life. I would also like to know how you learned/are learning those languages, what resources you used/are using, how you invest in your language learning, and how you feel about whether knowing a language help you become part of a community or not. Tell me how learning a language has shaped your identities and the relationship between you and the world around you.]

Research Question #1. What can be learned from the language learning experiences of ten plurilingual skilled immigrants in Quebec?

1) What is the language you often use at home, at school, and in other situations?
2) Describe your feelings, view, and perceptions that you have when you use a particular language at home, at school, or in other situations?
3) Tell me about any opportunities you use English, French, and your mother tongue. How do you find those opportunities? How do you take advantage of them?
4) What challenges or problems have you faced in learning or using English or French in Quebec?
5) Have you taken any formal English or French courses in Quebec? Have they been helpful?
6) How do you think that English or French language studies can help you with your goals and your target workplaces?
7) Do you think learning French has changed your plans? Are you going to continue learning French?
8) How do you feel about being multilingual? Do you see it as an asset? In what ways? How useful has it been?
9)

Research Question #2. How do they perceive their experiences of constructing and negotiating identities through their use of multiple languages in intercultural Quebec?

1. Why did you decide to immigrate to Canada/Quebec?
2. Can you describe any particular events related to your experience when you came to Quebec? How did you feel?
3. What services or support did you receive to help you learn languages and get established?
4. How have your immigration experiences changed your personally and socially? What have you learned through the immigration process?
5. Tell me about the good experiences you've had of living in Canada/Quebec?
6. Tell me about your problems, concerns, challenges of living in Canada/Quebec? (e.g. job, family, financial situation,…).
7. Tell me about your friends here. Do you like socializing with people?
8. Do you think learning English/French has helped you make more friends?

INTERVIEW #2

(45- 60 minutes: conducted at a convenient location for the participant or in my office in the Education Building, McGill University).

Topics: Immigration experiences, identity, imagined workplace communities

Research Question #3. How do they invest in their language learning and social and professional integration processes, as they strive to attain desired/expected career-employment opportunities/communities?

1) How do you identify yourself, a Canadian or a [participant's nationality]?
2) Where do you belong? Do you think you belong to Canada/Quebec?
3) Tell me about any strategies you used to cope with the challenges in your life as an immigrant?

4) What suggestions would you like to offer to the Quebec immigration office when selecting immigrants?
5) Do you have any suggestions for any changes in the language programs offered to the immigrants in relation to your professional experiences, for example?
6) Do you feel that you are participating in the Quebec society? Is it a full or peripheral participation? Why?
7) How do you think you can be an active participant in the Quebec society?

Research Question #4. What are their understandings of their inclusion and adaptation processes in Quebec? Sub-question: What barriers do they perceive in their social and linguistic integration in Quebec and to their language learning (both French and English)?

1) Tell me about your expectations of future employment and place of work before your immigration to Quebec, and when you settled in Quebec.
2) Tell me about your job search experiences in Quebec.

3) How has studying English or French helped you envision your future life in Canada?

4) What employment services have you used to find a job (e.g., *emploi Quebec*)?

5) Tell about the challenges and obstacles you think that you might face when entering your workplace communities? (e.g., language ability, discrimination, ...)
6) Do you think your language learning experiences were helpful in your job-hunting trajectories? In your view, what role do you think language plays in a workplace community?
7) What makes you professionally qualified to be part of a workplace community in Quebec?
8) Are you part of any community (association, society, professional affiliations, church, mosque, etc.)? If so, how has being involved in the community made a difference in your life?
9) Now tell me more about your future plans. What do you imagine for your future life?
10) Do you plan to stay on or leave Quebec or Canada? Do you think you will go through another immigration? If so, where would you like to live? Why?

Appendix 6: Group Discussion Guide

Here are a few notes on the focus group:

- I imagine that the focus group will last about 90 minutes. It would be great if you could come a few minutes earlier so we can start on time. If you have to leave early, no worries.

- There will be some snacks and juice; let me know if you have any dietary restrictions.

- I'll have your $100 compensation for participating in this study to give you.

- Please respect each other's confidentiality: anything said in the focus group, stays in the focus group (as detailed in the consent form you signed).

- Also, in the interest of confidentiality, we'll be using pseudonyms only (if you don't remember yours, please let me know.

- You don't have to answer any questions you don't want to or share anything that makes you uncomfortable, and you don't necessarily have to agree with everything (or me!)

- The main purpose of the focus group is to share and discuss your experiences, ideas, insights and reflections with other participants. Please see below a few guiding questions drawn from some of the themes from the study. You're welcome to think about these questions before the focus group:

  1. Do you think your cultural capital (education, intellect, your skills, etc.) had an impact on your language learning experiences? Why? Are highly educated individuals better language learners?
  2. Why do think learning a second language is enjoyable for some but an intense activity for others?
  3. "I feel I'm integrated…I am happy with my life here" because I have a job. In Quebec, some immigrants use only English at work. They feel integrated although they don't speak French. In Quebec, however, integration has a direct relationship with speaking French. In your view, what does integration really mean in Quebec? What are the barriers to integration?
  4. How do you see the role of a family member who already speaks the language in an immigrant's language learning experiences? In the case of some participants of this study who had a partner who already spoke French, they either learned French well or had a positive attitude towards learning French.
  5. To what extent do you think someone's ethnicity and being "white" for example, has an impact on an immigrant's integration process: finding a job, making more friends, etc.?

Overall, I encourage you to be analytical, ask questions, share your ideas, discuss and HAVE FUN! Please let me know if you have any questions, and I'm really looking forward to seeing you tomorrow at 5pm!