Language Ideologies in Francisation Program: Focusing on the Narratives of

Racialized Migrants in Quebec

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Abstract

This study examined Quebec language ideologies, focusing on the experience of racialized migrants enrolled in the Francisation programs. Each year, the province of Quebec welcomes steadily increasing number of immigrants with diverse racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds (Statistics Canada, 2016). To support their successful integration into Quebec society, the provincial government offers Francisation programs, or French as a second language courses for adult migrants in Quebec. To consider the effectiveness of these programs, it is important to look into how these courses support the social and professional integration of migrants and develop their sense of belonging (Mahar et al, 2013). Importantly, this educational environment not only helps enhance migrants' French language proficiency but also influences how migrants understand matters of language in the Quebec society, and this meaning-making process could impact their development of a sense of belonging in their new home (Painter, 2013). Using the conceptual framework of *language ideologies* (Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard & Scheffelin, 1994), this study aims to reveal how language ideologies circulating around Quebec manifest in Francisation classrooms, and what perspectives migrants have about these ideologies. Moreover, it also investigates the influence of these ideologies on racialized migrants' sense of belonging, and how this influence is connected to the race and the concept of membership into the Quebec society. I employ *narrative inquiry research methodology* (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) to look into the life stories and Francisation experiences of nine racialized migrants, by collecting data through a demographic survey form, semi-structured interviews, and email exchanges. The data was analyzed under the guidance of *qualitative content analysis* (Drisko & Maschi, 2016) and *critical narrativist approach* (Hickson, 2016). The results showed that three strands of language ideologies – nationalist language ideologies, standard language ideologies,

and monolingual ideologies – manifested within the Francisation context with varying degrees of

participants' awareness about such ideologies. The participants exhibited perspectives that cast

both partially positive and partially negative lights on these ideologies. Lastly, the Francisation

experience helped the participants navigate their everyday life in the French language, but it

could not substantially develop their sense of belonging especially in terms of their full

integration into the professional sphere in Quebec. This study contributes to illuminating the

workings of language ideologies within adult language education contexts. It also suggests

practical ways to improve the program's capacity to utilize migrants' existing linguistic

resources as well as the possibility for fostering inclusive and transformative space within the

Francisation environment.

Keywords: language ideologies, Quebec, Francisation programs, migrants, adult language

learning

Résumé

Cette étude a examiné les idéologies linguistiques résidant au Québec, en mettant l'accent sur

l'expérience des migrants racialisés dans le contexte des programmes de francisation. Chaque

année, la province de Québec accueille un nombre constamment croissant d'immigrants de

diverses origines raciales, culturelles et linguistiques (Statistique Canada, 2016). Pour favoriser

leur intégration réussie à la société québécoise, le gouvernement provincial offre des

programmes de francisation: les cours de français langue seconde dirigés par le gouvernement

pour les migrants adultes au Québec. Pour évaluer l'efficacité de ces programmes, il est

important d'examiner comment ces cours soutiennent l'intégration sociale et professionnelle des

migrants et développent leur sentiment d'appartenance (Mahar et al., 2013). Mais surtout, cet

environnement éducatif contribue non seulement à améliorer la maîtrise du français par les

migrants, mais il influe également sur la façon dont les migrants comprennent les questions de

langue dans la société québécoise, et ce processus de construction du sens pourrait avoir une

incidence sur leur développement du sentiment d'appartenance (Painter, 2013). En utilisant le

cadre conceptuel des *idéologies langagières* (Woolard et Scheffelin, 1994; Kroskrity, 1998),

cette étude vise à révéler comment les idéologies langagières qui circulent au Québec se

manifestent dans les classes de francisation, et quelles perspectives les migrants ont sur ces

idéologies. De plus, elle examine l'influence de ces idéologies sur le sentiment d'appartenance

des migrants racialisés, avec l'enchevêtrement de la race et le concept d'appartenance à la

société québécoise. J'utilise une *méthodologie de recherche narrative* (Connelly et Clandinin,

1990) pour examiner les histoires de vie et les expériences de francisation de neuf migrants

racialisés, en recueillant des données au moyen d'une formulaire d'enquête démographique,

d'entrevues semi-structurées et d'échanges de courriels. Les données ont été analysés sous la

direction d'une *analyse qualitative du contenu* (Drisko et Maschi, 2016) et d'une *approche narrativiste critique* (Hickson, 2016). Les résultats ont montré que trois courants d'idéologies linguistiques – les idéologies du langage nationaliste, les idéologies du langage standard, les idéologies monolingues – se manifestaient dans le contexte de la francisation avec des degrés variables de sensibilisation des participants à ces idéologies. Les participants ont présenté des points de vue à la fois partiellement positifs et partiellement négatifs sur ces idéologies. Enfin, l'expérience de francisation a aidé les participants à naviguer dans leur vie de tous les jours en français, mais elle n'a pas permis de développer substantiellement leur sentiment d'appartenance, surtout en termes de leur pleine intégration dans la sphère professionnelle au Québec. Cette étude a contribué à ajouter un effort pour éclairer le fonctionnement des idéologies linguistiques dans le contexte de l'éducation aux langues pour adultes. Elle a également suggéré des moyens pratiques d'améliorer la capacité du programme à utiliser les ressources linguistiques existantes des migrants ainsi que la possibilité de favoriser un espace inclusif et transformateur dans l'environnement de francisation.

Mots-clés: idéologies linguistiques, Québec, programmes de francisation, migrants, apprentissage d'une langue chez l'adulte

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

Various discourses about language conflict, especially between French and English, have long been salient in the Quebec society. Intertwined with racial, ethnic and religious diversity that is becoming increasingly significant in Quebec, these discourses are manifested and circulated within provincial policies about language and cultural regulations as well as political debates around issues relevant to these policies. For example, in an English-language leaders' debate during the 2021 Canadian federal election race, two pieces of legislation that invoked much controversy within and beyond the province of Quebec were called into question. The first bill, *An Act respecting the laicity of the State*, or *Bill 21*, prohibits some civil servants and public authorities from wearing religious symbols, such as the Catholic Cross, the Muslim Hijab, and the Sikh dastar. For example, public school teachers, police officers, and government lawyers may not wear these symbols while working (National Assembly of Québec, 2019). The second bill, *an Act respecting French, the official and common language of Québec*, or *Bill 96*, enhances the predominant role of French as the language of business, education, and integration in Quebec. While some people believe this is a necessary measure for ensuring the future of French language in Quebec, others have expressed their concerns about the ramifications of this Act. These opponents warn that this bill could diminish opportunities to get governmental services or educational supports in English and further limit the rights of Quebec Anglophones (whose first language is English), Allophones (whose first language is neither French nor English), and Indigenous communities (many of whom are working to maintain and revitalize Indigenous heritage languages) in relation to those of Francophones (whose first language is French) (National Assembly of Québec, 2021). In the federal election debate, the contrast in perspectives on these laws was clearly illustrated when the moderator Shachi Kurl asked Yves-François

Blanchet, a leader of a political party *Bloc Québécois*, to clarify the reason why his party

"supports these discriminatory laws" that "marginalize religious minorities, Anglophones, and

Allophones." Blanchet responded that "those laws are not about discrimination, they are about

the values of Quebec" (Tunney, 2021).

Apart from the political and moral judgements this exchange might give rise to, their

dispute is highly contextualized within a set of underlying discourses that penetrate Canadian

history, especially around Quebec. The two founding nations of Canada, Imperial France and

Imperial Britain, fought for hundreds of years over land already occupied by Indigenous nations.

The remnants of this conflict still exude their influence over the peoples living in Canada to this

day, with particular salience around the province of Québec. In fact, the rivalry between settlers

from the French and British colonial regimes has been present since the establishment of early

settlements in today's Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec.

However, after the British Conquest that handed over to Britain the fate of French Canadians and

the dominion over the vast territory of New France, this competition morphed into the desperate

efforts of French Canadians to sustain their own heritage within the English-dominated North

American continent (Morton, 2017). Well into the 20th century, French Quebecers were

subordinated in relation to the English-speaking elites in the province on multiple levels of

language, ethnicity, religion, class, and sociopolitical power even though they outnumbered their

English-speaking counterparts (Heller, 2003). Intentional or not, this subordination was sustained

by Maurice Duplessis' *Union Nationale* government and the French Catholic Church who went

hand-in-hand in preserving Catholic, rural, and conservative Quebec up until the 1960s. These

two powerful institutions respectively hindered Francophones' social elevation. The Duplessis

government did so by offering Anglophone elites deals for their business advancement (Bourhis

& Sioufi, 2017). The Church did so by pushing Catholic Quebecers to have large families in order to increase their demolinguistic weight in the province, a phenomenon often referred to as the 'revenge of the cradle.' However, neither the Church nor the government provided Francophones with adequate opportunity to access quality educational services, leaving them to be large families, lower income, and little power in the province (Rouillard, 2011). This was exacerbated by the fact that French Quebecers were systematically excluded from positions that wield political and economic power to decide their own future.

The prolonged quest to retrieve their legitimacy as "*Maîtres chez nous* (masters of our own house)" (Oakes & Peled, 2017, p. 23) finally began to be successful with a series of political and legal movements from 1960, with the significant reconceptualization of Quebec's identity as a political entity. Originally, the community of Quebecers were characterized as being ethnically distinctive French Canadians in relation to the Federal Canada, and Quebecers embraced this identity. However, this changed over time, because in order to ensure the sovereignty of their own legislative projects, they needed to embrace people, and particularly immigrants, of diverse cultural origins. This change affected their transition from framing themselves according to ethnicity to framing themselves according to a shared territory, the 'Quebec nation' (Oakes & Warren, 2007). The shift afforded them the logic of national self-determination which entitled them to envision their own future (Heller, 2006). With a view to the upward mobility of the status of both the French language and, by extension, French Quebecers, the Quebec provincial government was determined to detach themselves from the Catholic Church to start legislating language laws from the 1960s that upheld French as the only official and common language within multiple public spheres. This ideology of nation-state and territoriality (Heller, 2003;

2006) is still a big part of what constitutes Quebec identity to this day, with its particular emphasis on securing the French language in Canada (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Importantly, one of the rationales for proclaiming the significance of French language as a social glue that ties various groups together in Quebec is the need to depart from the racial/ethnic conception of Quebecers as 'white, European descent French-Canadians.' Instead, the use of French as one's public and common language has been promoted as a tool for embracing racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse population into the category of Quebecers (Oakes & Warren, 2007). Then, it is important to look into how French language learning is effectively fostering membership into the Quebec society for racialized migrant population. Therefore, it would be meaningful to examine how race works in tandem with language ideologies in Quebec to determine who can be defined as a Quebecer (Calderon-Moya, 2021; Haque, 2012; Roussel, 2018). In other words, the current study investigates if racialized migrants' advancement of French language proficiency is linked to the development of their sense of belonging as members of this society, and if not, what kind of discourses or ideologies about language, race, and belonging in Quebec impede such inclusion.

For understanding what language, diversity, and membership mean in the Quebec society, it would be helpful to firstly understand multiple perspectives about "values of Quebec" and why the "laicity" and "French language" are so crucial to safeguarding those values as Blanchet asserted in the aforementioned debate (Tunney, 2021). This particular view of Blanchet, and by extension the view in general that prioritizes French language vitality within Quebec and Canada, does not represent the opinion of the whole population. Much like Bill 21's mandate of secularism, the new language reform in Bill 96 has created apprehension among business owners (Stevenson, 2022), especially in technology industry in Quebec (Northcott,

2022) about the difficulty to attract English-speaking employees to work in the province (Stevenson, 2022). In addition, an article in Bill 96 stipulates that civil agencies need to limit the period of linguistic accommodation for newly arrived immigrants to six months, which has raised concern from language education experts' voices about the near-impossible expectations of immigrants' French attainment in six months (Shingler, 2022) Indigenous communities have expressed their rightful concerns about the infringement of this bill on Indigenous language rights (Bell & Gunner, 2022). However, Jack Jedwab, the president of the Montreal-based Association for Canadian Studies, pointed out a certain mainstream media discourse that criticize him and other opponents of the laws as not being "part of the Quebec nation" (Serebin, 2021). That is, this discourse requires more than an individual's legal status as a Quebec resident or a citizen to be seen as belonging to the Quebec nation. Rather, to be seen as belonging, he argues that one must attain French language knowledge as well as comply to the dominant ideologies concerning matters of language (Anderson, 2006; Elke, 2001; Oakes & Warren, 2007).

This two-pronged pressure of learning the French language and being conscious about the various discourses around that language (or multiple varieties of it) becomes salient especially to non-French speaking newcomers who want a smooth landing onto the society's social and professional scene. Like the Canadian federal government, Quebec's provincial policies actively welcome immigrants as part of its strategy to boost economic and population growth. As a result of these policies, the demographic proportion of immigrants in Quebec shows steady increase, from 9.9% of the total population in 2001 to 13.7% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Aligning with this upsurge, the provincial government offers services to support immigrants' successful integration into the host society. These services include French as a second language courses for adults under the *Francisation* program. The *Francisation* program

encompasses a variety of adult French second language courses provided by the *Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation, et de l'Intégration* (MIFI) and the *Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur* (MEES) of Quebec that aim to meet the specific needs of migrants who arrive with different proficiency levels in French and different levels of education in general. These courses are provided to a wide range of migrants including international students, expatriate workers, immigrants from other countries, and migrants from other Canadian provinces. To encompass these diverse groups, I will use the term 'migrants' throughout the study to indicate general beneficiaries of this program. On the other hand, the term 'immigrants' will be used only when it is necessary to indicate the specific groups of people who are from countries other than Canada and entered Canada with the intension of permanent stay.

The Francisation courses are organized to help migrants to achieve three main objectives: (a) the ability to communicate in daily life by using the French language in social, communal, familial, and professional contexts; (b) the ability to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens who understand the values, attitudes, and behaviors suited to the cultural, political, and economic codes of Quebec; and (c) the attainment of language skills necessary to access, maintain, and progress in employment, vocational trainings, or pursuit of study (*MIFI*, 2022). In other words, this program aims to support migrants' French language acquisition for their thriving personal and professional life in Quebec, as well as their understandings about Quebec culture and society. This program is fully funded by the government and offers financial assistance to every eligible student as a compensation for their participation, transportation, and dependent care expenses (*MIFI*, 2022), given that students fully and diligently participate in the designated learning process. The total cost related to the French language programs for adult migrants was $74.5 million within the 2016–2017 fiscal year, a sum which showcases the

significance that the Quebec province places on the French language education of immigrants in the province (*Vérificateur Général du Québec*, 2017).

Despite this costly bid, the Report of the Auditor General of Québec to the National Assembly for 2017–2018 revealed that only 9.1% of the program registrants in 2015 were deemed to have achieved the minimum oral proficiency level necessary to access the job market. The numbers further dwindle when looking at the French reading and writing skills that migrants attained through the Francisation programs in general, marking only 3.7% who have passed the written proficiency threshold and 5.3% for written comprehension (*Vérificateur Général du Québec*, 2017). This tenuous outcome is somewhat dissonant with the grand investment the government has made, hinting that there might be unknown factors that negatively influence learners' experience and curtail their power to continue their course of study before they reach the aspired level of French competency. Juxtaposed with migrants' largely unfruitful French learning journey, the ever-present threat of high out-migration from Quebec (Clemens et al., 2016) and the relatively low 5-year retention rate of economic immigrants in Montréal (Statistics Canada, 2021) might suggest that the issues related to language are one of the main motivators for immigrants heading to destinations outside Quebec. Considering that Quebec immigrants regard French learning to be crucial for their successful integration (Amireault, 2020; Conrick & Donovan, 2010; Paquet & Levasseur, 2019; Steinbach, 2007) and that the Quebec government ardently supports this quest with multi-million dollar budgets for educational services, it is important to look beyond the immigrants' alleged French language deficiency (Lapointe, 2018; Roussel, 2018) or the lack of French learning opportunities (Holley & Jedwab, 2019) when we try to interrogate this low-retention rate. In other words, the previous approaches to responding to this issue, such as enhancing financial aid for Francisation learners or considering ways to

develop pedagogical tools to improve migrants' French deficiency, have not sufficiently

provided adequate solutions.

Thus, to address this challenge from a different perspective, I instead turn to language

ideologies that could be substantially affecting immigrants' sense of belonging (Mahar et al.,

2013; Painter, 2013) and decision to stay in the host society, which significantly impact

migrants' motivations for language learning (Kim, 2007). A sense of belonging can be defined as

"a subjective feeling of value and respect derived from a reciprocal relationship to an external

referent that is built on a foundation of shared experiences, beliefs or personal characteristics"

(Mahar et al., 2013, p. 1031). It can be examined using multiple scales along lines of nationhood,

ethnicity or culture, community, regional geographics, or political interests (Painter, 2013). The

development of a sense of belonging significantly correlates with immigrants' life satisfaction

(Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015) and their further retention in the host society (Sapeha, 2015). This

feeling may be encouraged or suppressed by implicitly circulated ideologies regarding language,

immigration, and values.

1.1. Research Questions

In this study, I focus on the language ideologies (Woolard, 1992; Woolard & Scheffelin,

1994) that reside within the Quebec society and are recognized by migrants, how these are

introduced in Francisation courses, and what the impacts of these ideologies are on developing

migrants' sense of belonging for leading a thriving social, professional, and political life in

Quebec. In this study, participants' sense of belonging was examined in relation to 'Quebec' as a

sub-nation that takes on both the territorial confines of the province and the collective identity of

Quebecers (*Québécois*). Also, it is important to pin down the meaning of language ideologies in

this study. Language ideologies are "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192). They manifest when language and human beings in a social world intersect (Woolard, 1992) in such a situation when we view some aspects of language(s) as legitimate, taken-for-granted, and "the way [they] should be" (Roy & Byrd Clark, 2020, p. 187). For example, Silverstein (1985) documents how the generic pronoun *he,* that was an extensively adopted stylistic choice in written works across multifarious areas, has been challenged by feminist scholars. The uncontested and often unnoticed use of *he* as a generic pronoun worked as part of a support mechanism for the patriarchal social system up until the contestation. This is one of the exemplary instances in which language ideologies are at work; a taken-for-granted belief, that male gender is a norm of humankind over any other genders, mediated this linguistic practice in service to a certain group's interest. Through participant interviews, I will look for the strands of thoughts about language that are deemed natural in Quebec and that can be influential in shaping ideas about what constitutes a 'legitimate' French speaker' as well as a 'valued' member of a society.' Because such ideologies often define who does and does not belong in a particular society, I will also examine the impact that these ideologies have on adult Francisation students' sense of belonging.

Although Indigenous nations resided in Quebec long before the arrival of white settlers, Quebec has been predominantly white province. When holistically considering the experience of visible minority migrants in Quebec, *race* is one of the variables that most significantly affects their identity formation as well as their perceptions toward ideologies (Crump, 2014). Visible minorities, or "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race and non-white in color," comprise 13% of the Quebec population (Statistics Canada, 2016). A wealth of

studies have shown that systemic racism is at work within various social sectors such as education (Magnan et al., 2021), workplace environment (Triki-Yamani, 2020), employment and access to jobs (Beauregard, 2021), and housing (Goyer, 2021). In order to gain richer understanding of migrants' experience, this study will also factor in the role that race plays in students' French language learning, identity negotiation, ideological formation, and the development of sense of belonging.

With this view, the following questions will be investigated in this study:

1. What language ideologies are salient in the literature on Quebec language ideologies, and how do they manifest in Francisation programs?

2. What are the perspectives of racialized migrants on these language ideologies?

3. What role do these ideologies play in developing racialized migrants' sense of belonging in Quebec society through the Francisation program?

This work will contribute to answering important questions in academia about the presence and role of language ideologies within the adult language education context. This study will also provide insight into preparing or amending policies regarding adult French language learning programs and will suggest measures to improve the French attainment of migrants in Quebec. Lastly, I aim to equip Francisation educators and institutions with ways to better organize programs, curricula, and materials that substantially help learners' integration into social and professional arenas and foster a sense of solidarity among migrants.

Chapter 2. Review of the Literature

This chapter has three sections. In the first section, I briefly explain the historical background in which this study takes place. I present the process in which the French and English Canadians co-habited in the province of Quebec and how Francophone Quebecers tried to protect French language vitality within English-dominated North America through legislative strategies. I also tap into previous studies about immigration and racialization in Quebec and how these topics affect the meaning of membership in Quebec society. In the second section, the key concepts of language ideologies, language, and race are defined. Specifically, I present the four characteristics of language ideologies conceived by Kroskrity (2010) and connect those features to the Quebec context. I also lay out an overview of the LangCrit or Critical Race and Language that is applied to define the terms 'language' and 'race' in this study (Crump, 2014). The third section reviews the research literature regarding language ideologies in Quebec. Lastly, I look into the studies about Francisation programs and situate the current study within this exiting body of work.

2.1. Historical Context

This section briefly outlines the historical development of three topics crucial to understanding the beliefs and value systems underlying language ideologies in Quebec. First, I will briefly describe the French/English rivalry and the process through which Francophone Quebecers developed their identity as a fragile majority (Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017). The fragile majority represents the paradoxical status of the Francophone Quebecers in which they are simultaneously the sociopolitical majority within the province and a cultural and linguistic

minority within the larger North American scene (Barker, 2010). This 'fragile' majority brings in

a sense of linguistic and cultural insecurity and drives efforts of French preservation movements.

Next, Quebec's language legislative strategies pertaining to the province's immigration

population will be explained as part of its nation building project. Lastly, these topics will be

interwoven into the notions of racialization, immigration, and sense of belonging in Quebec. As I

demonstrate below, the current lived-experience of migrants in Quebec is closely tied to the

collective identity of Quebec as a political entity and this identity has been shaped by these three

torrents of events.

2.1.1. The Birth of a Fragile Majority

Here, I explain how the cohabitation of French and English Canadians in Quebec invoked

Quebec Francophones' sense of linguistic and cultural insecurity within English-dominant

Canada and North America. This anxiety has profoundly impacted discourses regarding the

threat of being assimilated to Anglophone-Canada, Québécois as fragile majority in the province,

and the positioning of immigration as both a threat and the key to ensuring French vitality

(Barker, 2010).

In the mid-18th century, English and French Canadians were primarily focused on

cornering profit from the fur-trade in the country, and this was the main cause of warfare

between them during this time. This series of battles, also known as the Seven Years' War,

ended in British victory in 1760. After that victory, the French parliament decided to withdraw

from this North American colony completely, and only those who were the members of

aristocrats or military force could head to the motherland. Thus, the common colonists of *New*

France were abandoned in the hostile environment. Disconnected from the mother country, the

remaining residents strongly felt that the existence of their language, culture, and religion were under threat in the new world (Barbaud, 1998). Since English had become the language of business in Canada, it is unsurprising that Francophones' use of both French and English became more and more natural in everyday life (C. Bouchard, 2009; Ellyson et al., 2016). By 1812, most people living in Montreal and Quebec City spoke English as an additional language because local businesses were mostly operated in English (Morton, 2017).

