Meanings of Integration

A Study of Language, Nationalism and Social Diversity in Montreal, Canada

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ABSTRACT

Problem/Background: Integration becomes more socially complicated in a bilingual city, where one language is considered to be both threatened and protected by nationalist policies. I study the meaning of integration with two central questions in mind: First, how do the Quebec government's nationalistic immigration laws function in the bilingual city of Montreal? Second, how do such policies and the language proficiency of individuals permitted to immigrate to Quebec, influence the integration experiences of newcomers?

Purpose: The purpose of this research is not to provide a solution to the challenges faced, but rather to recognize the diversity of experience of immigrants today. I analyze the social and political implications of integration experiences and provide insight into the reality of immigration and the possible ways to aid in the integration of newcomers.

Brief description of the study's points of departure and approach: Six qualitative interviews with immigrants in the Francisation Program and with others already proficient in French were conducted to analyze Montreal's distinct challenges. The critical interpretive approach is applied, recognizing diversity in viewpoints and meanings created through power relationships. With the help of theory and literature published in the field, this paper provides a historical context for Quebec's unique approach to language and diversity today and the development of a nationalist sentiment or the "imagined political community" of Quebec. Individuals are continually redefining their identity and because of this, ethnicity must be studied by looking at one's perception of their own culture and behavior.

Conclusion: Results suggest that due to the government's inadequate communication of the particular linguistic and cultural environment and the lack of services to support bilingualism, the integration experience for both French and non-French speaking immigrants in Montreal is precarious. As a result, it is common that immigrants in Montreal change their professional orientation as a strategy to overcome common linguistic and job market challenges.

Keywords: Language, Integration, Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Pluralism, Bilingualism, Francisation, Quebecois and Reasonable Accommodation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Today people travel the globe with greater ease than in the past and many choose to settle in a new country. Industrialized countries, like Canada, promote immigration to help fulfil their needs in the job market and improve their participation in the global economy (Blaser, 2006, p .1). Between 1993 and 2002 the province of Quebec alone accepted an average of 32 100 new immigrants per year from a variety of countries across the globe (p. 1). In the 1960s the majority of immigrants came from European countries, whereas in the past twenty years most immigrants have been coming in large numbers from Asia (35.8%), Africa (24.2%) and the Americas (14.9%) (p. 1). Economic integration is an essential part of general integration for these immigrants and the ease in this process is influenced by their language proficiency in the official and functional languages of Quebec. As the metropolis centre of Quebec, Montreal attracts the majority of immigrants and is not only the most multicultural region in the province, but also Quebec's economic center (p. 5). Research on immigration and meanings of integration in Quebec is thus best carried out in Montreal.

Montreal is traditionally bilingual and, unlike many other countries, political and economic power is no longer in the hands of one dominant linguistic or cultural group. As immigration continues to increase in number, focus has shifted from the survival of French-Canadians as a 'minority' in Canada to interethnic relations and multiculturalism across the country. Between 1970 and 1990, the percentage of ethnic groups in Quebec other than French and English doubled, thus the common perspective of a French-English duality changed (Piché, 2002, p. 13). Interethnic relations focused on immigration policy and French-Canadians believed the federal policy to be a threat to their survival (p. 14). Today, federal and provincial cultural policies must consider French, English, First Nations and Immigrant rights and needs. Immigrants moving to Montreal are therefore faced with two dominant groups: the French controlling the local politics and the economy, and the Anglophones with political and economic power on a national and international level. The integration of immigrants entering a functionally bilingual city, with power relations between linguistic groups, makes immigrants certain to integrate into their long-term place within the language and culture (Blaser, 2006, p. 5). Those that have recently come to Montreal arrive without the knowledge of history, politics, or social and economic information to situate themselves within the city. In the process to discover where they fit in one must determine which group will provide them with access to their material and symbolic needs (pp. 5-6). Throughout history, the presence of French-English dualism in Canada has produced many challenges

and situations of compromise. This dynamic has made language, nationalism and ethnic diversity central parts of Canadian society and immigration in Quebec (Hiller, 2000, p. 169).

With a marked interest in the experiences and unique meaning of integration for newcomers across Canada, I became interested in the meanings of integration into a bilingual culture in Montreal, considering issues of language, nationalism and social and cultural diversity. In Montreal today, discussion centres on questions about the need to support immigrants' needs with reciprocal integration, wherein individuals adapt to each other's cultures. In Quebec and across Canada, this notion is classified as reasonable accommodation and has become the new 'hot topic' in immigration politics. Changes are being made to transfer the responsibility of integration from that of the newcomers to include the government and people. There is a lot of debate over the extent to which the government and the people can adapt to other ways of life, especially in cases that violate North American morals and basic notion of human rights. The idea of reasonable accommodation remains an issue in Quebec, especially where there are laws in place to protect the French language and Quebecois culture, in face of increasing cultural diversity in the province.

To help express the complexity of integration in Quebec, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation[1] (CBC), presented a special program on Quebec Pluralism in December 2007 with hearings from the Reasonable Accommodation Commission and interviews with two Quebeckers to address the question of where to draw the line in cultural debates, or the extent to which one can infringe on the rights of others[2]. What is most revealing in the report is the contrast in the interviews presented; one interview is with a Quebecois man whose roots in Quebec go back to the 1600s and the other is a woman who immigrated to Quebec in the late 1960s. The Quebecois man represents a lack of acceptance to immigration in his willingness to accept newcomers as Quebecois, but without support for those who intend to uphold their cultural customs. He argues that the French language and Quebecois culture will disappear in the next 20 years if Quebec stays a part of Canada and immigration continues to be the means to replace the baby-boomer population. In contrast to this discussion, the non-native-born Quebecois woman speaks of the enriching environment that immigration provides, the need to increase the population and argues that we can learn and benefit from diversity. These examples further illustrate the complexities of integration in bilingual Montreal, as the Franco-Quebecois man conducts his interview in broken English and the non-native Quebecois woman speaks in perfect French. It is evident in these examples that the woman