Since the Seven Years' War and French regime's withdrawal, the hardship of the French-Canadian population continued. Because the French-Canadians were distinct from the British-descent population in Canada in terms of language, culture, and religion, they were regarded as alien, second-class, and a group that needed to be assimilated to the advanced system of English-Canadians (Morton, 2017). This derogatory perspective about French and French Canadians continued into the 20th century, and the symbolic superiority of the English language was rigidly consolidated and entrenched, including in the province of Quebec. During and after World War II, capital flowing in from the United States and Britain helped reverse Quebec's economic downturn from the Great Depression in the 1920s. These foreign assets from English-speaking countries further uplifted the role of English as a commercial language in Quebec. It resulted in the widening of the wage gap between Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers. Anglophones tended to be business owners or higher-level managers, while Francophone Quebecers tended to be blue collar workers and lower-level management. Wardhaugh (1983) reports that in 1961, the average income of unilingual Anglophones of British origin surpassed that of bilingual Francophones, unilingual Francophones, and even bilingual Anglophone. It can be inferred that being a French language speaker downgraded one's symbolic capital in Canada and Quebec at the time (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013). This power imbalance was also palpable in the

professional sphere in Quebec, where well-educated Francophones experienced impassible

barriers to upper managerial jobs (Behiels, 1985).

Up until the 1960s, major social services for Francophone Quebecers such as education,

health care, and social welfare, were entrusted to the French Catholic Church Commission.

However, the Church neglected its duties to provide equal educational services across various

regions in Quebec. Some have argued that this was intentional and meant to sustain the Church's

power in the province by keeping the Quebec Catholics agricultural, docile, and conservative

(Behiels, 1985). Intentional or not, this lack of access to education greatly limited Francophones'

opportunities for upward social mobility.

Premier Jean Lesage's Quebec Liberal Party came into power in 1960 and worked to

dismantle this dysfunctional structure. Soon, Francophone Quebecers took back the right to

cultivate their own future by establishing government offices such as the Department of Youth

(Ministry of Education), the University Commission, and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as well

as numerous measures and plans for health care services (Cuccioletta & Lubin, 2011). These

accomplishments finally gave the Francophone population a sense of being the majority after

long years of being stigmatized as "second-class citizens in their own country and even in their

own province" (Woolfson, 1983, p. 42). Triumphant as these accomplishments were, they were

not enough to reach the substantial dominance of Francophones within social, political,

economic spheres in Quebec. And the key strategy for this vision was to elevate the value of the

French language through legislative actions.

2.1.2. Quebec's Legislative Strategies regarding Language and Immigration

The economic prestige of English speakers in Quebec led most Allophone immigrants to integrate into the Anglophone community (Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017). For example, students with an immigrant background who chose to enter French-language schools only comprised 33.5% in 1947–48 which decreased to 25.3% in 1962–63 (Barbaud, 1998). This preference for English among Allophone immigrant populations posed a serious issue for the future of the French language in Quebec, which had already been threatened by dropping birth rates among Francophones (Molinaro, 2011). Thus, it was deemed necessary to bring immigrants into the Francophone community. From the 1960s, this goal shaped three strands of Quebec provincial legislation: (a) measures to magnify the importance of the French language in commercial, educational, and professional terrains; (b) measures to provide immigrant background adults and children sufficient opportunities to learn the French language; and (c) measures to forge a collective identity framework that could include these new Canadians within the boundaries of Quebec society.

First, several laws altered the linguistic landscape of public and private spheres in Quebec, significantly impacting the life choices and career paths of non-French speaking immigrants. In 1974, French had been enshrined as the only official language in Quebec with the enactment of the Official Language Act (Bill 22, Official Language Act, 1974). Its primary aim was to ensure French primacy in public administrative entities, business sectors, and education. This legislation paved the way for discussions of how to promote and settle French primacy. Under the auspices of Premier René Lévesque and his *Parti Québécois,* a concrete roadmap was gathered for tabling the Charter of the French Language, or Bill 101. This *Bill* was passed in 1977, asserting the principal use of French in six domains in Quebec including the legislature and courts, public signs (e.g., signages and traffic signs), semi-public agencies, commerce and

business (e.g., product labelling and restaurant menus), workplace, and education. Notably, this *Bill* signifies the role of the French language in workplaces by requiring that the conduct of any written communications or offers of employment to be in French. It also limits language requirements for hiring to the French language unless the ability to use other languages is necessary. An emphasis on French use in workplaces was reaffirmed in 2001, with the passing of an *Act to amend the Charter of the French Language* (Bill 104). As shown above, the knowledge of French language has become increasingly essential to leading a successful professional life in Quebec. To fully support immigrants' integration, the Quebec provincial government has arranged a variety of programs for French language learning.

In this regard, Bouffard (2015) provides thorough descriptions about the history of adult language training in Quebec. The first offerings of French as a second language courses for adult immigrants date back to 1948, as a charitable initiative of the Catholic Church commission. In 1967, the Ministry of Education launched a service structure for supporting adult immigrants' French learning and designated Montreal school boards for this duty (Pâquet, 1997). Since then, the hosting organizations of these language training programs have moved onto several governmental institutions and now the *MIFI* the *MEES* are collaboratively in charge.

These government authorities have provided Francisation services to fulfill two main objectives: to support the social, economic, and professional integration of immigrants by enhancing their French language skills, and to provide them a space to internalize Quebec values. To provide a blueprint for this vision, Quebec-based politicians started to make legislative efforts to redefine the key characteristic of Quebec identity from being ethnically French-Canadian toward residing in the Quebec territory and using French language in public life (G. Bouchard, 2001; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Aligning with this, *the Ministère de l'Immigration, et des*

Communautés Culturelles (MICC) additionally put forth the integration principle of

Interculturalism in 1981 (*Gouvernement du Québec*, 1981), which characterizes their ideal

relationship between different cultural groups within the province. According to this document,

Interculturalism involves, "[cultural groups'] mutual interpenetration and the reciprocal

recognition of their respective contributions, within a common civic culture and a French-

speaking framework" (Anctil, 1996, p. 143). The distinctiveness of Interculturalism from the

Multiculturalism promoted by the Canadian federal government lies in its emphasis on the

convergence among social groups beyond mere coexistence, importantly, through the medium of

the French language. In action, this cultural convergence as an integrative principle made the

converging more towards the majority Quebecers' culture rather than meeting in the middle

(Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Also prominently promulgated by the provincial government in 1991 was the new vision

of their immigrant integration strategy within the government immigration policy document, *Au*

Québec, pour bâtir ensemble: Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration

(Let's Build Quebec Together: Vision: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration)

(*Gouvernement du Québec*, 1991; cited in Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 29). Central to this

document was the promise of a moral contract between the Quebec government and newly

arrived immigrants. It outlines three characteristics inherent to Quebec society: (a) a society in

which French is the common language of public life; (b) a democratic society where everyone is

expected and encouraged both to participate and contribute; and (c) a pluralist society that is

open to intergroup exchanges and influences over each other while respecting fundamental

democratic values (*Gouvernement du Québec*, 1991, p. 16). In other words, this policy document

places the responsibility of integration on both immigration and the host society. These measures

suggest that immigrants can fully integrate into Quebec society as long as they make efforts to be fluent in French and actively engage in building a democratic Quebec nation by adhering to the democratic values of Quebec as political democracy or gender equality. However, it remains still precarious whether or not this ambition to put forward French language competency as a ticket to Québécois membership aligns with the collective consciousness in reality. Specifically, with the rising number of immigrants at the entry gate to Quebec, racial diversity increasingly complicates what it means to be a Quebecer. Thus, in the next section, the racial diversity brought by the massive flow of immigration will be examined as one of the potential influences on this intercultural goal.

2.1.3. Racialization, Immigration, and Sense of Belonging in Quebec

The notions of race, racism, and targets of racism are particularly complex in Quebec. C. Bouchard (2009) argues that "the use of the term 'race,' which is in line with its use throughout the West in that period, had no particular importance and should be understood as referring to ethnicity" (p. 39). However, Scott (2016) demonstrates that the historic discourses previously used by Anglophones position French Canadians as non-white people. She exemplifies this by referring to multiple cartoon strips in which French Canadians are depicted as apes and monkeys and referred to as having an "almost-human" status. She notes that these animalistic associations have commonly been used by white people to portray the Black population (p. 1286). In addition, Quebec francophones were often told to "speak white" when they speak French in public spaces, meaning that they should speak in English. She also brings in the famous documentation of Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America (1839/1969) to illustrate the social imagery of French Canadians circulated throughout North America and

Western Europe, which was "not so civilized, so energetic, or so money-making a race" (p. 145).

In response to the call for establishing solutions for the Patriot Rebellions staged in 1837-38 in

Lower and Upper Canada, Lord Durham organized an array of plans to reform colonial

governments to effectively assuage this tension. In here, he attributed this disquiet to the ethnic

nature of French Canadians. He wrote that the strong measures needed to be taken to assimilate

French Canadians and erase the French fact in British North America because "they [cling] to

ancient prejudices, ancient customs, and ancient laws, not from any strong sense of their

beneficial effects, but with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and unprogressive people"

in contrast to "the English race [with] superior knowledge, energy, enterprise, and wealth"

(Durham, 1839/1969, p. xi, p. 44) Although distinct from the contemporary perceptions we have

about race, the process through which French Canadians were perceived as non-white follows

the typical steps of racializing certain groups of people, which are "imposing categories of value

and meaning by a powerful group onto another group" (Voth, 2021, p. 72).

However, Scott (2016) also stresses the fact that French Canadians became "white folks"

while increasingly gaining political power within the province, and importantly, when visible

minority immigrants began to be admitted to Quebec in greater numbers (p. 1280). That is, the

denigratory descriptors, "religious, outdated, backwards, and thus undesirable," formerly

associated with French Québécois, are now implicitly transferred onto new immigrants (p. 1293),

and particularly onto non-white immigrants, marking them as not suitable to embody the Quebec

values of equality and secularism. Indeed, the displays of hostility toward newcomers to Quebec

who are visible minorities, and in particular Muslim newcomers, have been conspicuous for over

two decades (Bakali, 2015; Calderon-Moya, 2021; Fletcher, 2020; Freake et al., 2011; Labelle,

2004; Magnan et al., 2021; Montreuil et al., 2004; Potvin, 2016). Moreover, a wealth of studies

have revealed the systemic discrimination against racialized populations in multifarious contexts

of Quebec, in the forms of racial profiling (Livingstone et al., 2020), withholding of house

rentals (Goyer, 2020), or implicit and explicit humiliation of racialized students in educational

settings (Magnan et al., 2021).

Particularly detrimental are discriminatory systems in the workplace. For example,

Beauregard (2021) conducted a Quebec-based experiment in which fake identical resumés were

submitted for the same positions. The only difference between the resumés was that some had

names that were historically common in Quebec, while others had names associated with visible

ethnic minorities. Beauregard reveals the significant gap in the recall rate between the majority

Québécois-sounding names and the names of other minority ethnic groups. In addition, Kamanzi

(2012) found visible minorities to be more likely than white Quebecers to settle for jobs for

which they were over-qualified. Triki-Yamani (2021) found that, from interviews conducted

with 350 human resources managers in the Montreal region, qualifications for promotion works

largely against visible minorities. Importantly, several studies also confirmed that the experience

of racial discrimination, whether explicit or implicit, significantly influenced immigrants' sense

of attachment to Quebec, regardless of their French language proficiency level (Darchinian &

Magnan, 2020; Helly & Van Schendel, 2001; Labelle & Salée, 2001).

As shown above, racialized migrants in Quebec receive conflicting messages in their

daily experiences. On the one hand, the principles of interculturalism and the moral contract

promise them an equal, inclusive society as long as they promise to adopt the French language

and Quebec values. In reality however, the social structure, especially regarding the professional

terrain, limit their access to hiring and job advancement. In the current study, I aim to examine

the French learning experience of racialized migrants in a Francisation adult education context in

order to determine how it intertwines with the integration process in shaping their sense of belonging to the Quebec society.

2.2. Theoretical Framework and Key Definitions

In the following chapters, I demonstrate the French learning experience of racialized migrants in Quebec and the language ideologies therein work as particularities that shape this experience. In order for this demonstration to be properly contextualized, the key terms and concepts for this investigation need to be delineated. In this section, therefore, I will lay out how the concepts of language ideologies, language, and race have been established, especially within the field of linguistic anthropology and critical language and race theory (or LangCrit, Crump, 2014), and give an account of the definitions and meaningful implications that these concepts could provide to this research.

2.2.1. Language Ideologies as a Theoretical Framework

Language ideologies in academic contexts indicate both a body of research that examines points "at which language and social structure meet" (Mertz & Yovel, 2003, p. 15) as well as the thoughts and practices themselves rationalizing "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192). Michael Silverstein's article 'Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology' (1979) introduced the term to the academic scene, and since, the field of language ideologies research has grown into one of the most prolific offshoots from linguistic anthropological tradition in close collaboration with numerous other disciplines.

To lay out the suitability of language ideologies as a conceptual framework, I will present here the main ideas and assumptions undergirding the current language ideologies research and what kind of questions these ideas helped to answer. Synthesizing nearly five decades of important works within the field of language ideologies, Kroskrity (2010) outlines four major dimensions of language ideologies and the practices associated with them. First, certain language ideologies are always enacted to serve the benefit of certain groups of people, often those in power. For example, the language standardization movement that renders certain linguistic features to be more correct than other equivalents makes visible the power hierarchy among those language users in that these supposed correct forms and practices are usually those of social prestige (Milroy & Milroy, 2012; Silverstein, 1996). Moreover, the misleading naturalization of one language belonging to one nation also reflect the nationalist ideology that centers people of majority group as owners of a certain language, while marginalizing linguistic practices of minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989). As I will demonstrate in the following sections, how this dimension of language ideology is also observable in various discourses in Quebec regarding, for example, the conception of 'standard Quebec French,' exceptionally strict boundaries between French and English languages, and problematic categorizing of Allophones in Quebec.

The second dimension of language ideology according to Kroskrity (2010) is that language ideologies are always multiple, representing perspectives of people with various group memberships. This plurality is a driving force both for clashes between two or more opposing views and concomitant linguistic changes. For instance, Jaffe (1999) documented the conflicting stances in Corsica, regarding French literature translation into Corsican language. Some people with instrumentalist view construed this translating activity as the act of raising the symbolic

value of the Corsican language. However, the opponents of this view thought it was the act of submitting to the colonized identity. That is, these conflicting ideologies mediated two distinct interpretations about this linguistic activity, and this multiplicity of language ideologies gave rise to a clash of opposing perspectives. These debates around competing views greatly speak to the context of Quebec because it is one of the key sites in Canada where multiple sets of stances are most saliently in tension around the safeguarding of language and culture. Thus, this multiplicity is appropriate for presenting diverse voices within the province. Here, because language ideologies do not exist in a single form but rather diverge into two or more ways, I will use the term 'language ideologies' always in plural form unless I indicate 'ideology' as a definition.

A third dimension to Kroskrity's conceptualization of language ideology is that members of a certain society show varying degrees of awareness about local language ideologies. Kroskrity (1998) suggests that the levels of language ideologies awareness correlate with salience of ideological conflict within that society, that is, a higher degree of awareness is associated with more salient conversations about language existing within the society. Importantly, Philips (2000) distinguishes between a space in which this awareness takes shapes, or the site of ideological production, and where it is clearly articulated, or the site of metapragmatic commentary. In this study, I will illustrate how the context of Francisation classrooms, either virtual or physical, provide students rich opportunities both to conceive and to reveal various ideologies implicitly or explicitly circulated in Quebec society.

The last dimension of language ideologies is their mediating role between speakers' language forms and the larger sociocultural structure surrounding them. A significant conceptualization of indexical order by Silverstein (2003) explicates the process through which each chunk of language practices or linguistic features takes on social values and implications

within interactions among speakers. This conception that clarifies the process of value

judgements about specific types of languages and their speakers is particularly useful in

examining how different varieties of French used in Quebec and in the larger community of *la*

francophonie have come to take on socio-economic or moral adjectives as ignorant, poor,

professional, or correct. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, the perceptions about French

varieties, especially the Quebec and Parisian-French varieties in this study, were implicitly and

explicitly circulated within and around the Francisation context. Taking this example as one

among many, this study will actively accept the role of ideology in making language a powerful

tool to divide and/or unify, regulate and/or liberate, deny and/or validate various social groups in

a certain society.

These four characteristics of language ideologies worked as a foundation for this study.

In other words, the four keywords of power, multiplicity, awareness, and mediation are

principles of which I have been constantly cognizant of throughout the process of conducting the

literature review, designing the study, collecting and analyzing data, and drawing implications

and conclusions. In the next section, I will introduce another set of imperative notions of

language and race and how I established their definitions for this study, using the critical

theorization of critical language and race theory, or LangCrit (Crump, 2014).

2.2.2. LangCrit as a Source of Key Definitions

The critical language and race theory, or LangCrit, was created by Alison Crump (2014)

in her effort to develop a theoretical and analytical framework that encompassed matters of

identity, language, and race in the field of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

(TESOL) and beyond. Drawing on race, a seldom addressed topic in language education

particularly at the time of her study, she combined two axes of language and race and provided

insight into a large body of works that employed LangCrit as their core theoretical framework

(e.g., Morita-Mullaney, 2018; Dobbs & Leider, 2021; Swift, 2020). In this study, the LangCrit

framework will not be employed as a primary method of data analysis or an organizing scheme.

However, this research will greatly benefit by using this theory as an additional lens to examine

and understand the role that language and race play in the context being studied.

There have been other scholars who theorized the intricate relationship between language

and race. For example, Crenshaw (1991) created the term *intersectionality* to acknowledge how

multiple dimensions of an individual, such as race, gender, or linguistic background, collectively

shape social interactions to be unique to one's own circumstance. This concept has been useful to

enunciate how these dimensions work in tandem with one another. In the field of Black feminism

studies for instance, it looks at a broader scope of social properties and their dynamic synergies.

However, it fails to focus onto race and language, two of the fundamental notions of this study.

In this respect, the concept of raciolinguistics (Alim et al., 2016) or raciolinguistic ideologies

(Flores & Rosa, 2015) could be a better option than intersectionality in that it specifically aims to

probe how one's racial trait overdetermines one's linguistic competency. That is, raciolinguistics

looks at how 'racial others' are perceived as lacking proficiency in certain languages regardless

of their actual linguistic performance. However, this concept has been prominent mainly in the

context of public school education in the United States, for debunking discriminatory

mechanisms against non-white learners one of whose first languages is English. In this regard,

LangCrit provides more fitting framework for this study due to its adequate definitions about

language and race in the context of second or foreign language learning context and the

abundance of its studies conducted in the Canadian context.

2.2.2.1. Language

Following the poststructuralist stance toward the creation of language, Crump (2014) agrees that "there is no such thing as a fixed, stable entity in linguistic terms," and effort of defining language as a discrete, countable entity is merely "creating boundaries and hierarchies" for people based on their linguistic practices (p. 209). Thus, when examining how and why certain linguistic practices are regarded as representing a particular social group over other practices (Anderson, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), it is important to look at "how power has come to be clustered around certain linguistic resources in certain spaces" (p. 209). I adhere to her fluid view toward language as well as her rejection of the idea that language is an objective being that can be owned, counted, or ranked. However, I also strongly agree with her cautionary comment that, as much as we acknowledge that our notion of bounded language is socially constructed, the ideology of language as a fixed entity is a powerful social force with a substantial influence on language policy planning and institutional undertakings. Drawing on this perspective in the Quebec context, I advocate for the view that problematizes the terminologies of Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone because they ignore the complexity and multiplicity of Quebecers' linguistic origin, experience, and practice. And additionally, in the case of Allophone, it is often used as an excluding tool for fixing one's identity as forever foreign to Quebec society (Ahooja & Ballinger, 2019; Roussel, 2018). However, I still use these terms in this study to be mindful of the ideologies involving the three categorizations of linguistic origin, and how people's identities have been shaped by these socially constructed ideologies.

2.2.2.2. Race

It has become clearly established now that race is a social construct rather than a biological fact (e.g., Nyborg, 2019). That is, people used to believe that we can be scientifically grouped in accordance with our physical traits, particularly with our skin color. And the sorted groups were thought to represent something beyond our phenotypes, such as intelligence, diligence, and social class. However, this grouping, or racialization, is not only misleading but it has also been used for the historical subordination of people who are deemed inferior (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Racial categorization still largely impacts how people perceive the world, and it significantly impacts people of any racial identity. In conducting this study, I fully acknowledge that it is social beliefs and value systems that divide people into discrete racial groups rather than an objective (or 'scientific') standard.

2.3. Literature Review

The goal of this literature review is two-pronged: firstly, this review works as one part of the inquiry process for answering the first research question: What does the literature reveal about the language ideologies circulating within Quebec society? Here, I employ three types of ideology conceptions, nationalist language ideologies, standard language ideologies, and monolingual ideologies, and look into discourses within the existing literature through these three critical lenses. Secondly, this review will lay out the existing literature about the Francisation context in Quebec.

2.3.1. Language Ideologies in Quebec

French language in Quebec is an imperative player in the identity negotiation process of Quebecers of diverse linguistic and cultural origin (C. Bouchard, 2009). It is also an important marker that decides the distribution of values, resources, and prestige (Heller, 2003). Moreover, language ideologies play a key role in mediating this negotiation and distribution process by justifying or challenging the current order (Silverstein, 1985). In this literature review, I bring in seminal concepts in the field of language ideologies to frame the social interactions in Quebec in multiple contexts to clearly see the groups and social structures that benefit from such discourses. More specifically, I draw on the conceptualizations of nationalist language ideology (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), standard language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 1985), and monolingual ideology (Blackledge, 2000) to connect the macro-social system and discourses to the micro-interactional exchanges in Quebec.

The following section introduces the definition of each type of language ideology and how each ideology manifest in the Quebec context in the existing literature, and the social groups and structures in Quebec to which this ideology is in service.

2.3.1.1. Nationalist Language Ideologies

Naitonalist language ideologies, also known as national ideology of language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), position a distinct language as a prerequisite for building a nation. It was originally set forth as an encompassing term for ideologies that (a) value a one language/one nation equation (Kroskrity, 2000; Silverstein, 2000), (b) put authenticity and moral significance to so-called mother tongue speakers (Vessey, 2021), and (c) pay loyalty to protect the linguistic purity of certain language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). To limit its scope to examining the

specificity of Quebec's nation building project and the role that French plays in this process, I will delineate the definition of nationalist language ideology as a set of beliefs that posit language as a primary means of identifying, maintaining, and enhancing a group's nationhood and thus give an ownership of that language to certain groups in that nation.

In the Quebec context, this ideological stance manifests as the strong association of French language usage with an allegiance to the Quebec nation. If certain people seem to be standing on the boundary between Quebecers and outsiders, they are constantly tested on this allegiance by being assessed for their French competency. For example, in his examination of the linguistic discriminations experienced by members of minority language communities including Anglophones in Quebec, Jean-Pierre (2018) describes one Anglo-Quebecer's story. This person had spoken English at a party with colleagues and was subsequently asked called upon to prove that he could speak French thereby proving that he was Québécois. The participant's colleague who made this request felt offended by his English use.

The ideological stance of what makes one a Quebecer goes beyond mere French use, however. The question of whether the use is 'good enough' is also often up for inspection. Darchinian and Magnan (2020) document one immigrant's experience in a French-instructed CÉGEP (a type of post-secondary educational institution in Quebec) in their study about the majority/minority boundary formation in Quebec. The participant lamented the level of French precision the school required of her in only her third year in Montreal. She thought it was unfair to lose marks for language mistakes, which she believed would prevent immigrants from advancing to prestigious academic programs and entrench local Francophone's position of superiority. Also notable is Bosworth's (2019) analysis of mainstream press commentaries regarding the assessment of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's French language competency. Most

of the metalinguistic commentaries displayed intensely negative judgement about his French

language use, applying higher standards for him than for other candidates. Bosworth comments

that the fact that Trudeau self-identifies as Québécois but uses English and French bilingually

with primacy in English, leads the Quebec collective rhetoric to undermine his French

proficiency in order to deny his identity as Québécois. In other words, the evaluation of his

French proficiency is more about his political career and his claimed connection with Quebec

than his language practice.

As shown above, nationalist language ideologies in Quebec usually involve a close

connection between French language and Québécois nationhood. They also tend to mediate the

hostile attitude of majority Francophones toward languages other than French, but most

frequently and strongly toward English. This hostility reflects the sociohistorical background of

Francophone Quebecers as second-class citizens in the land in which they were born as well as

the ever-present threat of being assimilated to Anglophone Canada. It also confirms that previous

studies about minority communities, such as Quebec, have shown a tendency to be more

protective of their culture and less accommodating to diversity (Pelletier-Dumas et al., 2017;

Stout et al., 2021; Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). As mentioned in Darchinian and Magnan (2020),

blindly upholding Quebec nationalist language ideologies might have a detrimental effect on

immigrants' and Anglo-Quebecers' social and economic prosperity as well as their sense of

belonging.

2.3.1.2. Standard Language Ideologies

Standard language ideologies, or the ideology of standardization (Milroy, 2001), refer to

"a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from

above, and which takes as its model the written language" (Milroy & Milroy, 1985, cited in

Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 166). This level of homogeneity, invariability, and uniformity in spoken

language is not probable in linguistic practices in natural settings, thus these standard language

ideologies inevitably impose certain norms on people who are deemed to not be using the

idealized version of the language (Milroy, 2001). Additionally, these norms reflect the variety of

language that is most valued (Lippi-Green, 1994). Because the value judgments about which

variety is more proper to be the norm cannot be made solely on the internal structures of

linguistic features themselves, this decision is often made depending on the prestige attached to

the users of those varieties – a process which has been described as "imposing the ideology from

above" (Milroy & Milroy, 1985 cited in Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 166). In this study, standard

language ideologies refer to the belief that there is only one correct language variety, and that

variety should be used and promoted in institutional settings, and sometimes in private

interactions, over other forms. Here, institutional settings generally refer to the typical sites of

reproducing the standardized form of language, such as educational contexts, news media,

entertainment industries, and international corporations (Lippi-Green, 1994).

The matter of standard language in Quebec is particularly touchy and acute due to the

province's history of being one of the colonies of France (Bigot & Papen, 2013). Regarded as

inferior to European varieties of French, Quebec French has been stigmatized as being imbued

with archaisms, neologisms, and anglicisms well into 1960s (C. Bouchard, 2009). This view has

invoked a sense of linguistic insecurity among speakers of Quebec French varieties. This

insecurity motivated two opposing views about *joual,* the regional variety used mostly by

working class Francophones in Quebec, during the era of the Quiet Revolution. Some worried

about the level of anglicisms and unique phonological features of *joual*. They argued for the re-

alignment of the Standard Quebec French with the international variety of French, a popular

euphemism for Parisian-French. In contrast, people in the opposing camp regarded *joual* as

symbolically representing Quebec's distinctiveness from English Canada as well as from France.

Thus, they insisted that this variety should become the standardised variety of Quebec French (C.

Bouchard, 2009; Daoust, 1983). However, this view quickly faded into history, in part because

few people wanted to associate their society to the language of the poorer, uneducated working

class (Oakes & Peled, 2017). After the *Office de la langue francaise* (1985) established some of

the key principles for *Standard Quebec French*, this choice has been codified and promulgated

by journalists, government service providers, and news reporters (Barbaud, 1998).

Since the Quiet Revolution, studies have found that the prestige of Quebec French

varieties has increased, although this increase exists alongside discourses that advantage

European French varieties. For example, Chalier (2018) conducted a qualitative study of 50

participants in Montreal and 51 participants in Quebec City to determine the relative prestige of

four French varieties: Parisian French, weakly marked Quebec French, strongly marked Quebec

French, and strongly marked Swiss Romandy French. The majority of participants responded

that the language of instruction should be weakly marked Quebec French. However, the two

European varieties scored higher than the Quebec French varieties in terms of participants'

perception about the correctness. Other studies have found that immigrants associate French

from France with a higher socio-economic class and stronger educational, professional

background (Benzakour, 2004; Kircher, 2012; Maurais, 2008) if they are able to perceive the

difference (Guertin, 2017). Šebková et al. (2020) conducted an experiment examining

Quebecers' perception of four French language varieties: French from Quebec, France, Haiti,

and Cameroon. For the study, each variety's prestige was analyzed in two dimensions: the status

dimension that shows the manifest, obvious socioeconomic prestige of speakers, and the solidarity dimension that represents the latent, interpersonally appreciated prestige. The results showed that the Quebec variety occupied superiority in both status and solidarity dimensions over other three forms.

The ideology of language standardization in Quebec reveals the complexity of French varieties and the differing values that are attributed to them. On one hand, Quebec French has restored, or even attained for the first time in history, its status as a highly prestigious standard language in Quebec. On the other hand, for some, Parisian French, or international French, is still regarded as being more prestigious and useful for professional advancement.

2.3.1.3. Monolingual Ideologies

The concept of monolingual ideologies (Blackledge, 2000), also frequently termed as monoglossic language ideologies (Flores & Schissel, 2014; García, 2009), includes a set of beliefs that posit monolingualism as the norm. As I stated above, these ideas about idealizing monolingual speakers and monolingual society are inseparably entangled with the nationalist stance toward language and the ideology of language standardization. Blackledge (2000) contends that "when a language is symbolically linked to national identity, the bureaucratic nation-state faced with a multilingual population may exhibit 'monolingualizing tendencies'" (Blackledge, 2000, p. 30; Heller, 1995, p. 374). That is, dominant groups within a multilingual society exert their power by privileging a certain set of linguistic practices proximate to their own (standard language ideologies) to build a sense of national, or regional unity around that variety (nationalist language ideologies) and subsequently uphold the ideal model of speakers who have spoken that one variety from their birth, thus deemed to use it perfectly (monolingual

ideology). Not only is the qualification for this ideal often ambiguous (Gal, 1993; Heller, 1999),

but those who are considered to not fit into that ideal are also stigmatized as deficient (Flores &

Rosa, 2015). Thus, in this study, monolingual ideologies encompass a large scope of thoughts

that take part in this typical process of linguistic marginalization. These thoughts could include

the valuing of native speakers in a language teaching context (Holliday, 2006), rejecting the

mixing of languages that are regarded as separate (Li, 2018), and promoting balanced

bilingualism that aims to achieve a native speaker proficiency in both languages (García, 2007).

Montreal, Quebec, is the most trilingual city in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019). The

multiplicity and fluidity of linguistic practices in the province, especially among youths, is now

instilled in Quebecers' everyday lives (Lamarre, 2013). However, in her study about the

Montreal Tamil community and Tamil heritage language programs, Das (2008) documents that

the leaders of the Tamil diaspora display an intolerant stance toward Tamil youths'

multilingualism. Das argues that the leaders take this stance in order to entrench their authority

as holders of monolingual Sri Lankan Tamil. In addition, she notices the parallel between the

segregating practices of the Tamil community and that of Quebec nationalism. That is, as the

leaders of Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora refrained youths from code-mixing across the linguistic

boundaries to maintain their authority, some Quebec political elites employ the similar strategy

that moves away from multilingualism and gears toward French unilingualism to preserve the

linguistic purity of French language, enhance the status of Francophone Quebecers' majority

position as holders of pure French, and eventually maintain their political power within the

province.

Another form of monolingual ideologies appears in the study of Jean-Pierre (2018), who

probes discrimination toward linguistic minority groups in Canada including Anglophone

Quebecers and Francophone Ontarians. In his/her study, Anglophone Quebecers shared their

experience of being ridiculed, tested, and excluded from the collective identity of Québécois

because of their English-accented French. One of the frequent coping strategies they used to

avoid this tension was "passing," or enhancing their French skills in order to pass as

Francophone Québécois. This mechanism closely resembled the aforementioned process of

upholding monolingual ideology; by erasing all trace of their first language, they adhered to the

ideal of monolingual Francophone. Similar observations can be found in Ahooja and Ballinger

(2019). This study examines the language socialization process of migrant-background students

in the Quebec public school system, for whom French language is their additional language. The

interviewed students felt anxious about adhering to the only French rule in school; on rare

occasions in which they spoke in their first language or English, they felt the need to justify their

use. They also accepted their imposed identity of deficient French speaker and the misleading

connection of their French competency to their academic capacity. For example, the schools

required them to re-do the grade level they had already undertaken based only on their French

language proficiency, and they followed this directive without questioning this measure. The

monolingual ideology promoted in the school not only limited their opportunity to make full use

of their multilingual repertoires, it also negatively impacted their identity formation as deficient

learner, when actually they were highly adept multilingual communicators.

　　　　These studies show how monolingual ideologies operated in the Quebec society; these

ideologies work to set norms of the perfect monolingual speaker and associates linguistic

practices deviant from those norms with inferiority, whether it be an accented variety or

bi/multi/plurilingual practices. Importantly, however, in all three studies (Ahooja & Ballinger,

2019; Das, 2008; Jean-Pierre, 2018), with plural sets of linguistic knowledge at their disposal,

the non-francophones challenged this ideology by freely walking across linguistic boundaries when they were not under authoritative surveillance from the monolingual majority. As previous studies emphasize the role of language ideologies that enables the transformation of existing systems (Kroskrity, 2010), these cases cast positive light on more inclusive, plural future for multilinguals in Quebec.

2.3.2. Francisation Program

According to the *Gouvernement du Québec* (2022), francisation refers to the process by which a non-French speaking person learns the French language and adopts it as the primary tool in various areas in social life. The francisation of immigrants is an imperative task for the Quebec provincial government as well as the political leaders who aim to maximize the standing of Francophones in Quebec society and in Canada, both demolinguistically and socioculturally (Barker, 2010; Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017). Therefore, the provision of quality French courses to adult immigrants has been actively employed as one of the strategies to bring such a vision to life. Therefore, *MIFI* and the *MEES* jointly manage free French as a second language courses for adult migrants, or the Francisation program. Recent immigrants to Quebec, international students, temporary foreign workers, and Canadian citizens who are non-French speakers are eligible to take these courses if they are 16 years old or older. In addition to general full-time and part-time language courses (*cours de français généraux*), programs specific to a wide range of learners' circumstances are also provided; for instance, online learners (*francisation en ligne, FEL*), workers whose employers partner with the Ministries to provide French courses in working hours (*francisation pour les travailleuse et les travailleur, FTT*), and learners with limited literacy skills (*L'alpha-francisation*). These courses usually take place in community

organizations or educational institutions such as French-instructed CÉGEPs or universities. The urgent need of migrants to attain French language knowledge, as well as the financial assistance provided from the government to registrants, greatly attract migrants to Francisation courses.

Several researchers have specifically looked into the lived experience of Francisation learners, their identity negotiation, and the integration process into the Quebec society. Ralalatiana and Vatz-Laaroussi (2015) illustrated the French learning process of nine immigrant women in Montreal and how they actively participated in Francisation courses as well as agentively make opportunities to use French outside of the classroom. Similarly, Amireault (2020) demonstrated the Francisation experience of 15 newly-arrived immigrants from China, and how this program affected their identity formation as Quebecers. The majority of them responded that their identity was transformed due to their French learning, but less than half clarified this transformation does not necessarily give them a sense of belonging to Quebec society.

The second and last strand of studies critically examines learners' experience during and after the Francisation programs and connect it to the sociolinguistic ideologies circulating in Quebec society. Paquet and Levasseur (2019) elucidated how Francisation learners' experience gets complicated by the conflicting ideologies of language. On the one hand, they are told to attain French, ideally without interference from English. However, on the other, English is also a crucial tool for their career search and job access. In other words, to obtain higher-paying jobs, immigrants are required to become English-French bilinguals, who have full command of both languages. Because of these monolingual ideologies at work, the authors point out the extreme difficulty for immigrants to get into this French/English bilingual elite-ness. Moreover, Roussel (2018) gave an account of the francized life of immigrants living in a rural area of Quebec,

where 99% of its population are Francophone Quebecers. Here, Roussel documents immigrants'
episodes of being illegitimated as not truly belonging to the Francophone community. For
example, she observed an immigrants' speech being 'translated' by one local Francophone when
talking in public, even though he was speaking French. The study ends with an important
question; if being francized is a prerequisite for being a legitimate Quebecer, then to what extent
should they be francized and what kind of standard should the immigrants pursue?

The current study primarily situates itself on the intersection between these two groups of
studies. Specifically, it aims to examine learners' experiences regarding their francisation
process and also to interrogate the Quebec language ideologies found in adult Francisation
classes to see how they impact learners' sense of belonging in the province. The larger goals of
this inquiry are to better understand learners' experiences and to imagine future directions for
pedagogical, curricular, and policy improvements regarding the Francisation program, for
supporting Quebec immigrants' effective French learning as well as their sense of belonging to
this society.

Chapter 3. Methodology

In this chapter, I first reveal the positionality that I bring to this research. Next, I lay out the data collection and analysis process, giving detailed descriptions about the context in which this study is situated, the background information of participants, and the measures taken to ensure the rigor of this study.

3.1. Positionality

In this section, I give details about my fundamental perspective as a researcher as well as my prior experiences that are relevant to this study. The purpose of this disclosure is to give sufficient information about the views that I bring to the process of data collection and analysis.

It would be important to first reveal my positionality as a researcher. Ontologically, I believe that there exist multiple realities depending on the perceptions and experience of interpreters, whether they be researchers, participants, or audience of a certain academic work (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, this study stands on the basic assumption that a person's perceived experience is a valuable source of knowledge and can be inductively and emergently constructed into valid pieces of knowledge. With this philosophical underpinning, I subscribe to the interpretive framework of social constructivism (Crotty, 1998) that puts researcher's first and foremost focus on grasping how participants subjectively perceive certain events or settings in question. These perceptions are constantly negotiated by social interactions with other people or with the larger sociohistorical context. In this study, therefore, the perceptions of participants and the context surrounding them are the main source of constructing knowledge about the language ideologies within and around the Francisation classrooms.

As a person embodying intersecting identities, my national, cultural, and linguistic background, and my past experience that has shaped my perspective, is also imperative to understand decisions that are made throughout the study. I have three levels of identity pertinent to conducting this research; I am a) an international migrant from South Korea and an outsider to the Quebec society; b) a non-French speaker with a Korean-English bilingual repertoire, and; c) an Asian female in a historically white society.

First, I need to establish that the province of Quebec is a relatively unfamiliar context to me because I recently migrated from South Korea. Thus, I had and still have limited knowledge about its historical, cultural, and political circumstances. I have strived to achieve that knowledge since my arrival, when I moved to Quebec in 2020 to study in an English-instructed University situated in the city of Montreal. However, due to my short span of residency in Quebec as well as my arrival right in the middle of the Pandemic, it was important to corroborate my understandings about the province with local perspectives. Rather than directly soliciting help with analyzing my data, I chose to indirectly engage in conversations with long-term Quebec residents about the historical and contemporary issues regarding language and religion in Quebec. The decision to get local insights through conversations rather than direct advice on data analysis is for valuing my own perspective as a migrant myself. In this way, I was able to engage in multiple perspectives revolving around French and English language, immigration, and language policies in Quebec and incorporate them as critical lenses for making my own meaning of the Quebec context.

I also need to reveal that I am a non-Francophone migrant who speaks Korean as my first language and English as my additional language. My desire to attain French knowledge motivated me to register for a Francisation course for beginners, which I continued taking for six

months. Thus, my French knowledge is still developing. This linguistic profile greatly impacted

the course of this study as well as the interactions I had in Quebec. For example, although I

arranged a French-English translator to accommodate participants who are more comfortable in

French than English, every participant chose to interview in either English or Korean. This is

possibly because I was more immersed in an English-speaking network and attracted more

people from it unintentionally. Similarly, as I mentioned earlier, when I tried to get more diverse

perspectives by having interactions with local Quebec residents, I was only able to do so in

English. That means, although some people with whom I consulted were born and raised in

Quebec, thus able to sufficiently inform me of local views of Francophone Quebecers, these

informants were all highly fluent French-English bilinguals whose views might be far disparate

from those of monolingual Francophones.

Lastly, I am an East Asian female from South Korea, racially categorized as a visible

minority according to the Employment Equity Act (Statistics Canada, 2022). Not only my

experience as a racialized migrant shaped my view about the topics pertinent to the current

research, but it also partook in fostering bonds with participants who are also all racialized

migrants. For instance, when participants were sharing their stories about being discriminated

against due to their racial distinctiveness, it was helpful for them to recall memories or organize

their thoughts when I exemplified with a range of episodes of my own. This support often led to

deeper discussions about the racialization in Canada and how it is intertwined with their

development of sense of belonging.

3.2. Context

This study examines the Francisation experience of racialized migrants in the city of Montreal. As the city in the province of Quebec with the most non-French-speaking residents in Quebec, Montreal is often regarded as the place that would significantly influence the future of French language within the Quebec province (Bouffard, 2015). The influx of immigration into Quebec is mostly concentrated in the Greater Montreal area where over 85% of immigrants in Quebec chose to land in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016). Further, these immigrants and their children comprise 65% of the English-speaking population in Quebec (Houle, 2019). Therefore, Montreal provides an adequate space for surveying immigrants' French learning experience. As Ellyson et al. (2016) state, the most populous cities in Canada as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal are usually responsible for shaping the first contact experience of the majority of immigrants. Thus, in order to imagine ways to improve Quebec immigrants' experience, it is important to look into the linguistic supports that the government and collaborating institutions provide for immigrants in Montreal.

The most palpable characteristic of the Greater Montreal area in relation to the rest of Quebec is its demographic and linguistic plurality. It has been reported that there are more than 250 ethnic and cultural origins as well as more than 160 languages spoken in the city (Statistics Canada, 2019). 70.6% of immigrants in Montreal speak languages other than French or English as their first language, and most of them have knowledge of French, English, or both as their additional language. Therefore, Montreal is the most trilingual city in Canada; nearly one in five people use three or more languages (Statistics Canada, 2022). This multiplicity is salient in most corners of public, private, and commercial areas in Montreal. Lamarre (2013) documents the fluid linguistic practices of Montreal youths that blur the boundaries between national languages and calls for a shift from the strict compartmentalization of Francophone, Anglophone, and

Allophone divisions. Galante and dela Cruz (2021) also report that, among the 250 participants who were recruited via an English-speaking university in Montreal, 92.5% self-identified as plurilingual and 88.2% did so as pluricultural. That means, a vast majority of the participants thought that they are comfortable with two or more languages and cultures, suggesting that this plurality has become the 'new norm' in a multilingual context as the city of Montreal.

3.3. Participants

For this study, I chose to employ purposeful sampling (Maxwell, 2013) as a recruitment scheme. The purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research and aims to deliberately select "particular settings, persons, or activities […] to provide information that is particularly relevant to [researchers'] questions and goals" (p. 99). This articulation guided me to confine the target group of participants to Montreal residents who have three or more months' experience of taking Francisation courses. Also, they were required to have a background of migration from locations other than the province of Quebec. These qualifications were clearly stated in the recruitment flyer (Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer) that was prepared both in English and French language versions. A few Facebook pages were selected for posting the flyer; communities for Montreal residents, an English-language community for immigrants in Quebec, and a French-language community for immigrants in Quebec were initially approached for recruitment. Later, I also reached out to an online Korean diaspora community. The flyer was posted in compliance with rules of each online community and the consent of owners of the pages. After the first round of solicitation, I asked participants to pass on the recruitment flyers to those meeting the requirements, using snowball sampling (Parker et al., 2019). I offered to give an Amazon gift card worth $25 CAD for each of the interviewees. A total of 12 participants gave their consent to

take part in the study and nine of them continued through the whole data collection process. Three of the participants withdrew from this study, one by directly expressing their intent to stop the participation and two by not responding to my attempt to guide them further into the interview process. None of those three participants undertook an interview, but they all completed a demographic survey form and provided me with their consent forms. I have discarded these two data sources of theirs before the data analysis phase.

All of the nine participants identified themselves as visible minorities, and the lengths of their residency in Quebec ranged from 4.5 months to 10 years. This wide range was useful for me to look at the integration process from the very beginning into their long-term residency. Therefore, I tried to focus more on the data of participants who have lived in Quebec over three years when I analyzed their sense of belonging towards the Quebec society. Also, the level of Francisation courses they were taking at the time of interview spanned from Level 1 to Level 7, if they had not already completed the highest level. The Francisation program comprises two types of programs, full-time and part-time courses, and they are each operated under different curricula and timeframe. Full-time courses have four levels, generally operated for six to eight hours a day, and five days a week. On the other hand, there are a total of eight levels in part-time Francisation programs, and they offer courses with flexible schedules to meet the needs of learners who are working full-time. This study includes three participants who experienced full-time coursework, and six with part-time experience. There is one current registrant of level 1 part-time course, and those who finished off all levels. This wide range provided rich opportunities to observe differing perspectives among migrants depending on their diverse prior experience in Quebec. The following table contains more detailed information of participants.