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[1] The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is Canada's national public radio and television broadcaster.
[2] (CBC news, Dec 12th 2007, http://www.cbc.ca/sunday/200 7/12/120207_2.html)

has integrated into the Quebecois culture as the man would like. On the other hand, however, the man arguing in favour of assimilation is married to a Lebanese woman and is in fact contributing to the 'English dominance' in Quebec in his choice to do the interview in English. The man's actions represent the reality of issues faced in debates on reasonable accommodation contrasted to his acceptance of full integration of immigrants and his strong ideals and feelings of historical connection to his culture. This example represents the pluralist approach to immigration in Quebec, which is challenged by discussions of reasonable accommodation and shows that we do not have a well defined line for rights drawn in debates. Despite general similarities; cases are unique in their empirical details[3]. It is this social diversity and variation in experience that I choose to investigate in this paper.

It is evident that integration becomes more socially complicated in a setting in which one language is considered to be threatened and, as a result, protected by nationalist and linguistic policies. I have therefore chosen to conduct field research for this report to consider experiences of immigration and integration into the bilingual culture of Montreal, Canada to understand how the Quebec government's nationalistic and linguistic policies function in a city where Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone individuals reside[4]. The research objective is to analyze the social and political implications of integration experiences and provide insight into possible policy recommendations that could be made, or services developed, to aid in the integration of newcomers in the post and pre-migration stages.

I am studying the meanings of integration of immigrants in Montreal because of my interest in relations between language, culture and people. I chose Quebec for my research because it has specific provincial selection criteria for immigration, and Montreal in particular, because it is a metropolis that combines nationalism and bilingualism, with multiculturalism. My focus on language in integration was initially developed from my experience teaching English to immigrant women in an employment centre in Montreal (referred to as Center A in this report). These women expressed their difficulty finding work because they were only French speaking. I realized that in face of the government's focus on francisation programs in integration there is also a need for free English language training.

My research investigates the questions: How do the Quebec government's nationalistic immigration laws operate in the bilingual city of Montreal? And how do such policies, and the language proficiency of individuals permitted to immigrate to Quebec,

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[3] (Dussault, 2006, www.radiocanada.ca/nouve lles/Carnets,1).

[4] In the Gendron Commission's reports, a Francophone was described as an individual whose mother tongue is French and everyday language is French, an Anglophone follows the same criteria, but with English and an Allophone is an individual whose mother tongue is neither French nor English (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1043).

influence the integration experience of newcomers? This paper argues that due to the government's inadequate communication of the particular linguistic and cultural environment and lack of services to support bilingualism, the integration experience for both French and non-French speaking immigrants in Montreal is precarious. As a result of this instability in their integration, immigrants often change their professional orientation as a strategy to overcome common linguistic and job market challenges. It is important to listen to the immigrant population to better understand experiences today. Thus, in my research and analysis, I look at individuals' stories, focus on their integration into French and English communities and consider the social significance of language and francisation programs in their integration.

This paper presents the effect of nationalistic policies and language proficiency on the meanings of integration for newcomers in Montreal. In the analysis of this report, it is up to the individual to be critical and to take it upon oneself to give people a chance and understand what the 'real' situation is in Montreal. In discussions of bilingualism and the prevalence or weakness of French in Quebec, there is a great element of partiality in accounts of history, with personal experience, situational evidence and opinion behind debates. Discussion on the meanings of integration and issues of language, nationalism and diversity therefore lends to strong defensive reactions that come from the heart, the soul and the partisan self with words of history texts, family stories and the media manifest in a strong sense of nationalism. I encourage the reader to be open to new ideas and approaches to immigration regardless of the perspective presented; to listen and to understand the realities of integration as told through the experiences of new immigrants in Montreal.

2. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The History of French-English Relations in Canada

To understand culture and politics today, it is important to look at the history of Canada and the development of multiculturalism. Canada is a country founded by the First Nations people, the French and English settlers and immigrants who populated the land. With increasing diversity across the country, I have examined the nature of such diversity within a preserved and transforming culture: "la culture Quebecoise".

Historically in Canada, English Charter groups were politically more powerful than French Charter groups and immigration was controlled by the British in power (Hiller, 2000, p. 168). Thus in the beginning of the colonial era, in what is now Canada, a power dynamic

developed between these two charter groups, as well as among other ethnic groups. This dualist dynamic remains in the framework of contemporary Canadian society. Despite the English being politically dominant, the French had more control than other ethnic groups over culture in Quebec, which is why many view confederation as an agreement between the French and the English (pp. 169 & 179). Before confederation, politics of language and culture were central areas of debate. The Quebec Act of 1774 was one of the first acts that recognized the French people by allowing them to be sovereign and to re-establish French civil law in Quebec. Although the French community could continue to develop, individuals were not to impose their language, religion or legal system upon others (Fraser, 2006, p. 15).

The first legislature on language was established in 1865, soon followed by the British North American act in 1867 (Constitution act of 1867). The Constitution marked the beginning of the federal dominion of Canada, which separated the eastern and western regions and conferred political power to the people of Quebec over their French-speaking territory (Fraser, 2006, p. 17). For French-speaking Canadians, confederation represented recognition of bilingualism and biculturalism, whereas for English-Speaking Canadians it was a sign of protection for the rights of the French (p. 31). English-speaking Canadians considered the 'French Fact' as provincial and had the attitude that a bilingual Quebec would be part of a dominantly English-speaking Canada (p. 31). These changes were part of the development of a nation-within-a-nation known as the francophone 'state of Quebec'.

The Quiet Revolution
'The Quiet Revolution' began in the province of Quebec just before 1960 when the state undertook a series of social changes as a result of new economic developments, and political and administrative modernization, ending in 1970 (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1041). Francophone Quebeckers felt blocked in their social mobility, wanted to change the English capital and political dominance in Quebec, and aimed to restructure the traditional Quebecois society (Hiller, 2000, p. 179). The Quiet Revolution was a time of "rattrappage" (*catching up*) (p. 179) for French-Quebeckers who were enraged by the need to be proficient in English in order to partake in decision-making, and by the income gap between groups (Fraser, 2006, p. 6). As a part of the independence movement, the provincial government gave financial support to French enterprises to help gain control over the future of Quebec and to become the "maître chez nous" (*masters in our own house*) (Hiller, 2000, p. 181). The Quiet Revolution was no longer a silent struggle when it escalated to the "October Crisis" on October 16th 1970 (p. 181). At this time Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the *War Measures*

Act of 1914 in response to the kidnapping of the British High Commissioner and the murder of the Quebec Cabinet Minister by the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ), an anti-government 'terrorist group'(p. 181). Trudeau's decision to invoke the act gave greater power to police to arrest individuals involved with the FLQ and at this time the "October Crisis" turned the once 'Quiet' revolution into a national crisis. Throughout the 1970s "l'épanouissement" (*flowering*) of Quebec continued, relying on the Quebec government as a means of changing the situation in Quebec in hopes for sovereignty association (p. 182).

During and following the Quiet Revolution, there was a gradual out-migration[5] by the masses of hundreds of thousands of English-speaking Quebeckers to other regions in Canada (Hiller, 2000, p. 35)**.** The English-speaking Quebeckers that stayed in Quebec prepared themselves to live as minorities in a French-speaking society (p. 76). Although research suggests that Anglophone-Quebeckers left primarily for economic opportunities outside of Quebec rather than politics and language, this 'socially acceptable' reason is still a result of political and linguistic barriers (Fraser, 2006, p. 134). As a reminder of the Quiet Revolution, in the 1960s official documents and the media began to use the term "Etat du Quebec" (*state of Quebec*) and "le Quebec" instead of "province du Quebec," changing the meaning linguistically parallel to a developing national identity (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1042). The Quiet Revolution was a process of "self-modernization" as a nation-state questioning the legitimacy of the federal government (p. 1041). The revolution influenced education, health and welfare policies in Quebec and immigration became a primary area of collaboration and opposition between the provincial and federal governments (p. 1042).

After the Quiet Revolution, by the 1980s there was a more stable francophone society in Quebec, countered by a decreasing population and fertility rate[6] (Hiller, 2000, p. 184). Quebec responded to this decrease by welcoming immigration, primarily from francophone countries, which developed a more diverse province but created further linguistic segregation in Canada [7](Fraser, 2006, p. 35). Government officials from the immigration office in Quebec were placed in federal branches to help promote immigration of individuals who could support the province's cultural and linguistic ambitions (Hiller, 2000, p. 182). Concurrently new language laws to protect French were established, as well as the term "Quebecois".

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[5] The peak in out-migration of primarily Anglo-Quebeckers was between 1976 and 1981 (Hiller, 2000, p. 183).
[6] In the 1950s Quebec had one of the highest fertility rates in Canada, but by the 1980s it dropped to the lowest (Hiller, 2000, p. 184).
[7] In Montreal, where almost half of all Quebeckers reside, currently 67 percent of the population's mother tongue is French, 14.3 percent English and the remaining 20 percent 'other' ("Population, Quebec Portal).

Laws Protecting the French Language

The now omnipresent term 'Quebecois' was first used when the Gendron Commission's Legislation on Language was established in 1968 by the provincial government, as an early initiative for French language rights in Quebec (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1043). The government created new laws to promote French-language teaching, including Bill 63 in 1969 which states that: "the [Quebec] Minister of Immigration shall, in conjunction with the Minister of Education, take the steps necessary to insure that persons establishing themselves in Quebec shall acquire upon their arrival knowledge of the French language" (p. 1043). In 1974, protection laws went further with Law 22, which made French the official language of Quebec and French heritage the national heritage which the government was responsible to protect (p.1043). These laws are important in order to support the language and culture of Quebec, but they do not address or represent individuals with other cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Before French became the public language in Quebec, the federal government implemented the policy of two official languages in Canada (bilingualism) (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1042). Initially some saw this change as the federal government's response to the Quiet Revolution, whereas others saw it as a response to greater territorial concentration of Francophones in Quebec. Thus the policy was viewed as the government's attempt to shift focus from Anglo dominance and recognize the French people (p. 1042; Hiller, 2000, pp. 169 & 182). The federal policy of two official languages was presented as part of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism established in 1963, which focused on a bicultural Canada, not a multicultural one (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1042). Many citizens did not support the idea of biculturalism because it did not recognize other ethnic and First Nations groups in Canada.

In Quebec, laws were established with converse policies to support unilingualism. Many Canadians outside of Quebec argue that a policy of unilingualism challenges the federal government and as a result grow frustrated by the way in which the policy of bilingualism infringes on their lives. Nonetheless, in 1977 Quebec passed an additional law to reaffirm that French is the official language for all people living in Quebec. Law 101 states:

> As the distinctive language of a people which in its majority is francophone, the French language provides the opportunity for the Quebec people to express its identity. The Quebec national assembly … is therefore resolved to make French the language of Government as Law as well as the language of work, education, communication, trade and business (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1044).

This statement shows how Law 101 made language an economic and political tool to change what was considered ethnic nationalism to territorial nationalism, of which the unifying

element of the population is language (Hall, 2000, p. 192). The term 'minorities' was replaced by 'ethnic minorities,' which reveals a systematic opposition between the francophone majority and 'ethnic minorities' in Quebec (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1044)[8].