Table 1

Demographic Information of Participants

Pseudonym (Gender)	Country of Origin	First Language(s)	Additional Language(s)	Current Level in Francisation Program	Duration of Residency in Montreal	Self-identified Racial Identity
Mahalia (Female)	The Philippines	Tagalog	English	Finished all four levels (Full-time)	1 year and 10 months	Visible Minority
Jay (Female)	South Korea	Korean	English, French	Level 7 (Part-time)	3 years and 2 months	Visible Minority
Jimin (Female)	South Korea	Korean	English, French	Level 2 (Part-time)	1 year and 4 months	Visible Minority
April (Female)	China	Cantonese	English, French	Finished all four levels (Full-time)	10 years	Visible Minority
Riley (Female)	Mexico	Spanish	English	Finished all four levels (Full-time)	3 years	Visible Minority
Suho (Male)	South Korean	Korean	English French	Level 3 (Part-time)	5 years	Visible Minority
Aashvi (Female)	India	Hindi	English	Level 1 (Part-time)	4.5 months	Visible Minority
Meera (Female)	India	Marathi	Hindi, English, German, Sanskrit, French	Finished all eight levels (Part-time)	4 years	Visible Minority
Rebecca (Female)	China	Cantonese	English, French, Mandarin, Korean	Level 7 (Part-time)	2 years and 8 months	Visible Minority

This study originally did not intend to recruit only visible minority participants. Although one of the important foci of this study is looking at the lived experience of racialized migrants, I did not preclude racially white participants from this study so as to widen the purview of data and compare data sets from each racial group. However, it was a coincidence that the participants who applied to take part in the study were all racialized migrants from a range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In their interviews, they discussed multiple episodes in which they were racially discriminated against in their daily life, often times with the entanglement of their language.

3.4. Data Collection

This study employs narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Hiles et al., 2009) as its core research methodology. Narrative inquiry refers to the qualitative research methodology that regards human beings as "storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). It stipulates that the role of a researcher is to co-construct and re-construct participants' storied experience, using not only the content of the story told but also who is telling the story and the ways that the story is told (Hiles et al., 2009). In other words, by tapping into participants' narratives, the collected data provide rich space to discursively "uncover multiple sociocultural, sociohistorical, and rhetorical influences" within those stories (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 217). Thus, this narrative approach and its interconnected nature of micro interactions and macro social structure in life story interviews (Atkinson, 2007) are adequate for making meaning of implicit and explicit discourses about language ideologies in participants' stories.

Most of the studies that aim to examine language ideologies and their workings on people's linguistic practices take on ethnography as their methodological orientation. Ethnographic methodology refers to the examination of a full range of social behaviors in a target context, mostly accompanied by the longitudinal, fully-immersed fieldwork of a researcher using multiple methods of collecting and analyzing data (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Despite the conventional suitability of ethnography, there are two main reasons why this study takes a different path. First, the entire process of this research was impacted by the COVID 19 pandemic, and this special circumstance made some defining steps of ethnographic fieldwork unfeasible. For example, most of French learning courses operated in Francisation institutions, which refer to universities, CÉGEPs, and community organizations that operate Francisation courses in collaboration with the Quebec government, shifted toward the online course delivery, limiting opportunities to observe classroom interactions. The second and more important reason was that the narrative inquiry approach, as an alternative, provided me an effective window for answering my research questions by enabling me to get richer understandings about each participant's experience. That is, I was able to better detect the implicitly manifested ideological discourses within their articulations that were usually unintended to spawn such nuance by adding layers of place (their experience within their source country and in Montreal), temporality (stories prior to, during, and after the Francisation experience) and sociality (their personal, professional, institutional relationship within Montreal and Quebec) which are three crucial methodological dimensions of narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Following a few of studies that deal with language ideologies in educational contexts by taking narrative inquiry as their main methodological framework (e.g., Ferri & Magne, 2021; Hatoss, 2020; Henderson, 2022), this study also aims to benefit from rich accounts of participants' life stories as a valuable

resource for understanding their ideological experience and perspectives within Francisation courses.

The data collection process began by collecting consent forms (Appendix B: Participant Consent Form). The demographic survey form (Appendix C: Demographic Survey Form), put together by using Microsoft Forms, was then disseminated via email prior to the semi-structured interviews. This survey addressed their racial, ethnic, and linguistic information as well as the duration of their Francisation experience. I asked if they perceived themselves as visible minorities after providing the definition of the category mandated by the Employment Equity Act (Statistics Canada, 2016), and if others see them as visible minorities. Information about their countries of origin and their first and additional languages were also amassed. Then, the questionnaire asked more detailed information about their Francisation experience, such as the level of program they were currently enrolled in or the highest level that they had completed. Another item asked why they left the Francisation program if they were not enrolled in the program at that time. This questionnaire ended by giving them options to interview in English, French, or Korean, and informed them that a translator could accompany us if they chose to be interviewed in French. This information was greatly helpful for the preparation of each interview session as well as more contextualized understandings about the collected data.

I sent out the interview protocol to interviewees the day before the scheduled interview to give them some time to think about what to share. This decision was made based on the methodological guidance of narrative inquiry; in order for their life story to be concrete and specific enough, they needed time to immerse themselves in recounting their experience. In addition, some of the questions that are cognitively heavier than others would need sufficient time to be contemplated beforehand. For example, the answers to the questions about the general

flow of their Francisation courses, demolinguistic information about their teachers, or notable experiences regarding their interactions with classmates might be much more precise and detailed if they had time to consult relevant materials or take notes of them in advance. Therefore, in an email with which I was sharing the interview protocol, I also recommended that they revisit any documentations regarding their Francisation experience including their journal entries, classroom materials, or written conversations (e.g., emails, texts) with classmates if possible.

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant, ranging from 45 minutes to 120 minutes per session for the first round, and 20 to 30 minutes for the second one. The first round of interviews was undertaken in December 2021, and the second sessions were conducted from January to May 2022. The main points for examining research questions were mostly tackled in the first interview, and the second session followed for clarification questions and to reveal information they forgot to mention in the first one. In concert with the additional interview session, email exchanges were used to perform member-checking process; this method refers to the process through which a researcher confirms their interpretations of the interview data with the very informants who provided those pieces of information (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). The sessions were video-recorded via Microsoft Teams with an option to turn off their camera if they wished to do so. With the transcribing function embedded in Teams, I could obtain the Microsoft Word documents that were loosely, but not accurately transcribed scripts. I finished transcribing with a free software for manual-transcription, ExpressScribe. These cleaned scripts were then imported to Nvivo, a qualitative analysis software, for data analysis.

The main interview flowed along the four major phases of their past experience (Appendix D: Interview Protocols): (a) life before coming to Montreal, (b) experience upon

arrival, (c) learning in Francisation courses, and (d) life after the Francisation courses. These topics were briefly mentioned at the beginning of each interview session as a casual reminder. It is important to note that the three participants of South Korean origin were interviewed in Korean and English, and their interviews were transcribed in the language of the interview. As the coding process fluidly involved Korean and English, I judged that translating the Korean transcripts into English would be necessary. The translation process occurred after the data were analysed. Any excerpts relevant to a certain topic was first identified and I translated them into Korean. The translations were double-checked by one Quebec resident fluent in Korean, English, and French.

One crucial point worth mentioning is the particularity of the key theme of this study, language ideologies. The language ideologies are not usually explicitly manifested, nor they are overtly articulated (Kroskrity, 2010). Moreover, the term cannot be directly included in interview questions because most participants usually have no prior knowledge about the field of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistic, or language ideologies. Therefore, I intended to organize the interview protocol using three strands of language ideologies: nationalist language ideologies, standard language ideologies, and monolingual ideologies. That is, in the course of their narrating, I asked questions about the topics derived from the literature review as part of the interview protocols I developed. For example, I asked their opinions about the hostile stance toward English language in Francisation, their knowledge and perceptions about different French varieties in Francisation programs, and French-only rules employed in their classrooms. Often times, these themes emerged during their narration without having to intentionally surface them.

3.5. Data Analysis

In the data analysis stage, I merged two reciprocal and reiterative dimensions of analyzing schemes: a content analysis research method (Drisko & Maschi, 2016) and a critical narrativist approach (Hickson, 2016). Content analysis refers to "a research technique for making a replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). Among its various offshoots, I pursue qualitative content analysis procedure that adapts the core steps of content analysis towards a qualitative research tradition (Mayring, 2000). This approach is useful in deriving codes from texts both inductively and deductively. And because this study relies on both deductive analysis (framing texts, or data, in three strands of language ideologies found in the review of literature) and inductive (exploring texts for newly emerging codes), this analytic approach is consistent with the process of my intended flow of research. However, because the content analysis method was mainly developed for descriptive research rather than for studies that require an interpretive or critical stance, I added the critical narrativist approach created by Hickson (2016). Maintaining its focus on the narrative inquiry research tradition, the critical narrativist approach enmeshes this narrative scholarship with principles of critical reflection (Fook & Gardener, 2013): researcher reflexivity, deconstruction of knowledge and how it is obtained, and consciousness of power dynamic. Being mindful of these principles, Hickson urges us to look into the "multiple truths in the data" (p. 387). That being said, to reveal hidden assumptions that participants as well as myself hold about language and society, it is important to iteratively attend to the way I, as a researcher, perceive the world, what knowledge or opinions participants present me through their stories and why they got meaningful to them, and how all these processes are imbued with power struggles in the Quebec society.

For this study, there are four main methods of collecting data: (a) demographic survey form, (b) semi-structured interviews, (c) email exchanges, and (d) classroom materials. Among these four data sources, information in demographic survey form and semi-structured interviews were imported into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software, for more systemic coding. On the other hand, the text within email exchanges was not analyzed through NVivo but rather grouped together in an Inbox folder of my Microsoft Outlook email account. This decision was made because these communications were mainly for confirming my interpretations about participants' remarks. Lastly, the classroom materials were gathered from only those participants who agreed to share their own materials. Because audio files were also included along with the images and texts in these materials, I chose to make notes of any emerging thoughts while going through the materials and include this information through the Memo function in NVivo.

Here are more concrete steps I took for data analysis. Overall, I mainly followed the recommended steps of qualitative content analysis, while constantly (re)visiting critical reflection principles every time I encountered chunks of texts in which participants intentionally or unintentionally disclosed their perspectives about language in Quebec. First, I immersed myself into the collected data during the transcription phase followed by a round of thorough reading of the transcripts. While reading through the data for the first time, I tried to focus on deductively finding codes relevant to the pre-established categories of language ideologies (nationalist language ideologies, standard language ideologies, and monolingual ideologies). The reason why I employed the deductive coding schemes at this point was because it was highly effective and efficient to directly answer the first research question: What language ideologies are salient in the literature on Quebec language ideologies, and how do they manifest in Francisation programs?

The first phase of deductive coding was subsequently conducted. Importantly, throughout this process, I returned to the audio files and listened carefully not only the content of participants' remarks, but also to the way they told their story or what they did not reveal certain information about. This critical narrativist approach allowed me to dig deeper into the underlying assumptions hidden in the given narratives and provided more codes to incorporate into larger themes. The second round of coding concentrated on inductively emerging codes while also adhering to critical reflection practices as needed. The collected codes were then cleaned and grouped together into higher-level codes through the process of formative reliability check (Mayring, 2000), a series of revisions for discarding rarely used codes as well as reviewing the hierarchy or levels of codes. The less relevant codes were not discarded but categorized as an 'extra' theme to be revisited in the future. Three levels of code hierarchy were formulated, and the codes in the highest level were then sorted into three categories, each relevant to one of the research questions. Notably, the codes from inductive and deductive coding processes were not separated as mutually exclusive but lumped together to serve as a combined set of lowest codes for probing the three research questions.

In addition, it is important to note here that the terms depicting language ideologies have fuzzy boundaries. For example, Vessey (2021), in her study of the language ideologies manifested in tweets about the 2019 Canadian national election, underlines that national language ideologies give rise to, and encompass, other forms of conceptions such as standard and monolingual language ideologies. Moreover, the tendency to preserve the linguistic purity of national or minority languages is sometimes regarded as reflecting nationalist ideologies of language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) and at other times as advocating for monolingualism as the norm (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In other words, even though I might analyse one episode and

judge that a certain kind of language ideologies manifests there, it is always possible that other ideologies are also at play in the same episode. Thus, I acknowledge that my connecting of one event to one language ideology, which will appear frequently in the following chapters, is not an accurate way of describing manifestations of language ideologies. However, I tend to follow this path for the sake of convenience in delivery, because the chapters will be very lengthy and confusing if I lay out every possible term or concept associated with a particular linguistic practice.

3.6. Ensuring Rigor of the Study

Throughout the process of data collection and analysis, I took an array of steps to secure the rigor of this study. First, richer data was actively sought by drawing on multi-layered narratives not just about Francisation courses but also about the entire course of their life stories with supplementary resources gathered for triangulation (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Moreover, participants' use of ambiguous terms or expressions were clarified with an additional interview session or email exchanges as part of the respondent validation process. Lastly, for transparency and reliability (Drisko & Maschi, 2016), I tried to describe the process of data collection and analysis as concretely as possible. In addition, I also tried to

In this chapter, I gave an overview about the methodological choices I made throughout this study. I firstly revealed my positionality as a researcher and informed the locality of Montreal, Quebec as a space in which this study is situated. I then gave an account of the process of data collection and analysis, providing the ways in which I tried to ensure the trustworthiness of this study. In the following chapter, I present the results of the analysis process in the order of the research questions of this study.

Chapter 4. Findings

This research aims to answer the following three research questions: (a) What language ideologies are salient in the literature on Quebec language ideologies, and how do they manifest in Francisation programs? (b) What are the perspectives of racialized migrants on these language ideologies? (c) What role do these ideologies play in developing racialized migrants' sense of belonging in Quebec society through the Francisation program?

This chapter presents the results of data analysis with detailed accounts of participants' remarks and the context in which these remarks took shape. More specifically, I first briefly summarize the three strands of language ideologies that I targeted in this study – nationalist language ideologies, standard language ideologies, and monolingual ideologies – and report how these ideologies manifested in and around the Francisation educational context. Then the participants' perspectives about these ideologies are subsequently addressed. Lastly, I consider how the influence of these ideologies within Francisation courses impacts participants' sense of belonging or membership into the Quebec society.

It is important to acknowledge that the racialized migrants' experience about the language ideologies in Francisation courses and the development of their perspectives about them could not be addressed separately from the private and professional lives they led throughout the learning process. Therefore, I included their experiences outside of the Francisation context in this analysis if they were regarded as relevant to answering the research questions.

4.1. Language Ideologies Manifested in and around Francisation

This section reports the groups of language ideologies addressed in Chapter 2 and reveal how they explicitly or implicitly appeared in the practices in the Francisation context. Previously in Chapter 2, I identified the three strands of language ideologies prominent in the Quebec setting, established their definitions for this study, and organized the instances in which these ideologies are at work through the review of the literature. In the following, I briefly remind the reader of the definition of each group of ideologies and its manifestations in the literature. Then I compare these accounts to the themes emerged in the data.

4.1.1. Nationalist Language Ideologies

As shown in Chapter 3, nationalist language ideologies were defined as a set of beliefs that regard language as a primary tool for forming, maintaining, and enhancing a united sense of national identity. When this shared identity is under the threat of being diluted by or assimilated to that of a politically and economically stronger group, the preservation and promotion of a national language becomes one of the most useful strategies to safeguard their collective distinctiveness (Anderson, 2006). In the Quebec context, these ideologies are salient in the legislative efforts for protecting French as its official and common language in major public sectors as courts, government offices, commercial sites, and educational institutions (Oakes & Peled, 2017). In quotidian interactions at the microsocial level, they tend to manifest as hostility towards English language usage (Jean-Pierre, 2018), so far as English language is both regarded as most threatening for French survival. This perception gets more profound when it is intertwined with the discourse of the historical subordination of French-Canadians in relation to Anglophone elites.

This antagonistic stance toward English was not much noticed in classroom reality of Francisation courses, although *French-only rules* as a pedagogical choice seemed to be prevalent (this will be addressed more in depth in section 4.3. Standard language ideologies). Rather, Francisation institutions that are not necessarily willing to accommodate learners in English covertly convey their ideological stance. For example, Jay and April shared that the communications with their institution were so far conducted mostly in French even when they were at the beginning level of learning French.

> 다른 분들도 많이 공감하실 텐데, 불어를 못하는 상황에서 이제 배우러 가는 거잖아요. 근데 이제 등록하는 때부터도 영어를 할 수 있는 분이 기관에 안 계세요. 그래서 다 불어로 해야 되니까 많이 어려웠죠, 등록하는 것부터. I think most people would relate to this. We are there to learn French because we could not speak French. But there were no English-speaking staff in the institution. So, it was really difficult to register for the course, from the very beginning. (Jay, translated by Moon, derived from the first round of interview, hereafter interview 1)

> Receptionists don't speak a word of English. Even if you tried, they don't. So, that part was intimidating. And also, [they are] the administrative staffs, right? They are another, different type of people, meaning that they're not teachers, so they don't need to be patient with you. That's what I meant. I'm not saying they are bad people. (April, derived from the second round of interview, hereafter interview 2)

Here, they addressed the hardship of having to communicate in French with administrative staff prior to developing a sufficient level of proficiency. April later vindicated the staff's less-accommodating practices stating that they are not teachers to be "patient" with French learners. This remark seemed to reveal April's underlying assumption that French speakers had negative underlying feelings towards speakers of languages other than French, especially English. In fact, even though the unwelcoming sentiment towards English usage was not strongly manifested in Francisation classrooms, most participants reported that it was deeply embedded in their every life. For example, Mahalia, a Filipino immigrant, recounted her

experience at a pharmacy in Montreal, where she tried to communicate in English with no

success.

> There was one time I went to the pharmacy and the lady there, the pharmacist, was [a] French [speaker]. And she was talking to me in French. I was not enrolled in my Francisation yet, so I was trying to talk to her in English, and then she was still answering me in French which became really difficult. I believe that, although there are some people who are very welcoming of immigrants, there are of course some in the society who does not have the patience. Or maybe they're just having a bad day to, you know, to adjust to another person's language, or you know. (Mahaila, interview 1)

She also justified this situation, like April, that the pharmacist did not have the patience

with her and she (the pharmacist) might have been having a bad day, implying she acknowledges

that speaking in English could meet with blunt reactions. Riley, an immigrant from Mexico,

shared a similar experience when she was buying a cup of tea at a cafe in a French-instructed

university in Montreal and got scolded by a worker to talk in French.

> Actually, one time, because my husband, he's a student, so I went to his university, and I was waiting for him. In the cafeteria, I asked for a tea. And I just told the lady if she could give me a tea in English. And she got mad, and she told me 'We only speak French here.' So, I was a bit shocked because, I mean, it's a university. There are international students. I mean it's…(did not finish her sentence). (Riley, interview 1)

These incidents illustrate how a simple, quotidian task such as shopping at a pharmacy or

ordering a cup of tea can be moments of recognizing hostility towards English. In fact, seven out

of nine participants mentioned that such instances have happened before, and three of them

verified that these incidents became one of the reasons why they were motivated to learn French.

For the participants, the Quebec provincial governments' provision of Francisation courses were

a strikingly generous language learning program, especially in a financial sense.

> 근데 여전히 저는 그래도 감사한 게, 돈을 저희가 받으면서 공부를 할 수 있다는 거. 진짜 저는 이런 나라가 어디 있나 싶어요, 저는. […] 사실 덴마크에 있을 때도, 덴마크어 공부를 하긴 했는데, 공짜이긴 했어요. 근데 돈을 주는 건 아니었거든요. 그게 참 고마워요, 저는.

이런 시스템이. Well, I still appreciate that we are able to be paid to learn a language. I honestly think it's one of a kind. […] In fact, when I was in Denmark, it was free to learn Danish there. But it did not pay me. I feel so grateful about this system. (Jay, translated by Moon, interview 1)

I would just say, I don't know, I mean, I appreciate Francisation, because it's cheap, right? It gives even $50 (the value may vary) or so who meet [the eligibility for] financial assistance. So, I appreciate that. And, it's definitely one of the better programs. (April, interview 1)

The *MIFI* provides financial assistance to those who are enrolled in the Francisation programs and meet the eligibility for such a benefit. This arrangement alludes to the significance that the Quebec government put in promoting migrants' Francisation and their contribution for conserving French-dominant Quebec. Most of participants found this to be an extraordinary offer and were grateful for this assistance. In addition, at a deeper level, the operation and management of Francisation programs, and its provision of financial assistance, is also intertwined with the effort to establish a stable national identity. This identity links various social groups in Quebec together by the collective language of French (Oakes & Warren, 2007; Bouffard, 2015). This conception impacted the provision of Francisation courses, which also shows another way of nationalist language ideologies at work.

In sum, the nationalist language ideologies around the Francisation programs mainly manifest as language practices in administration of Francisation institutions. The administrative staffs of some Francisation centers did not accommodate migrants' linguistic needs by choosing to communicate only in French. This stance closely resembles the experience of participants in their daily life, in which they felt unwelcome when they used English in various sectors including commercial sites. These incidents collectively sent an implicit message that demerits English language usage in public life within Quebec, impacting migrants' decision to learn French. The financial support of the Quebec government for Francisation learners was also

another point of understanding how the government tries to foster the Quebec national identity

through the *francisation* of migrants.

4.1.2. Standard Language Ideologies

In the review of the literature, I have defined standard language ideologies as beliefs that

one variety of language is concerned as superior to the others, and the linguistic forms and

practices of that particular variety deserve to be prioritized in institutional settings as new media,

corporate communications, and educational contexts. This strand of ideologies is noticeable

mostly in the form of implicit rankings of multiple French varieties. Previous research well

establishes that the historical marginalization of Quebec French variety has been faded over time,

and both the manifestive and latent prestige of the Quebec French has been successfully elevated

in Quebec society (Chalier, 2018; Guertin, 2017; Šebková et al., 2020). However, it is also

revealed that the Parisian French variety, or also termed as international French, is still perceived

as more correct, professional, and marking socioeconomically privileged position (Chalier,

2018). The versions other than these two varieties, for example the Haitian and Cameroonian

varieties, were largely excluded from the spotlight. If they were noticed, they were associated

with their foreign-ness and low comprehensibility. Here, I will use the term *Quebec French* to

refer to the French variety that is deemed to be perceived as standard accent in Quebec. Further,

the term *international French* will be used to indicate a variety of French mainly considered to

be standard in Paris. However, I acknowledge that the *standard* is an elusive conception that

cannot be objectively pinpointed. I also advocate for the view that this standardization process

reflects the power dynamic between linguistic communities rather than the values or correctness

innate within certain language varieties or linguistic registers (Lippi-Green, 1994; Milroy &

Milroy, 2012). Therefore, it is important to note that the terms *Quebec French* and *international French* indicate the collection of people's diverse perceptions around the regions, language forms and practices, and speakers of the varieties. They do not reflect fixed entities of linguistic characteristics or practices.

In the Francisation context, the undertone of locating international French as a pedagogical standard was particularly conspicuous. Especially, some instructors of these courses tend to prioritize international French as the variety of French used in their classrooms. Mahalia pointed out that, not only her teachers from Iran and Algeria, but also one of her teachers in Francisation used an international French variety even though he was from Quebec.