In Quebec government sources, the terms "ethnic group" and "néo-québécois[9]" are used to refer to anyone associated with a nation other than Canada or Quebec, or who has their own "patriotic" and "national events" (Symons, 2002, p. 5). Thus the French majority is not considered to be an ethnic group in Quebec, just like the English majority in Canada do not consider themselves as ethnic, even though historically they considered French-Canadians as a minority ethnic group (p. 5). Over time, French-Canadians have formed a provincial majority, they have come to reflect a similar association of ethnicity with 'minority' groups in Quebec and have removed this label from themselves. Power as a majority has therefore transformed the way in which French-Canadians are viewed by others, or view themselves culturally. Despite this dissociation from ethnicity, Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2002) classifies Quebec as a *proto-nation* ethnic group, or a "nation without a state" (p.15), with political leaders that fight for their nation-state and political control (p. 14). Such distinctions create debate over issues of immigration and integration into the 'Canadian' and 'Quebecois' culture.

Immigration policies and procedures are often most revealing of the governments' standpoint in debates over language, culture and national identity. At the time that Law 101 was established the French language became the dominant and common public language that immigrants must be oriented towards (Labelle, 2005, p. 90; Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 2). The Quebecois identity gained strength and Francophones in Quebec felt reassured about their linguistic environment, while Anglophones in Quebec became a well-defined minority group (Hiller, 2000, p.192; Rocher, 2002, p. 9). Without Law 101 and the increasing francisation of immigrants it is possible that social tensions would have escalated and resulted in further backlash against Anglo-Canada (Rocher, 2002, p. 17). It is, however, debatable whether or not Law 101 increased or decreased nationalist sentiments: although it created a more dominant Franco-Quebecois identity, it reduced the fear of linguistic assimilation that helped sustain nationalism (p. 9). Often at a time of change an individual may perceive their identity to be threatened and at this time their social, ethnic or national

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[8] Ethnicity is a term used in anthropology to imply a social relationship between culturally different peoples, creating a distinction between 'Us' and 'Them', as well as conflict between a dominating and a dominated ethnic group within the nation-state (Eriksen, 2002, pp. 11-12 & 19).
[9] Refers to non-French or English Canadians, usually representing immigrants (Symons, 2002, p. 5)

identity becomes crucially important (Eriksen, 2002, pp. 68 & 76). In the case of Quebec, threat against the Quebecois identity and language strengthened nationalist sentiments.

Before the 1960s, many immigrants adopted English as their primary language because it provided them with greater opportunity to find work and to advance within their field (Blaser, 2006, p. 6). This was not always by choice since the Francophone community was not open to newcomers. Several Francophone Catholic schools restricted the participation of immigrants and their children for religious reasons, whereas Anglophone social services were more developed and open to diversity (Maheux, 2004, p. 4). This was before the government responded with Law 101, but despite recent legislations passed to protect the French language, an underlying negative sentiment towards immigrants remains for some, as well as conflict between many Fracophones and Anglophones (Fraser, 2006, p. 137). There has however been great social change in Quebec since the 1980s which, fuelled by nationalist sentiments, has arguably made French financially favourable (Blaser, 2006, p. 6). Montreal is the cultural centre of Quebec where both French and English are important in integration and immigrants can choose between these, and other, linguistic and cultural communities in settlement[10].

Approaches to Immigration: The Case of Canada and Quebec

The strong presence of French in Quebec today is a result of a series of movements and laws to encourage integration of newcomers into the Francophone culture. Immigration has made ethnic difference and culture increasingly important parts of Canadian society, but reasons for immigration and government policies have changed throughout history (Hiller, 2000, p. 170).

After the Second World War, Quebec began to establish its own immigration politics and policies. At this time the government recruited immigrants primarily as workers, but by the end of the 1970s the focus was on professionals, as well as on ethnic preferences determined by the 'adaptability' of individuals of a particular origin to the Canadian lifestyle (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 3). Until the Point system was established in 1967, government immigration policy was highly discriminatory and focused on the 'suitability' of migrating groups with preferred nations (e.g. immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe) (Hiller, 2000, p. 170; Mc Andrew, 1996, p. 15). Once the new system was in place, focus shifted to integration into the workplace rather than nationality, as well as greater responsibility for welcoming economic and political refugees (Hiller, 2000, p. 179). By 1978

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[10] The 2001 census shows that from over 7 million people in Quebec, 9.9 percent were born abroad, including 18.4 percent of Montreal's population, making it essential for all to accept diversity (Labelle, 2005, p. 90).

this change was more definitive as immigration by non-Europeans was encouraged. Regardless of improvements over time, the selection process encourages profit from a cheap labour resource provided by new immigrants and capital investment of entrepreneurs (p.179). The need for immigration as well as the patterns and procedures carried out vary across the country. Quebec is particularly distinct in its power over, and approach to, immigration.

Immigration regulations in Quebec have specific selection criteria permitted by the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration enacted in February 1991 that shares responsibility of selection between the federal and provincial government[11]. The Canada-Quebec Accord on immigration encourages selection of those that the Quebec government believes would "adapt well to living in Quebec"[12] and grants control to the provincial government over settlement services (Labelle, 2005, p. 90). Urban areas are the prime reception centres for immigrants in settlement and, although ethnic diversity becomes more prominent in these areas, ethnic segregation remains within its smaller communities (Hiller, 2000, p. 170). Upon arrival, immigrants can choose to settle in Francophone, Anglophone or Allophone areas in Montreal. In the selection process these immigrants are classified into three categories:

(1) Economic, or Independent- the most common group
(2) Family Re-unification- individuals linked to citizens/permanent residents (Ex. parents or children)
(3) Other immigrants- including those through marriage or legal sponsorship
(Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 7; Plan 2006-2007, p. 7).

Refugees or other "asylum seekers" are classified in a fourth group, but this group is chosen based exclusively on the federal government authorities' selection criterion (Plan 2006-2007, pp. 2 & 7). Important factors considered in the selection process include: professional experience pre-migration, French and English proficiency, work experience in French or English, a life partner and one's age (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 8). According to Piché and Renaud (1997), immigrants chosen based on their qualifications (usually as independent immigrants) who have already taken language classes before arrival find work more easily in Quebec (p. 3). Language is therefore highly valued in the selection process in Quebec.