> Yeah, but I think it was the French-French (international French) because I think the only Québécois teacher that I got was Level 4, Mr. P. […] The level one and two, Mme. M, she is Iranian. And by Level 3, Madame K, she is Algerian. So, I guess they were teaching the French-French because they were not really Québécois. Even Mr. P, he was not really teaching the Québécois French, so, it (his pedagogical variety) was a French-French. (Mahalia, interview 1)

It is also interesting that, like Mr. P in Mahalia's description, other participants referred to teachers from Quebec who chose to teach in international French. They used an international French accent in general, and separately introduced vocabulary or colloquial expressions exclusively used in Quebec.

> Because when people speak in French, especially in Quebec, the pronunciation or accent or the way they say something is different from people who speak in French in France. So, in school, all the teachers try to find the balance between, not pronouncing the word or using the expression very Québécois. They tried to be a professional teacher, [by] not saying some slangs or not pronouncing in the Quebec way. They will share some basic vocabulary and expressions with us. [For example] for the vocabulary, for the car, they will say voiture, but instead in Quebec, it's car [*sic*] (*car* is not often used among Quebec Francophones; instead, *auto* is frequently used). (Rebecca, interview 1)

In that excerpt, Rebecca explained that teachers tried to balance their Quebec French and international French because, according to her teachers, erasing their Quebec accents and phrases was considered more professional in a pedagogical context. The association of international French with eliteness, professionalism, and correctness corresponds with result in the studies of Chalier (2018) and Šebková et al. (2020) which reported that the international French variety still holds socioeconomic prestige. Riley discussed one teacher who overtly discriminated against the Quebec French variety:

> My teacher from Level 4, she was very strict on us learning French from France. Uhm, it was completely different from our first teacher. And we were actually excited to have her because they had told me that she was a very good teacher. She had like 25 years of experience, and we were like, 'Oh yeah, so it's going to be fun.' So, the first of the second week, I think, we had learned expressions. You know, Quebec expressions with that other teacher (her first teacher indicated above). And she told us, no, that's not real French. I just felt like, 'But we're in Quebec.' I mean, I'd like it if we're going to learn how to communicate in a more comfortable way with Quebecers, we should learn some slang from here, you know? (Riley, interview 1)

In her recount of the second Francisation teacher she met, Riley described how the instructor called Quebec French "not real French." Riley recalled that she initially felt uncomfortable about this stigmatization, and she later corroborated her impression when her partner, a Francophone who was born in Quebec, felt extremely offended by this denigration.

Importantly, it is observable that there is a hidden ideological discourse from Riley's account; Riley characterized the learning of Quebec French as "to learn some slang from here." This word choice of "slang" reveals that students in Francisation not only get influenced by language ideologies being circulated, but also are themselves active holders of each of their own ideologies. Participants displayed an array of thoughts that were probably conceived prior to their Francisation experience, including how they regard international French as a standard,

official, neutral variety, whereas Quebec French is viewed as a slangy, unofficial, and colloquial

one. For example, when referring to international French, April worded it as "standard variety"

and Rebecca used the term "neutral tone." Similarly, Mahalia disclosed her own assumptions

about these two varieties of French while explicating the roles of each teacher in the Francisation

programs.

> We were learning the French-French, like the real French, although we also were taught
> about the slangs, the Quebec slangs, but mostly it's with our animateur. For the
> [grammatical] theory, for the professor, it would be the 'French-French.' So, I guess
> European French. For the other slang, it would be an animateur who would tell us, but we
> did learn with the 'souper,' or the 'dîner,' how it's different. (Mahalia, interview 1)

Here, Mahalia briefly uses "real French" and "European French" to specify which variety

she meant by "French-French." She subconsciously refers to international French as "real,"

implying that this variety is original and legitimate, and others are less so. Her comment about

Quebec French and its association with "slang" is also noteworthy. To exemplify what she learnt

as slangs, she mentioned the well-known divergence of vocabulary between international and

Quebec French about the word to have dinner, "souper" and "dîner." Linking the official

vocabulary as "souper" to the notion of slang that is often used to mark informality and the

strong group identity of its users, she conceptualizes Quebec French and its distinctiveness as

informal and confined to a certain group of people. Not only Mahalia, four out of six participants

who were interviewed in English also used "slang" to refer to Quebec French when no

participants did so for any portion of the international French variety.

Among many factors that could have affected this discourse, two topics in a Francisation

context stood out: the prominence of international French in French learning resources and the

dual instructor system of *professeur-animateur* distinction specific to the full-time Francisation

courses. In a full-time francisation program, the morning periods are usually led by a *professeur*

who takes charge of instructions about French literacy and grammatical concepts. After

lunchtime, an animateur runs the remaining periods, who mainly facilitates speaking activities

and sometimes provides linguistic support for migrants' job searching in French language. In this

duality, the *professeur-animateur* system also played a role in shaping their perception about the

two varieties of French. Three participants who have experienced full-time courses mentioned

that the *professeurs* often used the international French variety sometimes even when they are

from Quebec. In addition, two out of these three felt that the *animateurs* who used the Quebec

French variety were sometimes not accommodating to the learners' level of French by speaking

too fast and using contractions that were harder for them to comprehend.

> All our animateurs, they were actually all Québécois. […] Oh yeah, we had this
> animateur in level 3. His name was S, and he was Québécois-Québécois. Oh my God, I
> can barely understand him. He speaks really fast, and his accent was so Québécois. I
> always had to message my classmate like 'What is he talking? What did he say?' I really
> had to focus and stare at him just so I could understand him. You know what I mean?
> (Mahalia, interview 1)

> My Korean classmate, she told me that she understands nothing the animateur said. Yeah,
> it's very, very difficult for her to understand what the teacher is saying, speaking or
> expressing. And she told me that it's very frustrating because she doesn't get it, even
> though she wants to learn Quebec French. Because one main characteristic of Quebec
> French, they like to contract all the words. This is the problem. When they contract all the
> words and when we only listen in a class without seeing the whole sentence, we don't
> understand it. (Rebecca, interview 2)

The dichotomous roles between *professeurs* and *animateurs* seemed to contribute to

creating linkages of contrasting perceptions; on one hand, the variety of the international French

is concerned as a more formal, official, and pedagogically suitable variety. On the other hand,

Quebec French is connected to a more informal, hard-to-comprehend, and fast-paced variety.

However, this difficulty in learning Quebec French by no means points to participants'

unequivocal preference for international French. Actually, all three participants who explicitly

revealed their aspired version of French language preferred the Quebec variety, because they

wanted to continue to live in the region in harmony with local residents.

> Oh, in daily life, actually I can't speak in the Québécois tone as well because it's difficult
> for me to contract the pronunciations together. The reason I wanted to take the first step
> in learning French is because I know that I live in Quebec. Living in Quebec, I have to
> understand the culture, adapt to the environment, no matter to the weather, language,
> culture, or history, and everything. So, this is the reason why I had to start learning
> French, because I respect them, and I want to get involved and be one of them. So,
> personally, I hope one day, I could speak like Québécois as well. But I don't think it's the
> easy way. (Rebecca, interview 1).

This section demonstrates how the standard language ideologies mediate the linguistic

practices of Francisation instructors and language attitudes of Francisation learners. Some of the

French language teachers depicted by participants tended to display overt and covert upward

positioning of international French as a pedagogical norm, by employing this variety in their

classrooms or directly downplaying Quebec French as "not real French." The participants also

revealed their perception about which version of French language is set as a standard, by using

the terms as "real French", "standard French", or "neutral tone" in the interview as reference

terms for international French variety. Although Quebec French was valued as a tool for leading

a fully integrated life in Quebec, some participants felt it was difficult to comprehend, let alone

to acquire it.

4.1.3. Monolingual Ideologies

Monolingual ideologies were delineated in Chapter 2 as an encompassing term for beliefs

that put forth as an ideal a monolingual, native speaker of a certain variety of language. These

include the concomitant devaluing the multilingual practices, or only affording legitimacy to

multilinguals who have native-speaker level command of each language they speak, although the

benchmark for this *native-speaker level* is somewhat unclear. In the Quebec context, these

ideologies manifest in discourses that strictly set boundaries between languages to protect the

prestige and purity of language in power (Das, 2008), lead Anglophone Quebecers to strive for

French skills that are sufficient to *pass* as Francophones (Jean-Pierre, 2018), and delegitimize

plurilingual capacity of migrant-background students in Montreal public school settings (Ahooja

& Ballinger, 2018). In brief, monolingual ideologies in Quebec are mainly made visible through

the valuing of pure, intact forms of a dominant language, and devaluing of crossing boundaries

between languages.

In the Francisation context, the most frequently emerged topic in this regard was the

French-only, or the no-English rule in classrooms. All of the participants confirmed that the

French-only rule existed at least at certain points of their Francisation experience, if not

throughout. Four participants explicitly articulated their feelings of being lost in classrooms

because their teachers strictly adhered to leading lessons only in French.

> 처음엔 좀 고생 좀 했죠. 그냥 모르는 채로 다 수업이 끝나 버리고, 다음에 해 오는 숙제도 놓치고. […]뭘 어떻게 이해를 하냐는 거예요. 처음에 a, b, c, d (아, 베, 세, 데) 이거 배우고 있는데. 그걸 다, 발음할 때는 뭐 이렇게 해야 되고, 뭐 할 때는 이렇게 해야 되고, 또 뭐 내일 노트 갖고 와라, 프린트 해 와라, 뭐 화면 공유해라, 이걸 써라, 뭐 읽어라. 이걸 다 불어로 하는 거예요. 그럼 이해가 되겠어요? It was hard at first. Lessons just flew away while I had no idea what's happening, and I didn't even catch what the homework for next class was. […] They wouldn't let you talk unless it's in French. I don't understand that. I came here to learn French because I don't speak French. But they would just start explaining everything in French even at the beginner level. How would I understand any of that? I'm learning a, b, c, d, and they talk everything in French. You ought to pronounce that in this way, you do this and do that, bring a notebook tomorrow, you need to print these out, please share your screen with us, write this, read that… All of these were in French. How would it be possible for me to understand them? (Suho, translated by Moon, interview 1)

Suho identified the difficulties he had at the beginning of his Francisation program. With

no knowledge base to comprehend teachers' directives, his French learning was not effective for

the first few sessions.

In some cases, instructors refuted resorting to English or other languages in French learning. For example, Mahalia shared that her teacher stopped her from translating in English when comprehending or producing in French. Furthermore, she was also guided to stop learning from the English equivalency of French vocabulary or phrases.

> And at first, although it was not recommended, but when I learn something in French, I would always translate it to English word and they said 'Stop doing that because it's just a waste of time. It slows down your learning,' they said so. (Mahalia, interview 1)

> Yes. It's not allowed at all. My Level 1 teacher, she would really frown on you if you would explain something [in English]. One time, we were just trying to discuss the different types of accommodation like hotels or motels. And we were talking about student accommodation, and I accidentally said "*en anglais, le mot est* dormitory [in English, the word is dormitory]." And [she said] no, no, no, no, no. She didn't want [to hear that]. So, [she said] you can describe it in French and it's better than just using the English equivalent. She does not like that. […] For me, it always works like, sometimes when I would read something in English, I would try to translate it in French, and if I read something in French I would translate it in English. So, I would say that your knowledge of speaking in English is really useful in learning French. […] It's like a reflex. You really can't help it. (Mahalia, interview 1)

In here, Mahalia's teacher exposes the ideologies of monolingualism in language education that regard mixing languages as interfering with learner's language attainment rather than facilitating it. In line with this stance, Riley also reports the instructor's intolerant reaction to using an English translation as a tool for French learning.

> When you're learning a language, you tried to compare it either to your mother tongue or to another language to see if you [got it right]. There's a link. Someone would ask her, 'Is it the equivalent to this in English?' And they would say like the phrase or whatever, and she would be like no. Just no. Just don't compare French to English. She would just say no and that's it. (Riley, interview 1)

Similarly, Suho also met with an aloof response from his teacher when he shared his own

strategy of learning French language, which was listening to popular songs originally written in

English but later translated into French by French-speaking artists.

> 그런데 이런 것도 있어요. 요새, 실제 좋아하는 팝송이지만은 유투브에서 그 불어권 애들이
> 유명한 팝송을, 영어 팝송을 자기 불어로 바꿔 부른 게 있어요. 그런 거 찾아 듣죠. 내가
> 선생님한테 이거를 하나 보여줬거든. 불어로 부르는 노래지만은 원래 영어 노래다. 이런 거
> 듣는다고 알려 주면 선생님은 반응이 시큰둥 해. 불어 노래가 아니니까. 영어와 관련된 건
> 안 좋아해. 좀 시큰둥 하더라구요. Recently, I listen to popular songs on YouTube that
> French singers changed into French language. I showed my teacher one of those videos,
> saying it's in French language, but they were originally famous English songs. And her
> reaction was not good because it was not originally written in French. She did not like it
> when we do something with English. Well, I don't know, her reaction was a little bit
> underwhelmed. (Suho, translated by Moon, interview 2)

Although Suho did not directly get a negative response, he described how the teacher's

response was not as enthusiastic as he expected it to be. He noticed that using English songs for

learning French could appear as not appropriate from her view. Suho also realized later that

teachers warned their students to not use Quebec French expressions that have their stems in

English, such as using "*bienvenue*" or "*bon matin*" instead of "*de rien*" or "*bonjour.*" This

problematizing of Anglicism could have reinforced the discourses of pure French protection and

no-other-languages rule for French learners.

Another form of manifestation mediated by the monolingual ideologies is policing

students' accents. Riley criticized one teacher's rigidity that eventually made one of her

classmates cry by constantly demanding her to not sound like a Spanish speaker when talking in

French.

> And she would always critique our accent when we were talking French. I mean, as a
> Spanish Speaker, when I speak in French, I tend to pronounce it like if it was Spanish.
> And she would just tell us, 'Don't do that, that's wrong.' You can accept constructive
> criticism. But she was just very like… (did not finish her sentence) […] And it was in this
> incident that she made one of my colleagues cried. Because my friend, she was trying to
> pronounce it, and for me, it sounded OK. I mean, we're always gonna have an accent

because it's not our mother tongue. And she (her classmate) was just trying and trying, and she (the teacher) just screamed at her, and she literally started to cry there in front of everyone. (Riley, interview 1)

In here, the teacher requires the level of native speaker pronunciation to her students and assesses learners' speech in relation to that unreachable native standard. Accordingly, the teacher here exhibits her ideological stance that pursues a monolingual ideal in a pedagogical context.

However, those teachers who support this ideology of monolingualism in language education did not represent the whole. Some instructors embraced and practiced the pedagogies of bi/multi/plurilingualism that actively benefit from learners' existing linguistic repertoires, sometimes despite their lack of knowledge about English language. For instance, Aashvi recounted that one of her teachers tried her best to accommodate their learners in English even though she did not seem to be fluent in the language. In this case, she strategically allowed her students to participate in English by letting them guess the meaning of French words and phrases.

> Yeah, but I feel like, when needed, she uses English as well. So, if she had to explain something and if someone doesn't understand it, she is not very fluent in English, so she acts it out to show, to tell us what she's meant, what she's trying to say. If we don't understand, people will throw a few English words to guess what she's saying and that's how we end up understanding a few things. So, like for example, if she wants to talk about a heater, she would point out something and people will guess if she's talking about the floor or if she's talking about the heater. So, it's not really 'no English' in our class, at least. (Aashvi, interview 1)

On some occasions, Francisation learners benefit from teachers with good command of French and English. Meera recalled that it was really helpful to have a teacher who also speaks English with high proficiency.

> I think I was lucky enough to get a very good teacher because she was speaking in the international accent and her English was perfect. She herself had gone to China to teach

English for one year, yeah. So, I think I was lucky enough to start off with one of the best teachers. (Meera, interview 1)

Furthermore, there was one teacher who extensively made use of linguistic resources of learners. His learners felt welcomed in his classroom because their linguistic and cultural origins were respected by him.

Well, actually with him he was more flexible. And he's just a very curious person. So, because we all came from all over the world, he would ask us in our language, like a little phrase that he googled, stuff like that. Yeah, I mean, if you asked him one on one, he would send you materials and then you could look over it. And actually he would look for stuff in our mother tongue. There was one of my classmates, she wanted a dictionary from Bangladesh to French, and it was taking her so long to find it. And then he finally found it and he sent her the link. He would go that extra mile with us. He would help us a lot more. (Riley, interview 1)

In here, the teacher engaged in pedagogies that do not limit the tools for learning languages to the confine of the target language. This perspective urges us to reach beyond the view of monolingual ideologies that do not recognize the value of migrants' linguistic capacity. By making efforts of researching several expressions in learners' first languages in advance, and by supporting a learner with materials in her own language of origin, he not only facilitated their French learning with adequate materials but also contributed to sending messages to migrants that they were in a safe, welcoming space to be proud of their own identity.

On the whole, the monolingual ideologies were shaped in various forms in the Francisation context and profoundly impacted migrants' learning experience. By employing French-only, or no-English rules while paying no attention to learners' prior knowledge about French, the teaching practices in the Francisation classrooms became a tool of reproducing monolingualism as a norm. This set of ideologies might take other forms, such as refusing any interference of languages other than French, and rejecting accents deemed not meeting the

standard of monolingual native speakers. At the same time, a few teachers were willing to take a

different path by encouraging learners to use their multilingual repertoires in their language

learning process.

4.2. Racialized Migrants' Perspectives about these Ideologies

To fully understand how these ideologies impacted racialized migrants, it is important to

explore the perspective these migrants held about them. The way we make sense of the world

and the basis on which they make value judgments are in constant influx, interacting with

various social issues in multiple dimensions of their lives. Therefore, I acknowledge that the

views and opinions in this section only represent snapshots of their fluctuating perceptions about

language ideologies they have experienced in Francisation as well as in their social lives. Thus,

these accounts are limited such that I cannot pinpoint exactly how, when, and why these

perceptions took shape. However, these results are meaningful in that they provide critical lenses

with which we can magnify the agency of learners. They do not merely accept and internalize the

dominant ideologies, but rather actively construct their own ideological stance.

This section comprises two subsections within a spectrum: one end being the total

acceptance of the ideologies, and the other total rejection and resistance. Most of the views

presented in this section fell somewhere along this spectrum, oscillating between acceptance and

resistance.

4.2.1. Views Inclined towards Acceptance

This section introduces the views that shed a more positive light on the language

ideologies within the Francisation context. Generally, most participants considered the French-

Only rule, pervasive in most of classes in Francisation programs, to be appropriate and helpful.

However, some maintained an ambivalent stance claiming that, while it was a necessary measure

for enhancing their French skills in everyday life, this does not meet the needs of beginning

learners.

> I think it's fair. I mean, we're there to learn French, so why am I speaking another
> language? I think it's totally acceptable in that sense. (April, interview 1)

> I think it was very good. It was very helpful because I think that's the only way you learn.
> Like I said, complete immersion is a very good idea if you especially want to pick up a
> foreign language at the older age. (Meera, interview 1)

> For me, I accepted it well. I think that it was necessary. So, I really had no issue with that.
> Because if you'd be speaking English, then what's the point? You really need to force
> yourself to use the language so that you learn it. (Mahalia, interview 1)

As these participants noted, the exclusive use of French language is justified as an

effective pedagogical choice, rather than being regarded as a barrier for efficient communication

in the classroom setting. This rationalization was possible in part because of the high level of

French-English bilingualism in Montreal, where they could not have sufficient chance to use the

French language outside of the classroom.

> Yeah, closer to downtown, I think most people are bilingual. So, they have a very easy
> time switching their language. So yeah, it's a good thing and it's like bad for me learning
> French as well. Because I don't get enough practice, but then at least I'm able to get
> through some basic things. So, it's good and bad at the same time. (Aashvi, interview 1)

> I live close to C [name of a region in Montreal]. So, here, it's super multicultural. I mean,
> I'm not necessarily looking just to be with Mexicans. I love food from everywhere. So,
> when I meet other people from other countries, it's super cool because I get to learn about
> different cuisines. But I don't need to speak French with them. (Riley, interview 1)

The participants appreciated the chance to use French. However, some were concerned that this French-only environment was not suited for learners who did not have the knowledge base to follow lessons in French.

> 그 알제리에서 오신 선생님은 영어로 문법 같은 걸 설명 하셔서 알아듣기 쉬웠는데 지금 듣는 수업에서는 불어로 문법을 설명하셔서, 잘 모르겠어요. 차라리 영어로 해줬으면 좋겠어요. My former teacher from Algeria explained grammar in English, so it was really easy to understand. Now, everything's in French, even with grammatical concepts. I'm having a hard time following it. I hope they would at least give English instructions when teaching grammar. (Jimin, translated by Moon, interview 1)

> The initial negative memory that I had was the first time I went to the French class. Because the teacher speaks so fast, and I know nothing. For me, it's very, very hard to follow and kind of [felt] like you're dumb, sitting in a class but understanding nothing because a lot of people speaking in French. They could guess it, and they could understand it. They can catch the idea, but I still remember, I think it's the first month or second month, I was sitting there and know nothing, and I had to rely on my friend who's speaking in English to translate the content for me. Because, for the first month, the teacher who was teaching me French, she spoke French only. Nothing other than French. (Rebecca, interview 1)

Rebecca felt she was "dumb" up to her first and second months into the francisation courses, because she did not understand anything in monolingual French-instructed environment. It suggests that, without the adequate support in English or other additional languages, their learning might not take place to the full extent. Notably, Rebecca dealt with this problem by resorting to the help of her English-speaking classmates. In fact, multiple participants shared their experience of interacting in English regardless of the classroom rules teachers imposed on them. That is, they strategically used English either to facilitate their understandings or to bond with classmates.

> 제가 영어를 썼죠. 제가 못 알아들으니까 옆에 학생한테 영어로 물어본다든가, 아니면 쉬는 시간에 영어가 더 편하니까 이제 영어로 수다를 떨고 이랬죠. I used English a lot. I asked classmates what's happening in English because I could not understand it. Or I mainly used English to talk to my friends in breaktime. (Jay, translated by Moon, interview 1)

Usually, we will only speak English during the break. So, whenever it's the break time, I would speak English with my Korean friend or with another friend from Thailand or other friends as well. But whenever the teacher came back and she's like, 'I hear you guys talking. No other languages,' she would start saying something like that but not in this very harsh or angry way. Yes, I understand she just wants us to learn more, to use more, practice more. Yeah, I understand that. (Rebecca, interview 1)

Even though they mainly used English with their classmates, they understood and accepted the need for maximizing French use in the classroom. However, as Jay and Rebecca showed above, the learners usually autonomously regulated whether to follow this rule or not based on their needs and circumstances.

4.2.2. Views Inclined towards Resistance

The participants partly agreed to employing the exclusive target language use in their classrooms as shown in the previous section. Likewise, their reluctance to comply with dominant ideologies supporting a nationalist conception of language also somewhat ambivalent. More specifically, they sympathized with the historical struggle of Quebecers against the threat of losing their language and culture but questioned the legitimacy of legislative constraints that prevented them from making full use of their linguistic capital in job markets.

> 그냥 정부 불어 수업 들으면서도 그 역사 이런 것을 공부하면서 처음에는 그냥 단순한, 뭐라 해야 하지, 반감이라고 생각을 했었는데, 이게 아 역사적으로 애들이 진짜 안 좋은 감정이 뿌리깊게 있구나, 라는 걸 알게 되면서 좀 웬만하면 제가 아는 한에서는 불어로 얘기를 하려고 하고, 못 알아듣는 순간부터는 '아 미안하다. 내 불어가 완벽하지 못하다' 이러면서 영어로 하는 쪽이거든요. As I was taking this Francisation course, I learned about the Quebec history as well, and I realized their resistance is more deeply rooted in their history. So, I try to speak in French as much as I can in daily life, and I tend to excuse myself saying 'I'm sorry, my French is not perfect' and switch to English when people cannot understand me. I think it's important that I show them how I would like to talk in French as much as I can, rather than in English. (Jay, translated by Moon, interview 1)

Here, Jay shows that she understood the importance of French language use in respecting

French speaking Quebecers based on the historical knowledge she learned from Francisation

courses. Her effort to initiate conversations in French, even though she was not confident, was

her way of showing courtesy. Further, some participants linked their own history of being

colonized, or the history of other countries who lost their language to the power of English, in

making sense of this conflict.

> Well, I mean I kind of understand it because Mexico was colonized by Spain. Uhm, so
> there is in Mexico, if I compare it to my country, there's a lot of fight with keeping
> Indigenous communities alive and the languages. And the languages are very important
> for these communities. And I could tell you that my grandma, she doesn't speak Spanish.
> She speaks an Indigenous language. And for me, for her to be able to keep her language,
> that's important. So, I kind of understand where Francophones are coming from of
> keeping their language. (Riley, interview 1)

> 퀘벡의 역사적인 상황이 아일랜드와 영국의 상황과 좀 비슷하다고 저는 생각이 들었어요.
> 아일랜드가 영국한테 점령을 오랫동안 당했다가 독립을 했는데도 아일랜드 말은
> 없어졌거든요. 거의 소멸위기 언어라고 그렇게 분류가 될 정도로 영어에 밀려서 그
> 아일랜드 말은 사라졌는데, 그런 역사적인 걸 보고서 우리도 여기서 불어를 지키지 않으면
> 영어에 밀리겠구나 이렇게 비슷한 감정을 느꼈기 때문에, 불어를 지키려고 애쓰고 그런
> 것이, 아일랜드의 사례를 봤기 때문에 그렇게 하는 게 아닌가, 그런 생각이 들었어요.
> 불어가 사라지면 프랑스계 사람들이 영국한테 점령당했다는 것도 좀 신경을 별로 안 쓰게
> 되니까. I sensed that the historical situation of Quebec quite resembles the history of
> Ireland, because Ireland was long occupied by British regime and achieved their
> independence, with losing their own language. I heard the language is almost extinct. I
> think this kind of precedents gear Quebecers more toward striving to protect their
> language, because of the anxiety. If French heritage is long gone, people would forget
> about the oppressed history. (Jimin, translated by Moon, interview 1)

Based on their comparisons, it is clear that they take the situation in Quebec as a struggle

between a group with dominant power and a minority group faced with the threat of losing their

heritage. With this understanding, the French language has been accepted as not only an official

language in Quebec but also as a defining characteristic of the Quebec culture.

> I have been to Quebec City two times so far. And I think Montreal is not French enough.
> I think Montreal is very international. If you really want to experience the Quebec

culture, you need to go to *Ville de Québec*. That is classic Québécois. Montreal is super international. I don't think Montreal is French enough. (Meera, interview 1)

Here, Meera thinks Montreal does not much represent the Quebec culture because it is not "French enough," connecting the essence of Quebec-ness to the French predominance. These remarks suggest that the participants are embracing the French dominance in Quebec as a legitimate claim. However, most of participants doubted the necessity of limiting the presence of English within the sectors of business and education, two of the spheres in which the English language takes the most crucial role in this globalized order of economy.

> They're trying to protect their language, but to the point that they're penalizing people for like, 'You didn't put a French term on this pasta dish.' […] I know that at one point in the 80s, Montreal was very Anglophone, and then something, I don't know exactly which law that was, and that a lot of their headquarters left for Toronto to protect themselves. (April, interview 1)

> I mean, I do understand the importance of preserving the French heritage, but [it's] just too much. They're demanding too much control over even the young people of Quebec. Even their proposal to cap the enrollment for English CÉGEPs. That is not a solution. You can always develop programs to perk up the interest of young people to learn French. But capping the enrollment for CÉGEP is not a solution because you'd be pushing the youth in Quebec to just enroll in other provinces. (Mahalia, interview 1)

April mentioned the governmental restriction for maintaining French dominance in places of business as well and the economic consequences of these restrictions. For her, the active promotion of French in office environments and the indirect erasure of English therein was associated with the negative influence on attracting international corporations. Further, Mahalia touched on the reduced educational opportunities to study in English in the particular post-secondary institutions in Quebec, or CÉGEPs, by the enactment of Bill 96. She believed in promoting French learning among youths by focusing on providing benefits for learning French

than depriving them of the chances to develop English language skills that would be crucial for

their future success.

Mahalia is not alone in calling for a shift of government policies from valuing the French

language only, towards promoting both French and English, at least within educational spaces

and labor markets. This is particularly relevant to the migrants in Quebec who have English

knowledge but have not yet developed the sufficient proficiency in French language.

> I think, in general, everybody should just practice being a little bit open. I think unless
> and until you are ready to change, you don't grow. So, if you are really sticking to just
> one line of thinking, you are denying yourself opportunities. So, instead of, let's say
> knowing French only, it should be like you should be equally good at French and
> English. (Meera, interview 1)

> (to the question asking what change would make the Quebec society a better place for
> her) I would change that French has to be 'the must.' I would definitely change that.
> Especially for immigrants. Because I mean, it's not an easy language to learn. If you're
> 40, 50 years old. And if they already have English as their language resource, they must
> be able to approach these jobs and opportunities, right? (Riley, interview 1)

Meera and Riley both claim that there needs to be a change in social system so that

English knowledge is given enough credit, especially on the job market. Riley, an immigrant

from Mexico, originally had a five-year career in the business of international relations.

However, because she could not reach a sufficient level of French to find a similar job in

Quebec, she had to settle for a part-time job she did not aspire to have. For her, her fluency in

language other than French has not been properly appreciated.

As shown above, the participants deeply understood the sentiment of linguistic anxiety

circulated within Quebec by relating the history of subordinated Quebecers to that of formerly

colonized countries that are losing their own languages. However, they problematized the

nationalist language ideologies that mediate practices of impeding English attainment or

exclusively valuing the French language over other languages. This was already negatively

affecting the lives of some participants. Instead, they suggested the alternative ideologies of multilingualism, which acknowledge the existence of multiple languages in harmony.

4.3. Development of a Sense of Belonging

The purpose of providing Francisation services to migrants in Quebec is to facilitate their integration into Quebec society by developing sufficient French skills to thrive in their social, professional, and political lives. One of the crucial barometers that can measure the effectiveness of this provision is to explore how these programs influenced the development of migrants' sense of belonging to the Quebec society. In this section, I first present how participants conceptualize the qualifications for being a member of Quebec society. Then I give accounts of participants' experiences during and after their French learning that positively and negatively impacted their development of sense of belonging.

4.3.1. Migrants' Perspectives about a Sense of Belonging to Quebec

In order to address migrants' development of a sense of belonging and the influence of Francisation courses in such a process, it is important first to get a grip on how participants delineate the concept of membership in Quebec. Here, I present the perception of racialized migrants in this study about the conditions for their full integration into Quebec. To the question "what do you think it takes to be a member of the Quebec society?" participants' interpretations about 'member' diverged into two main categories. On one hand, they considered a member to be a legally legitimate, socially thriving, and professionally functioning Quebec citizen.

> I mean, how do I become a member? I've been living [here for] over 10 years. How do you know? I have my RAMQ (the provincial health insurance services) card. I guess that's what makes me a member of this society, right? I'm paying taxes, so those little governmental things. (April, interview 1)

For me, I feel like you know being part of this society is to be an individual who really contributes to the society, and for now, I feel that being a new immigrant here, I cannot really say that I'm part of the society 100%. (Mahalia, interview 1)

일단 뭐, 시티즌 이겠죠, 첫 번째로. 서류상으로 문제가 없어야겠죠. 그 다음은 언어겠죠. 당연히 대화, 소통할 때 문제가 전혀 없어야겠죠. 실제 생활에 쓰는 단어를 다 쓸 수 있어야겠죠. 음. 그 다음에, 이제 여기 문화를 이해할 수 있어야 되겠죠. 여기 사람들의 문화라든지, 뭐, 다 이해하고 있어야겠죠. 어느 정도? 그 다음에, 뭐 언급한 적은 없지만 정치나, 종교, 이것도 의식이 있어야 되고요. […] 그냥 Québécois 들하고 어울리고, 대화를 나누기도 하고, Québécois 친구가 있어 가지고 우리 집에 놀러 오기도 하고, 내가 놀러갈 수도 있고, 크리스마스 때 같이 모여서 놀기도 하고. Well, first and foremost, the citizenship. You have to be all fine in paper. Next thing is language, of course, at least the conversational French. Um, and, we need to understand the culture here, to some extent. It's never mentioned in class, but we also should be conscious about political and religious issues. […] Just being able to hang out with Québécois, chat with them, become friends, visit each other, spend Christmas together, those kinds of stuff, maybe. (Suho, translated by Moon, interview 1)

April thinks she is technically a member of this community because she is entitled to get governmental services and health care as a citizen. And contributing to the society by having jobs and paying taxes also contributes to this identity formation. Mahalia exhibits a similar perspective, and thus does not feel she is a member yet because she does not have a stable profession. Suho showed more concrete vision of his integration, listing topics of citizenship, language, culture, politics, religion, and social engagement with the population of Quebec origin.

However, at a deeper level, participants hold another layer of membership, being a *Québécois*. Unlike the conditions above that are attainable for them, four of the participants explicitly mentioned 'being racially white' is an essential aspect of being a Québécois.

어쨌든 저는 아직까지는 이민자 카테고리 안에 들어가 있는 것 같고, 그리고 참 여기가 어쨌든, 인종에 대해서도 되게 민감한 사회이긴 하지만… 제 남편도 그러더라고요. 제가 너무 궁금했던 게, 어쨌든 여기서 무슨 인종을 갖고 있든 여기서 태어나면은 Québécois 라고 보는 거 아니냐라고 했을 때 쉽게 대답하지 못 하더라고요. Well, I think I'm still categorized as an immigrant. And I know it's really sensitive around here about racial issues, but my husband also said… I was wondering if anyone could become

Québécois if they were born here regardless of their race, and he couldn't answer that question. So, I feel like, it's not racist or anything, but I can sense a certain boundary here. (Jay, translated by Moon, interview 1)

Jay, an immigrant from South Korea who married to a Francophone Quebecer, sensed a palpable boundary that implicitly categorizes people along racial lines. This perspective stemmed from her interactions with her husband's family who were all white Francophones in Quebec. Although they were kind and supportive, Jay thought that they inevitably had a certain distance with her. April as well, even though she has lived in Quebec for about ten years and her partner is a Francophone Quebecer, she maintained that "it takes someone that doesn't look like me" to be regarded as a Québécois.

4.3.2. Sense of Belonging and Francisation Experience

In this section, I lay out how Francisation courses supported or impeded migrants' development of a sense of belonging to Quebec by improving their French skills. On the contrary, I also present how these French skills were not sufficient for migrants to substantially participate in French-mediated sectors in the province. Additionally, I lay out how this difficulty gets more complex and stressful for migrants when it is intertwined with the language ideologies in Quebec.

First, most of the participants positively framed their everyday experience after attaining some level of French language competency. For example, phone calls, governmental letters, and communications with their children's schools and teachers became much more convenient for them.

And I've been on those French classes for four months now, so I kind of know the basics, and I can speak and understand French, which has been really nice. So outside of class, in

Montreal, voicemails are usually in French. So, one big advantage is that I can understand that. (Aashvi, interview 1)

제가 말하기와 듣기는 잘 안 되는데 리딩하고 라이팅은 그나마 좀 나은 편이에요. 그래서 예를 들면 학교에서 선생님이 뭔가 애한테 뭔가를 써 줬어요. 뭐 그러면 그걸 내가 읽고 아, 내일 이거 준비해야 되는 구나. 그런 거는 편하지. I'm not that proficient in speaking and listening in French language, but little bit better with reading and writing. So, for example, if a schoolteacher [of his children] has written a note for my children, I can now read it and prepare items for them. That definitely has become convenient. (Suho, translated by Moon, interview 1)

I actually really appreciate learning French because now I'm able to… If we receive some French letters in our home, my partner says 'Ok, can you read this?', and if someone would call me and they would try to talk to me in French, I'm very happy that I'm able to at least speak to them in French, a little bit. (Mahalia, interview 1)

Here, Aashvi appreciated that, even with her four-month's experience of French learning, she could comprehend and better respond to conversations in French outside the classroom. Suho, as well, highlighted the improved communication with his children's schoolteachers, although he still only felt comfortable with written French. These instances also resonated with Mahalia, who recently started making use of French to deal with miscellaneous errands. Additionally, not only in situations of quotidian, sporadic exchanges, some of them were also equipped with tools to start and maintain social relationships in French.

I went for a funeral here once. And it was a Québécois funeral. So, I was able to talk to everyone and it felt good, because you understand people on a much different level. (Meera, interview 1)

Yeah. There are some instances where it is helping me and I'm able to use it in practical ways or conversations with other people. So, yeah. (Mahalia, interview 1)

When asked about the ways in which Francisation courses helped her in any way, Meera recounted her experience of having conversations in French in a social event. Mahalia also reported that the French knowledge obtained from the courses opened up opportunities to talk in French with other people. This experience was particularly important for these migrants'

integration because one of the chronically difficult challenges to overcome for immigrants is gaining access to relationships with locals (Steinbach, 2007).

As illustrated above, Francisation courses merited participants' social integration by fostering migrants' communicative skills useful in personal and some public spheres. Given that the participants previously revealed that in order to become a member in Quebec, it was important that they develop social relationships and gain cultural knowledge about Quebec, it is evident that the Francisation courses greatly advanced their development of a sense of belonging. However, notably, none of the participants reported that their French skills were valued in the professional sphere in Quebec, which is particularly detrimental to their stable settlement. In fact, except for three participants who had been already working in English-operated corporations before they started Francisation courses, all six of them were unemployed, taking extra steps in job-training, or stuck in part-time, low-paying jobs far from their target professions.

> For me, even if I finished four levels, my French is garbage. My French is garbage like I can converse, but with Québécois accent, with Québécois native speaking French, it's difficult for me to catch up. So, in summary, I could finish four levels, but I'm still not confident. So that would mean that I'm not confident to integrate in a French CÉGEP. (Mahalia, interview 1)

Mahalia was serving as a nurse in her country of origin and seeking a job in the same profession in Quebec. To obtain a nursing license to work as a nurse here, she needed to enter a French-instructed CÉGEP and take a French language proficiency test designed for Canadian immigrants. Even though she finished all four levels in her full-time program, she had failed to meet the above conditions at the time of the interview. Because of the precarious outlook on her professional integration in Quebec, she felt like an outsider who was "still on the sidelines" and who could not approach her membership yet.

Because even if I learned French, I feel that, especially now that we're still trying to figure out what we should be doing here, we haven't really found the job that he wanted to. We haven't really found the home that we really want to live in. So, we're mainly just trying to figure things out at this stage of our lives here. (Mahalia, interview 1)

Similarly, Rebecca pointed out that the Francisation courses allowed them to attain some level of French fluency, but it was only enough to get them simple, manual jobs. For example, to the question "Did Francisation courses help you to find a job here?" Rebecca answered "no" because her aspired job in marketing required a much higher level of French proficiency than she had developed with Francisation.

Because I think, for my classmates, it works well. Why do I say that? Because for my classmates, they're not finding some job with office level, which doesn't require them to speak fluent in French. Because right now, I got a few classmates, and one of them started working in daycare and three or four working in Costco and IGA, which doesn't require them to speak fluent French. It's easier, but for me, I think it's quite hard. (Rebecca, interview 1)

Furthermore, teachers' exclusionary practices instilled in language ideologies in Francisation courses exercised a striking influence on participants' sense of belonging, especially with an entanglement with race. For example, Riley was struggling to access a job with no success so far. She considered it was because of her deficient French skills that were devalued by one of her Francisation teachers who horrendously discriminated against the Spanish accented French.

Unfortunately, I feel that, with Level 3 teacher, I was more confident when I would talk. With Level 3, I was more confident and then with Level 4, I just shut down. I was scared to talk. (Riley, interview 2)

She confessed that she completely gave up on mastering French because the association of French language learning with these stigmatizing interactions with her teacher kept her from

making any effort at all. Likewise, Rebecca shared that she did not feel like she belonged to

Quebec society because of her Asian looks and accented speech. She further revealed her vision

to one day obtain the Quebec variety of French to be respectful of the culture of this society,

although she admitted it was not an easy task.

> Oh, in daily life, actually I can't speak in the Québécois tone as well because it's difficult for me to contract the pronunciations together. The reason I wanted to take the first step in learning French is because I know that I live in Quebec. Living in Quebec, I have to understand the culture, adapt to the environment, no matter to the weather, language, culture, or history, and everything. So, this is the reason why I had to start learning French. Because I respect them, and I want to get involved and be one of them. So, personally, I hope one day, I could speak like Québécois as well. But I don't think it's the easy way. (Rebecca, interview 1)

This discourse espouses nationalist language ideologies that prioritize the role of

language as a strong force of fostering collective national identity. This perspective aligns with

that of April, who dismissed her sense of membership to the Quebec society because of her

Anglophone accent in addition to her race.

> So, what does it take? Well, it takes someone that doesn't look like me. It takes someone who looks white to begin with. I feel, as the racialized person, and racially quite different from a white person, it already causes barriers in feeling like you are a member. […] On top of that, I have an Anglophone accent. That's like two strikes. The sense of not belonging, it's quite strong. (April, interview 1)

As an Asian woman being from Toronto, April thought her French was Anglophone-

accented and not good enough for public use. Thus, she stopped herself from using French even

though multiple people around her verified she spoke French well. Here, her way of devaluing

her French competency was mediated by monolingual ideologies, a set of beliefs that put forth

the ideal of monolingual native speaker as a norm and diminished the legitimacy of speakers

outside of such boundary.

Because of these instances in which these participants could not be fully integrated into Quebec society, five participants out of nine mentioned that they wish to move out of Quebec to pursue better jobs and better recognition of their English language proficiency.

> Honestly, I have been discussing [moving out of Quebec] with my partner as well because her family is in Quebec, but I am finding a job in marketing, which required me to speak French fluently. It's a bit difficult, so honestly, we did discuss this previously. For example, maybe I will start finding a job in Quebec. I'm not sure, maybe I give myself time frame a year or two years. And [if I am] not really able to get what I want, maybe we'll have to move to other province because this is the reality. (Rebecca, interview 1)

However, it is noteworthy that the most participants exhibited a strong sense of belonging, or at least a strong positivity, towards their community of Francisation colleagues. For the participants, the Francisation experience provided them the chance to connect with their classmates who were "in the same boat" and have "a similar struggle."

> The crew is very diverse. So, it makes the learning experience very easy because you know that everyone is in the same boat and they don't know French. Everyone, they are immigrants, there's something in common there. (Aashvi, interview 1)

> It was also a good opportunity to meet other immigrants. So, people who are having a similar struggle, it was also a very good idea to meet those people. (Meera, interview 1)

Especially for the newly-arrived participants, Francisation courses were the source of expanding their social network as well as boosting their integration within this society.

> I felt that the Francisation did help me start to integrate in our new life here and this new community. And also meeting other people, even though virtually. It was a really great way to get to know people and make friends because, like I said, when we arrived here, we did not have any family and barely had any friends. So, I was able to meet other people from other nationalities. (Mahalia, interview 1)

> 멕시코에서 오신 여자분이 자주 차로 데려다 주시거든요. 그래서 김치 작은 거랑 쌈장을 드렸는데, 좋아하시더라고요. 그리고 쌈장은 아직 그 드셔보시지 않은 것 같고 김치가 맛있다고 하더라구요. 그리고 저를 집으로 초대한 적도 있었고요. 멕시코 여자분 집에 놀러

가고 그랬던 게 약간 소속감도 도움이 된 것 같아요. My Mexican friend in Francisation often gave me a ride. So, I gave her a little bit of kimchi and ssamjang (Korean groceries) as a thank you gift. I think she likes kimchi and haven't tried ssamjang yet. And she invited me over to her place, one day. Those experiences have definitely helped develop my belonging to this society. (Jimin, translated by Moon, interview 1)

In summary, the Francisation courses were helpful for migrants in developing a level of French proficiency with which they could deal with daily tasks, including answering phone calls or having quotidian conversations with people around them. This experience promoted their sense of belonging to a certain extent. However, these French classes did not adequately support migrants' professional integration, especially into higher-wage professions. In addition, the language ideologies that mediated the exclusion of French speakers deemed to have accents also took part in negatively affecting their sense of belonging. Here, these ideologies worked in ways that intricately connected to participants' racial identities, in such a moment when their appearance, in tandem with their speech, is regarded as foreign to the Quebec society. However, it cast rather a positive light in that most of participants felt that the Francisation environment was an adequate space to foster another type of community into which they can more comfortably integrated.

Chapter 5. Discussion

This chapter presents results from the current study in relationship to previous findings. I also provide here some of the practical implications that emerged from the findings from Chapter 4. By practical, I mean that these implications can provide Francisation instructors, institutions, curriculum organizers, and policy stakeholders with ways to improve migrants' experience within this educational context.

5.1. Awareness of Language Ideologies

One of the emerging patterns throughout the process of analysis is the differing levels of participants' *awareness* (Kroskrity, 2010, 2020) about the three strands of language ideologies in the Francisation context. Awareness refers to the varied degrees to which language users are cognizant of the local language ideologies of a certain community (Kriskrity, 2020). Kroskrity (1998) pointed out the correlation between the salient presence of contested language ideologies in a society and language users' increased levels of discursive consciousness about such ideologies. The results of the current study mostly align with Kroskrity's findings in that the participants frequently mentioned discourses about French vitality and French monolingualism in Quebec. It can be inferred that this frequency could have stemmed from the significant representations of these discourses in the legislative efforts of the provincial government of Quebec, as Bills 101 and 96, for preserving the French language. In the Francisation context, these discourses were translated into the monolingual French communication with Francisation learners from their schools and the Quebec government. This tendency was also explicitly mentioned by two participants who exemplified it as one of the difficulties they faced during

their Francisation experience. In other words, participants showed a high level of awareness about nationalist language ideologies as well as the substantial impact of these ideologies upon their own lives, and further, upon the broader society of Quebec.