In the past 20 years the government has developed a political discourse on linguistic and economic integration of immigrants distinct from other approaches to integration in North America (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 2). In the 1990s, new politics of integration were adopted with the establishment of *The Government Action Plan in Matters of Immigration and Integration*[13] *(1991-1994)* (p. 5). The objective of this action plan was a goal of francisation through language classes for new immigrants to improve the participation of

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[11] (Symons, 2002, p. 9; www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/quebec/index.htm, pp. 2 & 4)
[12] (www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/quebec/index.htm, p. 2)
[13] "Plan d'action gouvernmental en matiere d'immigration et d'integration" (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 5).

immigrants in Quebec at the level of equal access to employment, housing, and to ask public and private institutions to adapt to a pluralistic and multiethnic society (p. 5). The economy in Quebec experienced great change in the 1990s; since the socio-economic status of Franco-Quebeckers could no longer be filled by the state, the Quebec government considered a change in economic orientation towards the private sector essential (Rocher, 2002, pp.1 &. 12). Growth in the private sector nationally and globally helped create a new political economy nationalist in nature as the government of Quebec decided that the presence of Francophones in key sectors was important (p. 12). Thus the resulting Francophone dominance in several parts of the economy, primarily in Montreal, as well as the ties of the private sector to the United States make the knowledge of both French and English essential.

Francisation

There is great debate over selection criteria and admission categories imposed on immigrants in Quebec, of which language is a central part of the selection process. One orientation adopted by the Quebec Citizenship and Immigration for the 2005 to 2007 period is that a minimum of 50 percent of immigrants to Quebec know French upon arrival[14]. The Ministry of Immigration in Quebec and the Ministry of Education work together to provide free government-funded French language and orientation classes for adults and children who settle in Quebec and do not speak French to aid in their integration into the Quebecois culture[15]. These services are not provided to learn English in Quebec. The French language training is called the Francisation Program and is part of the law that makes integration of adults and children a focus through both language and the educational system (Fraser, 2007, p. 138). The program also incorporates cultural lessons to teach the customs of the Quebecois workforce (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 8). Problematic are the varying levels of ability, education and professional training, ethnic origin and age of participants, thereby making the programs less successful. Services included childcare and cover transportation costs; nonetheless, research shows that men are more likely than women to participate in the Francisation Program and become proficient in French since the family prioritizes the man's professional development[16] ("Les Femmes et la Pauverte", 2005, p. 8). Despite efforts to aid in cultural and economic integration, it is evident that equal access to jobs and advancement for ethnic minorities has not been achieved. Whereas 12 percent of immigrants start working

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[14] (www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/quebec/index.htm, p. 2).
[15] (www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/quebec/index.htm, p. 4).
[16] More female immigrants (9%) than male immigrants (5%) in Quebec speak neither French nor English ("Les Femmes et la Pauverte", 2005, p. 8).

within their first week in Quebec, close to 20 percent remain unemployed after just under three years (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 7). Discussion about job integration barriers requires a close examination of Quebec's approach to the federal policy of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism vs. Pluralism

Canadian society and the Canadian identity are commonly associated with multiculturalism. Some view multiculturalism as resistance against Quebec nationalism; yet despite the 'fundamental opposition' to multiculturalism by the Quebecois, others view the intercultural, or pluralist, approach in Quebec as virtually identical to the federal multicultural approach (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1042; Nugent, 2006, p. 29). Although the government of Canada and Quebec are committed to political and cultural freedom for individuals, one must critically examine the variations in approaches to cultural diversity -Multiculturalism vs. Pluralism- to see how they represent the parties' political and social orientations (Feinberg, 1996, p. 1).

The federal government first presented the policy of multiculturalism in 1971, followed by the Multiculturalism Act in 1988, giving the right to Canadians to identify with their cultural origin and heritage (Garcea, 2006, p. 7; Hiller, 2000, p. 203; Landolt, 2005, pp. 148-149). After a lucid objection to biculturalism, there was further criticism for bilingualism and the policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s; some felt that the policy favoured non-threatening ethnic groups with values considered comparable to the 'Anglo-Saxon' majority's ideologies[17], while others thought it would separate cultural groups rather than promote integration (Hiller, 2000, p. 206; Landolt, 2005, pp. 149-150). Kymlicka[18] (1998) believes criticisms stem from a fear that the policy is limitless and responds to this retort showing that since its inception the naturalisation rate of immigrants has increased; therefore the policy does not create ethnic separation (Hiller, 2002, p. 206; Levine-Rasky, 2006, p. 89).

The Quebecois people were opposed to the policy, as many believed that its implementation coincided with campaigns perceived to deny Quebec's national status in Canada (Nugent, 2006, p. 22). Around the same time that multiculturalism became a policy in Canada, the Quebec Minister of State for Cultural Development, Camille Laurin, created a *Policy of Cultural Convergence* in 1978 in Quebec within the Ministry of Immigration (Fontaine, 1995, pp. 1041 & 1044). Culture was to include all contexts of life, including language and society of which focus was on the "traditionally French Quebec culture" (p.

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[17] Even though this report focuses on French-English and immigrant relations, it is important to remember that First Nations People in Canada must also be considered in issues of language, culture and multiculturalism.
[18] Kymlicka, W. "The Theory and Practice of Canadian Multiculturalism," Breakfast on the Hill, 1998 (Hiller, 2002, p. 206).

1044). The focus of this and subsequent cultural politics was (1) to develop cultural communities and protect their unique characteristics, (2) make French Quebeckers sensitive to and aware of the importance and contribution of these communities, (3) while also favouring the integration of such communities into a society where forming a nation of Quebec with focus on the French culture (Fontaine, 1995, pp. 1044 & 1045; Garcea, 2006, p. 4; Labelle, 2005, p. 91; Nugent, 2006, p. 27). Language and education were central areas of change manifest in immigration policies wherein the Quebec government controlled the treatment and integration of what was referred to as "cultural communities" (Fontaine, 1995, p. 1044). This approach, aiming to create a "common public culture" (Labelle, 2005, p. 91), differs from multiculturalism and is the beginning of a pluralist, or intercultural, approach to immigration.