In contrast, participants were less aware of the standard language ideologies that regard international French as a standard, norm, and neutral version over any other varieties. That means, even though some of their statements indicated that they consider international French as "standard", "professional," or "neutral" variety, they did not recognize that this belief was ideological. Rather, this normalizing discourse worked as a hidden assumption for some participants upon which they unfold their opinions. For example, one participant, Meera, praised her teacher who was fluent in both French and English by stating that she was "lucky enough to get a very good teacher because she was speaking in the international accent and her English was perfect." Here, in the process of asserting the benefit of bilingualism in Francisation, she was simultaneously revealing her implicit assumption that a teacher with an "international accent" was a preferrable option. Indeed, this view has also been reported among some Allophone immigrants in previous research. Guertin (2017) observed that Latin American immigrants in her study viewed international French as the standard language with higher social status and better potential for professional access. Similarly, several studies also documented that French learners in Montreal (Calinon, 2009), Quebec immigrants (Saint-Laurent, 2008), and Allophones in Montreal-located CÉGEPs (Kircher, 2012) tend to place the international variety on standard, professional, and prestigious position in relation to the Quebec French.

For giving accounts about a possible cause of this inclination within the confine of the Francisation context, the concept of *curricularization of language* (Valdés, 2015, 2016) is particularly useful. Valdés (2016) explained that "curriculuarizing language" refers to "the

process of organizing and selecting elements from a particular dialect or variety of a language for

instructional purpose as if they could be arranged into a finite, agreed-upon set of structures,

skills, tasks, or functions" (pp. 256-257). That is, the process of curricularization of language

renders certain chunks of linguistic forms or practices as legitimate over others. Valdés

continued that the chunks selected as pedagogically adequate are often concentrated on

"standardized or prestige varieties of language" that are mostly drawn from various informing

disciplines and theoretical perspectives, [as] ideologies of languages, […] tradition of instruction,

[…] existing textbooks and materials, and […] language policies that define unit/credit

institutional requirements" (Valdés, 2015, p. 262). According to the classroom materials that five

participants agreed to share with me, most of audio-visual materials provided by *MIFI* used

Quebec French. However, most supplementary resources contained international French, both

those resources used by teachers for classroom activities and by students for self-study. This

textbooks and material arrangements might signal that, other than the materials produced by the

government, it is difficult for students and teachers to find resources in the Quebec variety.

> I would prefer French-French because, TV shows and all that, they're more French-French. It's just easier to learn I think, or to get a hang of it. Quebec-French is very difficult to find, so if I had to learn Quebec French, I don't really know where I would go. So, my preference would be French-French. (Aashvi, interview 1)

Here, Aashvi reveals her preference for the international variety of French in a didactic

sense because it is much more convenient to find resources in this version. These arrangements

of some teachers' attitudes and available learning materials corroborates Gadet's (2007)

conclusion. Gadet noted that there exists a certain standard ideology that posits the correctness

and legitimacy in one variety of a language, specifically the international variety, within teaching

materials, programs, and teacher's attitudes in French teaching in general. In this and all other

possible ways, the standard language ideologies were implicitly intertwined within the lives of

migrants and concealed sociolinguistic issues regarding those varieties.

However, the matter of choosing a French language variety to learn and embody, or

better, having a space to openly talk about connotations underlying each variety is particularly

important for migrants, because each variety – not the Quebec and international French varieties

– takes on distinctive yet interconnected social, economic, and political implications. For

example, Chalier (2018) reported that the majority of participants thought that immigrants in

Quebec need to be taught in the weakly marked Quebec French. However, when they were asked

to rank them in order of correctness, they gave higher marks to the Parisian accent and the Swiss

Romandy accent than those of Quebec versions. This result conflicts with those of Sebkova et al.

(2020) and Pustka et al. (2019) that emphasized the higher level of correctness of Quebec French

variety perceived by Quebec residents. This inconsistency may have stemmed from the interplay

between the view that values Quebec French as a crucial identity component of the Quebec

culture and the view that put forth international French as a historically prestigious, multi-locally

versatile variety (Chalier, 2018; Šebková et al., 2020). In addition, interestingly, Šebková et al.

(2020) charted that the 24 Quebec City resident participants tended to consider international

French speaker as a preferrable potential co-worker. However, this assessment was overturned

when the participants were asked to select a preferable stimuli for a potential friend; the Quebec

French variety was picked highest, and the international French stimuli was placed in last place.

This array of results about the perceptions and attitudes about multiple French varieties about

Quebec shows how these discourses are intertwined with language, correctness, professionality,

and sociability (C. Bouchard, 2009). If migrants are not familiar with the above connotations

about each French variety in Quebec, they might be missing one important tool for their smooth

interactions in Quebec. Thus, learning ways to recognize, scrutinize, and make judgments about them could be one of the crucial tools for migrants to adapt and integrate into the host society.

The interview data of the current research revealed the absence of such opportunity within the Francisation classroom. The discussions about language varieties were present, but only they only touched on the surface level, such as learning different sets of vocabulary between Quebec and international French varieties or practicing contractions that frequently appear in the speech of Quebec French. Thus, the need to foster more conversations about these language standards and entangled issues emerged from the analysis. Relevantly, Philips (2000) suggested the possible dissonance between the place in which language ideologies are enacted and where these ideologies are explicitly discussed. Thus, she conceptualized such dual sites; a *site of ideological production*, in which the language ideologies manifest in action, and a *site of metapragmatic commentary*, where these ideologies are explicitly articulated. A Francisation classroom is a place where multiple ideologies are enacted. But it is barely a space where these ideologies are put on a debate. This lack of metapragmatic commentaries may foreclose the possibilities not only to learn and develop strategies to deal with situations endowed with these ideologies, but also to make critical judgment about, and sometimes contest, these ideologies. Thus, this finding cast the need for including in the Francisation curriculum more chances for migrants and teachers to openly talk about the language varieties and relevant issues within the society.

5.2. Monolingual Pedagogies: Is it the Best Choice?

The data analysis revealed the prevalence of the French-only rule in most of Francisation classrooms. Additionally, the majority of participants exhibited positive attitude toward this rule, while being cognizant of how the strict adherence to this rule can cause difficulties for beginning learners. However, sometimes this French-only discourse further expanded to the total rejection of using other languages in learning French in any manners. For example, learners' efforts such as translating French words or sentences into English or using popular songs that were originally made in English but translated into French, met with criticisms or an aloof reaction from Francisation teachers. Within these incidents, the monolingual ideologies are at work; teachers' pedagogical choices were made based on the assumption that a language should be taught in a pure, untainted form that is standing alone and safely distant from the influence of other languages (Martí & Portolés, 2019).

This approach is problematic because it makes learners to make distinctions among languages that are neither natural to learners nor effective in their language learning. From a linguist's perspective, Otheguy et al. (2015) refute the idea that distinct languages, such as French and English for example, are perceived as distinct because they have inherently disparate sets of linguistic features, or they are naturally regarded as separate in the minds of language users. Rather, the process of delineating each language is a fundamentally sociopolitical enactment. That is, this distinguishing is not a "mental [n]or a psychological" process of language users (p. 283). Thus, according to Otheguy et al., in learners' minds, it is natural that linguistic features that are deemed to be classified as different languages co-exist in their general pool of linguistic knowledge and that those features are connected to each other to support learners' language learning process. The participants in this study were already actively

employing this strategy to enhance their own learning, although they tended to not consider it as

a legitimate way of learning languages.

> For me, it always works like, sometimes when I would read something in English, I
> would try to translate it in French, and if I read something in French I would translate it
> in English. So, I would say that your knowledge of speaking in English is really useful in
> learning French. […] It's like a reflex. You really can't help it. (Mahalia, interview 1)

> For me, personally, sometimes I would mix up French and English, and then I would
> select the vocabulary in English and try to pretend the pronunciation in French. But it
> doesn't work [because] those words don't exist, so the teacher would correct me.
> (Rebecca, interview 1)

Here, translating the target language into the one she already has knowledge about, or

vice versa, greatly helped Mahalia in comprehending and constructing sentences in French.

However, because her Francisation teacher stopped her from doing so, she felt guilty that this

strategy was sometimes enacted as a "reflex." For Rebecca as well, she tried to pronounce some

of the French words following the English rule of pronunciation. Although she implied that this

practice reflected her faulty habit of equating English and French, this alleged error afforded her

the interactive chance to consolidate the newly learned knowledge into her stable linguistic

repertoire. In brief, the monolingual ideologies in education that arbitrarily postulate languages

as objective and separate entities significantly influenced the Francisation teachers' pedagogical

choices as well as participants' negative perception about their multilingual learning strategies,

even when these practices supported their effective language learning.

Zeaiter (2022) has clearly pointed out the dire need to acknowledge such ideologies

affecting adult migrants in Canada, exemplifying Francisation courses as an appropriate case in

point. It is asserted in this article that the Quebec province's French language education services

for immigrants, including a range of Francisation programs, "are anchored in monolingual and

monocultural ideologies as a way to promote French as the official language in Quebec and a

Québécois identity" (p. 211). Closely tied to these nationalist language ideologies, the

intolerance towards languages and cultures of migrant learners was assumed as one of the main

reasons for this educational climate. The remark of Riley, an immigrant from Mexico in this

study, aligns with Zeaiter's assumption. Riley shared that her French accent was frequently

criticized as sounding too Spanish by an instructor, and this exchange greatly repelled Riley. As

documented in Chapter 4, Riley completely lost her motivation to continue learning French in

part because of this disrespectful stance. That is, pedagogies that carefully respect languages,

cultures, and identities of migrants are much in need.

Zeaiter (2022) also strongly agreed that such a bi/multi/plurilingual turn in Francisation

teaching and learning practices is a necessary measure, suggesting plurilingualism as an

alternative model. Indeed, there have been numerous models that aim to challenge monolingual

norms and foster an inclusive and effective learning experience for students with diverse

backgrounds (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Cummins, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 2007;

García, 2009; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). Two of the most prominent efforts of this sort are

translanguaging (García, 2009; Li, 2018), and plurilingualism in education (Beacco et al., 2019;

Moore & Gajo, 2009; Piccardo, 2018).

First, García (2009) defined Translanguagings as "multiple discursive practices in which

bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 42) and the educational

orientation that centers students' view as bi/multilingual speakers by respecting their practices

that freely jump across language boundaries. This theoretical concept as well as a pedagogical

direction responds well to "the target-language only or one-language-at-a-time monolingual

ideologies" that "still dominate much of practice and policy" by setting the purpose of language

education as bi/multilingual speakers rather than monolingual target-language users (Li, 2018, p. 16). García (2017) suggested some practical ways to apply translanguaging to the context of adult language education. For example, one of the several ways mentioned is to focus on "giving a voice" to learners rather than teaching them the language (p. 20). García recommended that teachers actively utilize students' resources, whether it be their own cultures, languages, or something personal such as hobbies or professional knowledge, and take them as steppingstones on which they can engage in these topics both with their existing linguistic repertoires and the target language.

　　　　Plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogies also hold a similar perspective towards language education, that the interconnectedness of each language in classrooms and dynamicity engendered by this connectivity within learners minds need to be actively acknowledged and embraced. That is, rather than having a separate curriculum for each language, this approach signifies the holistic vision of developing plurilingual competence with which learners can agentively utilize their linguistic repertoire while taking an open stance towards cultural diversity (Piccardo, 2018). For practical implementation of this approach, Galante et al. (2019) suggested a framework with which researchers, instructors, administrative staffs, and learners can collaboratively facilitate plurilingualism within a language learning context. The principal investigator and seven English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program instructors in a higher-education institution in Toronto collaboratively examined and employed 10 weeks' plurilingual language learning tasks in their EAP programs. They found that, for this type of collaborative initiatives to be successful, the support of administrators are crucial. In addition, they also strongly recommended weekly communications between a researcher and instructors about the implementation of plurilingual language learning. Further, it is also imperative to organize

activities that center learners' agency for them to take control of their own learning, and extensively use languages other than the target language to facilitate learners' plurilingual competence.

The plurilingual approach and translanguaging pedagogy epistemologically diverge in terms of assumptions about language, in that plurilingualism stands on the assumption that acknowledges different lexico-grammatical systems in separate languages while translanguaging theory does not (García & Otheguy, 2020). However, they have their commonality in the shared aim for fostering an inclusive, respectful, and effective educational environment for language learners with versatile linguistic competencies. Standing upon this perspective, I concur with Zeaiter's (2022) call for promoting the use of languages other than French in Francisation classrooms. Notably, this call is not about allowing any form of language use without guiding pedagogical principles. Rather, it is for urging a shift from downplaying linguistic repertoires other than French as inappropriate in French language classrooms towards a stance that values in linguistic and cultural resources learners already possess.

5.3. Professional Integration: Systemic, rather than Individual Failure

The third conspicuous pattern found in this study was the migrants' continued difficulty with integrating professionally in Quebec society even after they were finished with every level in the regular Francisation system. Six participants in this study, other than the three who were already working in English-operated corporations, were currently still in the process of reaching for jobs they aspired to. While Francisation courses were helpful for getting sufficient French knowledge to make phone calls, have routine conversations, and deal with governmental communications, they were insufficient for success in employment markets. Given that six of

them were all thriving professionals in their countries of origin or in their prior destinations before Quebec, it can be inferred that one of the main objectives of the Francisation program, which is to support the professional integration of learners, is not achieved on a substantial level. That is, the curricula of Francisation courses might have been helpful for getting jobs that require a lower level of French, but those jobs may not be fulfilling for some migrants. Especially, all of the participants in this study were college-educated and were overqualified for many of the jobs that they could attain with their French proficiency level.

This difficulty aligns with those reported in a host of previous studies. A series of research conducted by Cousineau and Boudarbat (2009), Boudarbat and Cousineau (2010), and Boudarbat and Grenier (2017) continuously noted that immigrants in Quebec are most highly educated in Canada with the highest unemployment rate. Studies that probed immigrants' experience in the Francisation context also revealed that Francisation learners were struggling with job access. For example, Amireault (2020) interviewed 15 Chinese immigrants in the Francisation program and found that most of the participants did not feel integrated into the Quebec society because of their employment predicament. Moreover, in their study that investigated migrants' Francisation experience in relation to the role of English and French bilingualism, Paquet and Levasseur (2019) also noted that their participants were not confident enough to use French outside of the classroom and feared that they would continue to occupy an inferior social position both as workers and Montrealers. These studies collectively addressed that this hardship might have resulted from the depreciation of migrants' previous experience both in terms of their academic credentials and professional records. Béji and Pellerin (2010) mentioned that immigrants' socio-professional integration has been hindered by the factors of language, unaccepted previous experience, discriminations, and the lack of their social network.

Boudarbat and Cousineau (2010) and Amireault (2020) also documented immigrants'

lamentations that their professional credentials were under-recognized.

One noteworthy result is, however, that immigrants from educational systems and labor

markets that are similar to those of Canada and Quebec enjoy lower unemployment rates

(Cousineau & Boudarbat, 2009). The exemplified countries as having the resembling educational

and work environments in this study were the United States and United Kingdom, in contrast

with Asia and Africa—regions that were listed as being different from Canadian and Quebec

contexts. The standard for measuring the adjacency of a certain country's educational and

professional spheres to those of Canada and Quebec was not specified in the article.

This ambiguity may reveal that this statistical result about the proximity to Canadian and

Quebec contexts could have also been affected by racial, ethnic, and cultural adjacency to white,

European-descent Canada and Quebec. Indeed, multiple studies echoed the substantial disparity

between racialized populations and their white counterparts in terms of job access in Quebec. For

example, Kamanzi (2012) analyzed that, when assuming identical educational credentials,

members of racialized populations would be more likely to have jobs for which they were

overqualified than white people in Quebec. That is, even when they are able to access jobs, the

quality of those jobs in terms of social prestige or wage levels was greatly limited. Also,

Beauregard (2021) sent 1,569 forged resumés to corporations around Quebec City, and these

resumés had identical qualifications, with the only difference being the names on those resumés.

The names were carefully designed to mark ethnic origins of Quebecer, Latin American, African,

and Arabian. The analysis of the recall rates for the fake job candidates indicated that the

difference between the recall rate for Quebecer-sounding names and for those names of minority

groups was statistically significant. This gap was also true in Montreal, according to the study of

Eid et al. (2012) that was conducted in Montreal with an identical methodology to that of

Beauregard (2021). In brief, these studies indicate that, not only migrants' deemed limited

French levels, but their racial background might also strongly influence migrants' employment

process.

       These results cast a paramount implication for considering ways to improve migrants'

professional integration in Quebec. Several studies about the Francisation experience of migrants

suggested practical measures to enhance their skills or employability within the Francisation

context. For example, Amireault (2020) noticed the lack of connection between Francisation

courses and support for job access and proposed developing Francisation courses that explicitly

teach students language concerning the job-search context in Quebec, such as useful expressions

for writing cover letters or central codes governing job interviews. The participants in the current

study also provided suggestions about ways to further elevate their French language proficiency

to raise their chances for professional access. Namely, they suggested establishing courses that

are more advanced than those offered in the current program, asking for more teacher education

opportunities for Francisation teachers, and incorporating CV writing sessions in the Francisation

curricula. These solutions are crucial for benefiting learners, especially newly welcomed

immigrants who seek their place in Quebec's professional scene as soon as possible. However, if

we do not address the aforementioned issue of systemic disparity between racial minorities and

white majorities in Quebec's labor market, there is a danger of blaming migrants' less-successful

professional integration on their alleged linguistic deficiency. In other words, if we focus only on

their language proficiency—an issue that the migrants themselves can be held responsible for—

we will leave in place the systematic issues that continue to cause issues for Quebec newcomers,

even when their linguistic proficiency is adequate for work in French. Although we need long-

term, large-scale political movements that are initiated and promoted by those who belong to

majority to make meaningful changes in this regard, it is still important that migrants are

informed of this inequality at least to develop their skills to adequately deal with this

disadvantage or at best to make multifarious efforts to transform ways of course within the

society.

5.4. Francisation as a Potential Heterotopian Space

The fourth, and the last significant cluster of themes is the Francisation courses' limited

success in fostering a sense of belonging among the participants. As a group, the participants in

this study conceptualized the prerequisite for attaining membership into the Quebec society as

having stable jobs, forming a social network and deep connections with groups of Francophone

Quebecers, and familiarizing themselves with cultural conventions that are different from their

own. This set of qualifications partly coincide with the concept of social integration defined by

Omidvar and Richmond (2003), to fully and equally participate in a certain society or country

within the spheres of economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions. However, some of the

participants in this study separately conceived the deeper layer of Quebecers' identity—being a

Québécois. Most of the participants discounted the possibility for them to be considered

Québécois, because a Québécois should be racially white, born in Quebec, and speak the Quebec

variety of French. Elke's (2001) conception about Québécois also include such thresholds as

being born in Quebec, having Québécois ancestors, speaking Quebec French, and having

Catholic as one's religion. That is, even though most participants were seeking membership into

the Quebec society, they felt like they would be perpetual outsiders on a more fundamental

identity level. Nevertheless, social, cultural, and professional engagements were identified as

tools for better integrating into the Quebec society, and the French language was a core bridge towards this vision. Thus, the role of Francisation in this process is crucial.

The participants shared some of the classroom activities that helped them to grasp cultural features of the Quebec society. Specifically, these courses indirectly use information about Quebec's geography, seasonal events, regional agricultural productions, or holiday conventions as French language learning texts. Additionally, some of the practical topics for their successful settlement in Quebec, for example housing arrangements, conflict mediation with neighbors, and consumer rights, were explicitly addressed in some classes. The historical rivalry between Francophones and Anglophones were also touched upon with a few teachers, along with the history of immigration and Indigenous communities in Quebec.

Some participants mentioned that the Francisation courses helped them improve their sense of belonging by giving them tools for communication in French and taking the first step towards their professional integration. However, as mentioned in the previous section, this vision of fully participating in the Quebec labor market has remained far from their reach. Additionally, the racial discriminations or microaggressions with which they were faced outside of the classroom further downsized their level of sense of belonging into Quebec.

> My in-laws, they live in the S [name of a region]. So, there, it's not that far, it's probably like a 30-minute ride by car. Like, close to K [name of a region]. There, I've never seen another Mexican. And it's not that far. I mean, not seeing someone that looks like you. So, for me, living in the suburbs wouldn't be an option because I just wouldn't feel comfortable living on the Montreal. It's really a weird sometimes because my husband, he's very white. I don't like using that. He's Caucasian. And well, me, it's clear that I'm not from here. So, whenever I go out with him in the small villages where there are zero people of color, so basically, they stare at me. I've noticed that a lot. I mean how is that possible? It's 2021, and it's Canada. (Riley, interview 1)

> It's hard to pinpoint, but there's things like, for example, in the middle of the winter in February, when it's like minus 30, and I would make a comment like, 'Oh, so cold.' and

then people will be like, 'Well, that's because you're not from here.' I'm just thinking, 'It's minus 30. It's cold.' (April, interview 1)

Here, Riley shared her experience of encountering people's stare in the outskirt of the Greater Montreal region where her family-in-law lives. Unlike in the city of Montreal, she felt that the pedestrians thought it was weird to see a Latina woman with a white Québécois guy. Riley recalled that, in this moment, she was pushed out to the boundary of Quebecer because she could sense that non-white person is regarded as *racial other* in the region. This experience made her more identify herself with the city of Montreal, where racial diversity is common. But sometimes Montreal also became a site of discrimination. April, a Canadian citizen who was raised in Toronto from her early years, lamented about the moments of racial microaggressions. Even though she grew up in Toronto and was well aware of the climate situation of Canada, people in Montreal tended to assume she was "not from here," thus she could not deal with cold weather, an assumption that revealed their belief that she was neither from Quebec nor anywhere in Canada. She was convinced that these reactions stemmed from her Asian racial features. She added that this kind of interaction made her indifferent about the French/English language conflicts in Quebec because she did not feel she was "invited to the table" for the collective discussion. In other words, people's implicit judgments based on their race were detrimental for developing their sense of belonging in Quebec.

However, interestingly, there emerged a possibility for fostering a highly inclusive and transformative community and the new kind of sense of belonging within the Francisation context; that is, a vision of Francisation as a heterotopian space (Foucault, 1967/2008; Heinemann & Monzó, 2021). Foucault conceptualized a heterotopia as an entity of counter-spaces in which people, ideas, functions, or purposes that are deviated from the norm of a certain society gather around and meaningful changes become highly possible. Heinemann and Monzó

(2021), in their study that critically examined the role of capitalism in adult migrant's language education programs in the U.S. and Germany, employed heterotopian spaces to propose ways to give voice to migrants in the integration programs of their host societies. The authors contended that adult language education programs for migrants are adequate space for learners and educators to critically engage in heterogeneity within classrooms, because often times a teacher belongs to the majority social group and learners are usually minorities with diverse backgrounds and worldviews.