Pluralism is expressed "[…] where cultural differences coexist in an atmosphere of mutual toleration" (Hiller, 2000, p. 203). The Government of Quebec considers the province to be a pluralist society which grants individuals the freedom to choose the system of beliefs, values, lifestyle choices and association with cultural or religious groups ("Population", Quebec Portal page). The terms 'interculturalism' and 'intercultural relations' are also often used to express Quebec's approach to multicultural policies (Garcea, 2006, p. 1). The problem is that where there is not strength by numbers, the government does not have a responsibility to support an individual's cultural needs; the government is only required to provide the opportunity for autonomous choice (Feinberg, 1996, p. 1). Although pluralism differs from assimilation, it is highly neglectful of cultural difference (p. 1). The government of Quebec defined a 'moral contract' between newcomers and native-born Quebecois stating that Quebec would remain a unilingual francophone society, maintain respect and tolerance for its ethno-cultural pluralism and all would adopt Quebec's charter of Rights and Freedoms of democracy, equality and political and civil rights, while contributing to nation-building (Garcea, 2006, pp. 4 & 12). It is clear that the notion of pluralism cannot be disassociated with the support for a francophone society in Quebec (Marharaoui, 2005, p.10).

The ideological difference between pluralism and multiculturalism then is that in a pluralist society cultural diversity is allowed, but no support or acknowledgement is required from other individuals; whereas multiculturalism encourages and tries to support different groups and accredits meaning to them (Feinberg, 1996, p. 1). A possible difference between approaches is that although demographic trends are similar to the rest of Canada, Quebec is

less diverse[19] (Nugent, 2006, p. 29). With increasing diversity in Montreal today, new movements for reasonable accommodation aim to change laws and habits to adapt to religious and cultural groups, challenging the pluralist view of cultural acceptance in Quebec.

Nationalism in Quebec

Through the 1980s and 1990s a series of efforts were made by the federal government to amend the constitution and settle political cleavages between provinces. A series of proposals[20] were presented as the government's attempt to create consensus between provinces and effective resistance against nationalism in Quebec. Tension remains between provinces due to special treatment of Quebec as a 'distinct society' and as a result of ongoing political struggles in Canada, Quebec nationalism has gained strength.

Monica Heller (2002)[21], who specializes in the role of language in the construction of social difference and inequality, illustrates how the emergence of Quebec nationalism has challenged the legitimacy of the Canadian state (Fraser, 2006, p. 26). In turn, the federal government has made several attempts to appease the people of Quebec. After years of debate, and due to the inability to find common ground between provinces in the accords presented by the federal government, the Quebec government made a final attempt for sovereignty in Quebec with the second Quebec referendum in 1995 (Hiller, 2000, p. 185). Canadians from across the country, as well as the First Nations people in Quebec, protested against Quebec's independence (pp. 185-187). Results showed a close 49.4 percent 'Yes' and 50.6 percent 'No' vote for separation; Quebec, therefore, remains a part of Canada (p. 186).

Through such battles, a strong sense of nationalism and cultural distinction has developed in Quebec along with social change and economic development. A history of resistance to colonialism, followed by French economic and intellectual power to fuel the Quiet Revolution and sovereignty association, direct aggression against non-francophone individuals and the desire for a new national identity, are all elements which combined have developed many strong nationalists in Quebec in face of an Anglophone majority in Canada (Hiller, 2000, pp. 185-188). An emotional attachment to the nation of Quebec unifies francophones and constructs a nationalist sentiment (Anderson, 1991, pp. 135 & 141). The reactionary behaviour that develops in strong nationalists is problematic, because it lacks an understanding of the origin of debates or the reason of defence caused by imaginations of the

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[19] The proportion of foreign-born individuals is 20 percent in Montreal (same as Calgary and Edmonton), compared to 50 percent that are foreign-born in Toronto and 40 percent in Vancouver (Cater, 2006, p. i).
[20] Including the new constitution (1982), the Meech Lake accord (1987) and the Charlotte Town accord (1992).
[21] Heller, M. *Éléments d'une sociolinguistique critique*. Paris: Éditions Didier, 2002.

nation (p. 135). Nationalist ideologies strengthen and connect individuals within a nation where they "[…] will never know most of their fellow-members […] yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6).

Nationalism in Quebec and the protection of its 'distinct culture' is strongly tied to language rights. Bilingualism is a federal policy created to support Quebec and other regions in Canada with large French communities[22] (Hiller, 2000, p. 193). Montreal is however the major city where the French and English communities meet and, as immigration continues to diversify the city and province, it is important to support minority rights within a nationalist culture. Although immigration today is viewed as the means to increase the population in French and English Canada, since the establishment of the Ministry of Immigration in Quebec (MIQ) in 1968, the government's ambivalence towards issues of immigration and diversity in Quebec have been "reflected in and symbolized by" (Symons, 2002, p. 3) the ministry's changes of "name, mandate and structure" (p. 4). In the late 1960s and early 1970s the concern was that immigration would eliminate the 'French fact' in Montreal and reduce the majority status of the French in Quebec (Fraser, 2006, p. 137). At the outset the MIQ was established with an essentialist approach to culture and ethnicity and this basis remained strong for many years (Symons, 2002, p. 4). More recently, the MIQ's main areas of focus have been to provide information and encourage immigration of individuals most likely to participate in and contribute to the development of Quebec, as well as to promote the preservation of their own ethnic customs and help in integration into the job market and culture.

Montreal Today

Influenced by the province's selection factors in immigration, Montreal is becoming increasingly bilingual (Heinrich, 2007, p. A1). Over the past 10 years alone the number of bilingual (French and English) immigrants in Quebec has increased five-fold[23] (p. A1). The idea is that reducing the number of immigrants with a language barrier will make social and cultural integration easier, as well as increase employability (p. A4). Language and, more importantly, bilingualism are essential for immigrants in Montreal to attain full integration into the job market and the Quebecois culture.

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[22] Francophones outside of Quebec are 'invisible minorities' in Canada (Hiller, 2000, p. 192).
[23] In 2006, 34% (15,098) of immigrants were bilingual up from 11% (3,013) in 1997 and conversely, only 23% of immigrants in Quebec spoke neither French nor English compared with 43% in 1997 (Heinrich, 2007, p.A1).

The city of Montreal is still the metropolis of Quebec with a large population of English-speaking Quebeckers, but "[o]ver the last 4 decades, through a combination of legislation, out-migration, education, and social consensus, French has become the social language, the language that most people use spontaneously in public, the default language of public intercourse" (Fraser, 2006, p. 134). The resurgence of Anglophone communities in downtown Montreal has made some Francophones uncomfortable, regardless of the level of bilingualism in these communities[24]. English-Quebeckers are now much more bilingual than French-speaking Quebeckers, of whom 2001 statistics show that approximately 67 percent of English-speaking Quebeckers speak French, whereas only 36.9 percent of French-speaking Quebeckers speak English. Although many people in Montreal encounter bilingualism daily, there are several unilingual French and English areas and social contexts that are segregated from each other. Montreal is a possible exception to Richard Joy's *bilingual belt thesis*, which argues that an imbalance of two languages within the same community will not be able to successfully coexist in close contact (Hiller, 2000, p. 192). Conversely, it is possible that Montreal's success in language relations is because "[b]ilingualism can only live if it is supported by two unlingualisms […]" (Fraser, 2006, p. 67). It is true that linguistic minorities are disappearing across the globe, but the notion of bilingualism as proposed by the federal government in Canada is to encourage individuals to be bilingual (*Individual bilingualism*) while the state provides services in both languages (*State bilingualism*)(Hiller, 2000, p. 193).

Although language remains central in discussions about immigration in Quebec, current debates focus on the incorporation of religious and cultural minorities. In February 2007, the *Reasonable Accommodation Commission* was established to respond to this concern and it refers to two main rights: one representing the host society, and the other as the individual who is part of a minority group that feels discriminated against (Piché, 2005, p. 20). The goal is to come to a consensus and adjust rules to fit individual's needs so that minorities are not discriminated against (pp. 20-21). Some believe that debates brought forth in discussions of cultural rights may result in more xenophobia, whereas others are happy to see a new platform for such discussions[25]. Despite the common assumption that governments are open to diversity and culture today, statistics show that in 1976, seven percent of governments across the globe found the level of immigration "too high", whereas by 2003, the figure increased to 21 percent (Piché, 2005, p. 13). There are several different possible reasons for an increase in dissatisfaction; this feeling is reflected in studies conducted on the

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[24] Bilingualism of Anglophones in Quebec (age 15-24) was at 80 percent in 1996 (Fraser, 2006, pp. 158-159).
[25] (Dussault, 2006, www.radiocana da.ca/nouvelles/Carnets,1).

experience of racism in Montreal with results showing that the majority of Arabic individuals reported several incidents of direct and indirect racism (Oueslati et al., 2006, p.6). Research conducted by Dorval and Joly (1993) also shows that the Quebecois do not treat all cultural groups the same and they suggest that projecting a more positive image of common attitudes towards immigration will decrease discrimination (p. 75). Regardless of the reason for negative sentiments towards newcomers, it is clear that issues of reasonable accommodation must be addressed by governments and citizens in Quebec to improve intercultural understanding.

3. THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In discussions about integration experiences, culture is an abstract term included that cannot be defined by single characteristics. One's culture is not exclusively defined by one's ethnic origin; rather individuals are continually redefining their identities in relation to different elements of culture (Hall, 1992, p. 3). In sociology and anthropology, ethnicity must be studied by looking at individuals' perceptions of their own culture and their behaviour, since the relationship between ethnicity and culture can be discussed as social constructs (Eriksen, 2002, p. 56). Since in Canada culture is defined through the First Nations people's histories, French-English relations, and more commonly today, through its diversity and multiculturalism, it is evident that boundaries and ideas about culture continue to develop. With increasing diversity, 'multiculturalism' was introduced in discussions of culture, which coincided with new approaches to changing patterns of settlement.

Although individuals in my research spoke about multiculturalism in their discussions about integration, the Quebec government is unique from the rest of Canada with its policy of interculturalism, or pluralism. The government of Quebec defines this pluralist society as "[…] open to an array of influences, from other cultures, while honouring basic democratic values" ("Population", Quebec Portal page). This approach is one of "civic relations" as it is the individual's choice to integrate elements of life that create their personal identity, within the context of a shared feeling of belonging to Quebec and respect for common laws and institutional structures. This differs from multiculturalism since it allows cultural difference, but does not encourage it in the same way. The tension between ethnic cultures and civic culture brings forth questions of reasonable accommodation of diversity in Quebec today (Piché, 2005, p. 9). Both theories of multiculturalism and pluralism face criticism, but most problematic is when these policies restrict self-expression and choice.

One detailed source used for this research to help understand the history-laden nature of culture is the book "Sorry I don't speak French" by Graham Fraser (2006). This text presents the history of French-English relations in Canada and gives an in-depth overview of the origins and development of language policy more than four decades ago, its application and how this policy functions in Canada today (Fraser, 2006, p. 10). Fraser situates himself in his work and aims to understand the response of the English-Speaking majority, while being empathetic to the French-speaking majority's experience and critical of history and politics in Quebec and Canada (p. 9). Fraser shows an understanding for actions and reactions of both the French and the English in the development of language policies in Canada. He addresses the policy of bilingualism and argues that it was developed to assure citizens that all languages and cultures be preserved within the nation (pp. 65-66). Fraser shows how the commission designed to promote bilingualism also protects unilingual communities. He argues that unilingualism is an important element because with bilingualism it is inevitable that one language will dominate and assimilate the other. Fraser still believes that, as the majority in Canada, English-speaking Canadians must actively partake in bilingualism; but some Canadians argue that there is a greater need for instruction in other foreign languages (e.g. Mandarin in Vancouver) and that Canada cannot be both bilingual and multicultural (p. 300). Although Fraser's text provides both perspectives and an excellent overview of changes in language relations, it is evident that many of the positions presented in historical accounts are from partial sources. It is important for Fraser to specify the sources of data gathered, or as applied in my research, to include personal accounts in his research to explain that history is created by stories of various experiences and is not inevitably 'factual'.