Based on the interview data analysis of the current study, the outlook of building a community around Francisation classrooms seemed highly promising. The participants of this study revealed that they feel strongly connected to their Francisation classmates, and they also appreciate social capital they can attain through their Francisation experience especially when they are newly-arrived in Quebec. In addition, not only was the Francisation environment the place of fostering the diverse community of French learning migrants, it also became a crosswalk of intersecting cultural norms where these migrants get in touch with, accept, or challenge each other's norms.

> 영어는 존댓말이 좀 거의 없잖아요? 불어는 tu 랑 vous 로 존댓말이 구분이 되잖아요. 그래서 그게 좀 차이점인데, 한국에서는 문화적으로 한살이라도 나이가 많으면 존댓말을 쓰는 경우가 많지 나이 차이가 나는데 반말을 쓰는 경우가 잘 없잖아요. 그래서, 그 멕시코 여자 분한테, 나이도 잘 모르는데 tu 라고 말을 놓는 상황이 한국 문화에서는 자주 있는 일이 아니기 때문에 '말을 놔도 괜찮겠습니까? 저는 (age)살입니다.' 이렇게 했더니, 멕시코에서는 나이를 물어보는게 실례다, 이렇게 얘기를 하시더라고요. I personally had this episode of having a conversation about an honorific form and age. You know, English has very weak honorific markers, but French distinguishes *tu* and *vous* for that. And in Korea, we culturally use honorific forms depending on the age gap, right? So, I asked my Mexican friend if I could use *tu* with you with revealing my age, because the age gap is important in Korea to get informal with each other. And then, she said it's not appropriate for her culture to ask about someone's age. (Jimin, translated by Moon, interview 1)

> With the Level 4 teacher, we had this presentation about a LGBT movement in Iran. And there were us and another group. We were joined together on Zoom. And this filmmaker, he presented us his documentary that he had done. And, in Mexico, they are debatable topics. In that sense, I had other colleagues that just didn't agree to the meeting because it went against their beliefs [because they did not think the LGBT movements are not salient enough in Iran, not because they were opposed to LGBT rights (this clarification was made through an email exchange)], [of] which [I was] totally respectful. (Riley, interview 1)

As the cases of Jimin and Riley, Francisation experience provided, although sporadically rather than systematically, opportunities to exchange opposing or coinciding perspectives about cultural topics that are sometimes benign but other times inflammatory.

In sum, the results indicated that the participants were having a hard time developing an affiliation with the province of Quebec even with the help of the Francisation curriculum. However, the positive experience of interacting and building relationships with their classmates offered more windows to foster their sense of belonging to the community of migrants in Quebec. Moreover, the conception of heterotopian spaces by Foucault (1967/2008) provided insights into facilitating a place to make changes that could benefit adult migrant learners themselves. This vision informs how this language learning environment has a potential to reach for inclusion, solidarity, and transformative power that makes migrants' perspective visible by fostering heterotopian spaces where heterogeneous views co-exist and interact.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This chapter provides the methodological limitations of this research study and lays out how the results can contribute to an extensive range of entities including a body of academic works in the field of language ideologies in education, language and education policy, Francisation organizations, and French teachers and teacher educators that aim to benefit adult migrants. I close this chapter by suggesting directions for further scholarly efforts relevant to the findings.

6.1. Limitations

Despite my efforts to secure the academic rigor of this research, there are some aspects of this study that need to be addressed as shortcomings. First, the number of participants of this study, nine in total, makes this a preliminary investigation. In the beginning, the aim of the adequate sample size for the current research was twenty participants. However, due to the difficulty of recruiting such a number of informants, the target participants were sized down to ten with careful scrutiny. Even though qualitative studies are usually conducted with smaller size of participants than quantitative research, this is one of the limitations for this study.

Secondly, the demographic constitution of participants does not perfectly represent the registrants of Francisation courses in Quebec. For example, three out of nine participants are of South Korean origin, which is disproportionate to Koreans' presence in the population. This imbalance stems from my own national background as a South Korean and my linguistic capacity of speaking Korean as my first language. Because the option of conducting the interviews in Korean was significantly appealing to potential Korean participants, the number of

ethnic Koreans applying to participate in the study was originally in total of six. I carefully

examined their demographic information and selected three participants from the pool, in pursuit

of finding a balance between limiting the number of Korean participants and enlarging the

dataset. Moreover, eight out of nine participants identified as female. Although the proportion of

Francisation learners' gender was inclined towards a female majority in 2016–2017 (61.3%

female and 38.7% male) (Gagnon & Dion, 2018), the gap between the gender proportion of this

study and that of the population is not small. I tried to counter-balance this disparity by giving

comprehensive accounts of participants' narratives with detailed background information with

which readers can make meaning of certain phenomena.

Lastly, this study resorts to the interview data as a primary source of analysis. That is,

any moments of ideological manifestation described in this study were analyzed based on the

participants' perception about such events. I made this methodological choice because the

timeframe of data collection was under the full influence of COVID-19 and observing

classrooms was not a feasible option. In an effort to corroborate the accuracy of my analysis

about participants' accounts, I triangulated the interview transcripts with classroom resources

that learners gave me. I also drew on the member-checking scheme with email exchanges and an

additional Zoom interview by seeking confirmations about my analysis from participants

themselves who shared the source information. In addition, I employed the analytic tool of

critical narrative approach (Hickson, 2016) with which I deeply engaged not only by exploring

the content of what participants narrated, but also by exploring how participants came to hold

such perceptions and how this process might be in touch with power dynamics within the

society. In this way, I was able to look beyond what participants perceived and intended to reveal

in some cases. Nevertheless, there might be some aspects about their ideologies that only ethnographical methods could have revealed.

6.2. Contributions

The benefit of this study is tri-fold. First, it aims to contribute to adding one piece of the jigsaw puzzle to the collective scholarly effort to illuminate how language ideologies work within the adult language education context. In this regard, this research is meaningful in that it captured how awareness about certain language ideologies varies depending on the substantial influence of such ideologies on perceivers' lives. It also sheds light on how adult migrants are agentive learners that accept or reject language ideologies in classrooms according to their specific needs and purposes of learning languages.

The second purpose of this research is to provide ways to establish or amend policies regarding the Francisation program. The results of this study suggest the urgent need for Francisation programs to be closely tied to the substantial professional integration of migrant learners. It is paramount that any future efforts to reform of the program examine why graduates' French proficiency is often insufficient to successfully integrate into the professions they pursue and how this weak outcome can be improved and overcome.

Lastly, this study can support Francisation organizations and teachers by offering insights into how programmatic operations and curricular choices can be improved in ways that respect learners' existing linguistic repertoires and cultural knowledge. The Francisation institutions, especially those who also run immigrant-supporting activities and services by fostering community networks, need to develop programs in which Francisation learners can build and facilitate their own community and extend this solidarity towards the larger community of

immigrants involved in the institutions. Moreover, the results imply that Francisation teachers are recommended to orient their teaching practices in plurilingual pedagogies or translanguaging to effectively make use of resources that learners already possess.

6.3. Future Research

Based on what has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, I propose two topics that might be interesting for future studies. First, the process of learners' registration and French learning as well as the process of their identity formation have been well-documented in previous studies including the current research project (e.g., Amireault, 2020; Ralalatiana & Vatz-Laaroussi, 2015; Roussel, 2018). However, little is known about the experience of Francisation teachers, about how they attain qualifications for teaching in Francisation programs, what kind of professional development support is provided by the Ministry, and how language ideologies circulating in teacher education programs as well as in Francisation classrooms impact their pedagogical choices as well as their language teacher identity. This topic is particularly important, because the results from this and other studies clearly point to the significant role that teachers play in shaping learners' ideological stance as well as their sense of belonging.

Another area worth probing is how the teaching and learning practices of plurilingualism and translanguaging can be utilized in Francisation classrooms and how we can carefully balance migrants' need to maximize opportunities to produce French language output and the pedagogical tactics that actively make use of learners' existing linguistic and cultural resources as valuable tools. A wealth of studies have tapped into this issue in primary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions (e.g., García et al., 2017; Lau & Van Vigen, 2020). In contrast, studies that focused on translanguaging or plurilingualism within the context of adult education are scarce.

However, the results of this study indicate that it is also greatly imperative to document how a

teacher's pedagogical stance and practices affects adult learners' learning experience and

influence the holistic process of migrants' social and professional integration. Thus, examining

adult migrants' experience with pluralistic pedagogies would be an important next step forward

from this study.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer

**PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FOR
A QUALITATIVE STUDY**

HAVE YOU TAKEN OR
ARE YOU TAKING
FRANCISATION PROGRAMS?

If so, I welcome you to a study examining your experience as a non-French-speaking migrant in Quebec in Francisation classes! Please contact me if you:

- are living in Québec and over 18 years old
- have at least 3 months of Francisation experience within 2 years from now
- have a migrant background (for example, immigrants, international students, expatriate workers, etc.) regardless of any racial, ethnic, linguistic backgrounds)
- are comfortable reading / speaking in English or French

The interview sessions will be as following:

- They will be fully online (via Microsoft Teams).
- They would last about 1-2 hours.
- They will be recorded but you can freely turn your camera off.
- You can choose to talk in French or English.
  (note: if French, a translator will accompany us in the interviews)
- You can choose to talk in oral or written form.
  (note: if in written form, we will communicate through chat)

**Plus, participants in this study will be entered into a draw for
10 Amazon Gift Cards that are worth $25 each!**

If you are interested, please contact me!

Phone

Email address :

Principal Researcher | Supervisor

Shiin Moon | Dr. Susan Ballinger

Second Language Education
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University

RECRUTEMENT DE PARTICIPANTS POUR UNE ÉTUDE QUALITATIVE

AVEZ-VOUS SUIVI OU SUIVEZ-VOUS DES PROGRAMMES DE FRANCISATION?

Si oui, vous êtes invité à participer à une étude portant sur le processus de socialisation linguistique des migrants racisés dans les programmes de francisation au Québec. Veuillez me contacter si vous :

- vivez actuellement au Québec et avez plue de 18 ans
- vez au moins 3 mois d'expérience en francisation au cours des 2 dernières années
- avez une origine immigrée (par exemple, immigrés, étudiants internationaux, travailleurs expatriés, etc.) indépendamment de toute origine raciale, ethnique ou linguistique)
- êtes à l'aise pour lire et parler en français ou anglais

Les séances d'entretien seront les suivantes :

- Ils se dérouleront entièrement en ligne (via Microsoft Teams).
- Ils duraient environ 1 à 2 heures.
- Ils seront enregistrés mais vous pouvez librement éteindre votre caméra.
- Vous pouvez choisir de parler en français ou en anglais.
  (remarque : si français, une traducteuse nous accompagnera dans lesentretiens)
- Vous pouvez choisir de parler sous forme orale ou écrite.
  (remarque : si sous forme écrite, nous communiquerons par chat)

De plus, les participants à cette étude participeront à un tirage au sort de 10 cartes-cadeaux Amazon d'une valeur de 25 $ chacune!

Si vous êtes intéressé, contactez moi s'il-vous-plaît!

Téléphone
Courriel :

Chercheuse principal
Shiin Moon

Directrice de recherche
Dr. Susan Ballinger

Second Language Education
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

McGill | Faculty of Education | Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Participant Consent Form for Demographic Questionnaire and Semi-Structured Interview

Researcher:

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1. **Title of Project:** Language socialization process through Francisation programs in Québec

2. **Purpose of the Study:** Hello! You are invited to participate in a study that examines the 'language socialization process of racialized migrants (immigrants of color) in Québec,' especially about their experience in Francisation program. Francisation program is a government-led French as a second language course for non-French speaking adults in Québec (Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et d'Intégration, 2020). In order for newcomers to navigate a thriving personal, social, and professional life, it is crucial to understand the historical tension around French language in Québec as well as to be a competent speaker of French language. I want to know how Francisation programs present the linguistic knowledge and intermixed sociohistorical ideologies to their learners and how this information impacts the process of being a member of French-speaking Québec community. Importantly, this process and trajectory can differ by a migrant's race or ethnicity. By clarifying how Francisation program can help the racialized migrants' to develop a sense of belonging in Québec, this study aims to benefit racialized migrants by seeking ways to make this program more inclusive.

3. **Study Procedures**:

   Here is a summary of the process (please also read the detailed explanation below):

   - Read and sign this consent form and send it to me
   - Fill out the demographic survey form
   - Schedule an interview
   - Revisit your Francisation experience with any activities that you like
   - Have a conversation with me in an interview session
   - (if needed) Have a shorter second interview with me

The first step is to sign this consent form and return it to me by email if you agree to participate in this study. Remember that you must be over 18 years old to participate in this study. After then, you will fill out a demographic survey form via Google Forms. It will take about 5 to 10 minutes. Next, you will schedule an interview with me. Before the interview, I will encourage you to revive your memories about your former or current Francisation experience. For example, you are invited to go through some classroom materials, to have conversations with your (former) classmates and take memos, to re-read/write journal entries, or to do any other activities that can help you bring up the feelings and thoughts about your Francisation experience. I recommend you bring these documentations (materials, memos, journal entries, etc.) with you to the interview session if any. You can choose to share or not share the original files with me (See Question #10) except for the teaching materials that are created by your instructor or someone else. You will then participate in an on-line interview session via Microsoft Teams. I will ask you some questions with topics like your life stories, Francisation experience, language, race, and a sense of belonging within Québec. A session will last about one to two hours. You may answer either in a spoken form or in a written form through the chat function in Teams. You also have options to choose to interview in French or English. Please note that if you choose to talk in French, a translator will be with us during the interview. The interview session will be recorded, and you can turn off your camera if you want. After the interview, I might ask you to have another brief talk via Microsoft Teams if I need more information from you.

4. **Voluntary Participation**: It is completely voluntary to give your consent and participate in the study. You can cancel your consent to stop participating in this study at any stage of the research, and your decision to do so would not cause any disadvantage for you. If you choose to withdraw during or right after the study, all information obtained up until that point will be destroyed unless you specify otherwise at the time of withdrawal. Please note that once data have been combined for publication, it may not be possible to withdraw your data in its entirety. I can only remove your dataset from further analysis and from use in future publications. And withdrawal is no longer possible once data have been anonymized by destroying the pseudonym key (approximately one month after publication) as your data will no longer be identifiable.

5. **Potential Risks:** This interview may provoke uncomfortable emotions in the process of answering questions. You may recall and describe your experience of systemic racism, such as microaggressions or racial bigotry. It is entirely your choice to reveal your experience. You will not be forced to answer every question, and you can terminate your participation at any point in the interview process. Also, a translator will be with us if you choose to talk in French. The translator and I will strictly adhere to the Confidentiality Agreement Form on which we signed, but you can terminate your participation if you feel overly revealed or too uncomfortable to continue the process. Lastly, although all reasonable precautions are taken, there is always the possibility of third-party interception when using communications through the internet.

6. **Potential Benefits:** There are no direct benefits for participating in this study, but your help can push the research forward to benefit racialized migrants in Francisation

programs by providing valuable data for improving their learning environment to be more inclusive.

7. **Compensation:** Those who participate in this study can be entered into a draw for 10 Amazon eGift cards that are worth 25CAD for each. The odd of winning this lottery is about 50 % (10 gift cards / 20 potential participants). The date of draw is approximately January, 2022 (subject to change). It is necessary that you answer a skill testing question correctly in order to qualify for a chance to win the draw. If you wish to be considered for this prize, please answer the following question :

$(3X4) + (5-2) – 3 = ($ $)$

8. **Confidentiality:** For this study, I will collect 4 types of identifiable data; signed consent forms, demographic survey forms, interview recordings, and various forms of documentation of Francisation experience brought by participants (hereafter Francisation documentations). The demographic survey will be conducted via Microsoft Forms, and interview recordings will be transcribed into Microsoft Word document. In the process, your names appeared in the recordings will be replaced by your pseudonyms in the transcriptions to avoid an unexpected revelation of your information. Your names and the corresponding pseudonyms will be listed in a separate Microsoft Excel file locked with a password. All of these files will be stored in a secured cloud service platform Microsoft OneDrive with limited access (allowed only for my supervisor, me). A translator will only have access to personal information revealed during the interview and she will strictly comply to the confidentiality agreement form. The demographic survey results and the name-pseudonym identifying list will be deleted within one month after releasing the findings, so you cannot withdraw from the study from that moment on because I will not be able to identify your information. The original recording files and the original Francisation documentations will be deleted within one month after the transcriptions. The transcriptions of the recordings, the digitized version of Francisation documentations, and the signed consent forms will be stored in a secured laptop for 7 years and destroyed thereafter (approximately in December 2028). The findings of this study will be used for the researcher's master's thesis and may be published in academic journals or presented in academic conferences. In such cases, only your pseudonyms will appear in every release.

9. **Questions**: If you have any questions or need any clarifications about the project, please do not hesitate to contact Shiin Moon at 438-831-7192 or shiin.moon@mail.mcgill.ca

10. **Consent for retaining data in case of terminating participation**

I agree to share my Francisation experience documents with the PI for   Yes (   ), No ( ) being used as sources of data analysis (you can respond to this question later on, and you can always change your answer).

Please sign below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researcher from their responsibilities. Please save a copy of this document to keep for your own reference.

Participant's Name: _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the McGill Ethics Manager at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca".

Appendix C: Demographic Survey Form

Demographic Survey Form (Francisation experience)

This is a demographic survey form for a study about racialized migrants' their Francisation experience.

Filling out this form is completely voluntary, and you may leave any items unanswered if you do not feel comfortable answering them. However, this information is very valuable for this study because it will greatly help my understanding about your experience in Québec.

I assure you that your information will be strictly protected by the researcher. If you have any questions about this survey or any process in this study, please don't hesitate to contact me. 😆 (shiin.moon@mail.mcgill.ca)

+ Please note that the sample answers or examples are there to help you clearly understand what the questions are asking. Your answers DON'T have to look like them!

1. What is your full name? (Sample answer: Shiin Moon) _____
2. What is your preferred pronoun?
    a. She/her/hers
    b. He/him/his
    c. They/them/their
    d. Other
3. What year were you born? (Sample answer: 1992) _____
4. What is your first language(s)? Indicate all if multiple (Sample answer: Korean) _____
5. What other languages can you use? Indicate all if multiple. (Sample answer: English, French) _____
6. Do you feel like you are a visible minority in Quebec? If so, what racial/ethnic identity do you have? A visible minority means "a person, other than Aboriginal peoples, who is non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2021). Your answer might look like this (or not, of course!) : I feel I am a visible minority. I identify myself as an East-Asian. _____
7. Do you feel like others see you as a visible minority in Québec? _____
8. What is your country of origin before migrating to Québec? (Sample answer: Sample answer: I was born in South Korea) _____
9. How long have you lived in Québec? (Sample answer: Sample answer: 6 months / 1 year and a half / 7 years) _____
10. Are you currently enrolled in Francisation Program?
    a. Yes
    b. No

11. What level are you in Francisation program? You can also indicate your class code if you are not sure. (Sample answer: NIVEAU 2 / beginner / intermediate / advanced / FIA109 etc.) _____

12. How long have you learned in Francisation program? (Sample answer: 3 months / 1 year etc.) _____

13. What level were you in Francisation program when you finished your courses? You can also indicate your class code (ex. FIA109) if you are not sure. (Sample answer: NIVEAU 2 / beginner / intermediate / advanced / FIA109 etc.) _____

14. When did your Francisation courses end? (Sample answer: The course ended 6 months ago. / It ended in May 2020) _____

15. Why did you decide to leave Francisation program? (Sample answer: I finished off the highest level of the curriculum. OR I did not want to continue my study because..) _____

16. Why did you decide to enter Francisation Program? (I'll hold my sample answer to avoid limiting your answer to a specific topic) _____

17. Which language do you prefer in our interview sessions? (Please note that a translator will accompany us if you choose to talk in French)
    a. French
    b. English

18. Please let me know **3 possibilities (time and date)** about when you are available for our interview session (from December 1st to December 15th). *Please note that a session takes about an hour to finish, and it is preferred not to be interrupted by any noise, person, or event. Please let me know the time slots when we can (virtually) sit down and talk for a whole hour in a peaceful space. 😊 (Sample answer: 1) 12/1, 1~2pm, 2) 12/7, 3~6pm, 3) 12/15, all day OR I am free all weekdays after 5pm. _____

19. I will send you the designated interview schedule with an email address that you wrote below. _____

Appendix D: Interview Protocols

- **Introducing this interview process**
  - This interview will examine your experience in Quebec and how the Francisation program has impacted on it.
  - Therefore, this study will mainly include listening to your life stories, before, during, and after the Francisation program.
  - It could contain some traumatic or vulnerable memories of being discriminated against.
  - I will give you plenty of time to tell your story, and if you prefer, you can type in your story in the written form through the chat.
  - I will call the government-funded French language classes as 'Francisation program.'
  - This interview will take about an hour.
  - This interview will be recorded and transcribed.
  - You can turn your camera off and always stop participating or withdraw from this study.
  - Do you have any question about the process?

- **Confirming demographic information**

- **Before coming to Quebec**
  - Briefly tell me about yourself and your life when you were in your home country
    - Your past experience (work/study)
    - Decision to come to Québec

- **After the arrival**
  - Any notable impressions of Québec?
  - Any difficulties you have had living in Quebec?
  - Were your previous work experience/credentials valued?

- o Have you experienced any discriminatory episodes? (racial, ethnic, religion, language…)
- o What do you know/think about French Vs. English conflict?
    - ▪ Your opinion?
    - ▪ Impact on your life?
    - ▪ Did Francisation help you understand this issue in some way?
- o Have you had any feeling of being respected about your heritage culture or language?
- o Do you have any memorable experience you did not mention?

- **During their Francisation courses**
    - o Do you have any materials or memos you brought? Can you briefly explain them to me?
    - o Can you briefly tell me how an ordinary class would flow?
    - o Did you have no-English rule in your classes?
        - ▪ Was your French learning effective with this rule?
    - o How many teachers did (do) you have? From Quebec, France, or other nations? Which varieties did they use in classrooms?
    - o Do you have any memorable experience you did not mention?

- **After the Francisation courses**
    - o Can you briefly tell me about your life after learning French?
    - o Did you get the job you wanted?
    - o Are you planning to continue to live in Quebec?
    - o Did Francisation help you reach the French skills for
        - ▪ 1) finding the ideal job
        - ▪ 2) communicating in French in your daily life?
    - o Why do you think it did/did not help you, and how could this be changed?
    - o Before learning French, did you feel like you are a member of Quebec society? And did Francisation experience help you in this regard?
        - ▪ What do you think it takes to be a member of this society?

- **Wrap-up**
  - o Do you have any more information that is relevant to this study?
  - o I will contact you shortly if I need more information.
  - o Thank you! If you have any questions, please contact me.