Labelle (2005) considers more recent issues of immigration. She provides a concise overview of federal and provincial tactics used to combat discrimination and support diversity in the 1970s and 1980s, while presenting examples of the current challenges faced by newcomers in Quebec (p. 88). Her discussion is especially relevant to my research in her acknowledgment of the problem of degree recognition and the consequential demotion of immigrants in the economic sphere (p. 88). Labelle raises the issue of the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002) in place to 'protect' Canadians and their values and norms, which reflects new post 9/11 security policies (p. 89). The new defensiveness in approaches to immigration in Canada shows a fear of diversity. This approach is reflected in the cultural situation in Quebec with protection of the Quebecois culture, language and people. With the change in social movements, public opinion and patterns of diversity, Labelle argues that the development of new approaches to immigration is essential (p. 88). It

is evident that since the 1990s, through changes in immigration policies, an effort has been made to make French the common denominator of culture in Quebec. Montreal, as the central municipality where groups of Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones reside, is a city where most immigrants settle within the core, unlike many other Canadian cities that have suburbs of immigrants (Annick Germain, Metropolis 2007). Therefore, as a primarily bilingual and increasingly multilingual city, language in integration requires further attention.

Blaser's (2006) paper on the linguistic integration and economic performance in Montreal provides a close look at the language 'problem' (p. v). In Blaser's (2006) longitudinal research conducted over a 10 year period, she categorizes subjects by their mother-tongue language to examine the effect that knowledge of the official and non-official languages of Quebec (French and English) has on the economic performance[26] of immigrants (p. v). She uses three theories to explain the disparities in salaries: human capital theory, discrimination theory and information reserves theory (p. 7). The most important in the language debate is the human capital theory, which includes linguistic skills. As one ages it becomes more difficult to learn a language and thus this element of human capital provides less benefit (p. 9). Like professional education, language skills can also be learned in formal (language course) or informal (work colleagues, friends etc.) settings, which is important to consider in an analysis of successful approaches to francisation in Quebec (p. 9). Blaser's results suggest that the language characteristics of the immigrants studied plays a much less significant role in their hourly wage than anticipated by common theories and research (p. 99); it is the measure of socio-economic status which is more affected by language than wage[27] (p. v). Blaser also found that knowledge of French and English only increases access to more 'prestigious' jobs in the first two years of settlement and that English is most beneficial in economic performance (p. 99). Results show that economic integration is not achieved for all over-time and that some ethnic groups, particularly those from Haiti, Vietnam and South America, are systematically discriminated against (pp. v-vi & 2).

The possible high level of discrimination against newcomers in Quebec is supported by results from a survey on the public opinion of Quebecois in intercultural and racial relations (Dorval and Joly, 1993, p. 74). The purpose of this study was to investigate the level of discrimination in Quebec and find ways to create a more positive image of minorities for the general public. Results show that the Quebecois are comfortable with most, but not all, cultural groups and only one third are happy with the integration of immigrants into the

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[26] Blaser (2006) uses socio-economic status, based on employment and wage, to measure this variable (p. v)

[27] Language still has an indirect effect on wage, since wage is a measure of socio-economic status.

Francophone community (p. 75). There is also potentially more discrimination in areas with high ethnic concentration, which indicates a need for intercultural contact in the workplace, schools, and through neighbours, friends and family (pp. 10 & 75). The action plan established to counteract these sentiments aims to project a positive common attitude in Quebec toward cultural communities and immigration and to show that minority groups want to integrate into the French language (p. 75). It is questionable whether or not the results published complement this action plan, since they reveal a negative attitude toward diversity.

Nationalism in Montreal, and in the context of immigration, is a final key topic to theorize in my research. The use of the term 'nationalism' in this context stems from an "old nationalism" brought forth by a history of oppression experienced by the French, resulting in a new nationalism that has gradually transformed (Rocher, 2002, p. 16). In its extreme definition, the 'new nationalism' holds resentment from the past and with the feelings of a shared culture, possession of political and cultural power is inflicted on the new 'other' (Eriksen, 2002, p. 111; Piché, 2002, p. 10). Breton (1978) considers the nationalistic nature of language policies and argues that they are designed to transfer possession of resources from the higher language (English) to the lower (French) to produce greater assets (pp. 656 & 663). I do not intend to portray nationalism solely in it's negative actions; rather nationalism is the social belief or the "imagined political community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) of Quebec as more than a region of Canada, but as a nation with "French culture as its content" (Hiller, 2000, p. 140; Piché, 2002, p. 10). The idea of "nation-ness" as a cultural artefact, constructed to unite a people and create an attachment against other nations, works in relation to Quebec wherein official nationalism is described as "an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 101) which makes its development reactionary (p. 4; Eriksen, 2002, p. 111). In his most basic definition, Benedict Anderson (1991) describes an individual's participation in the nation, or the "image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) as *limited* because there are clear boundaries distinguished from other nations, *sovereign* because it contains a unlimited power from the state and as a unifying *community,* regardless of cleavages or inequalities between people because of each individuals' deep attachment to the nation, which connects members (p. 7; Erkisen, 2002, p. 98). Anderson uses Gellner's (1964) example that "[n]ationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6), but it is not clear if the imagined community is used as a general term applicable to all communities, or if Anderson refers exclusively to the nation (Laclau, 2003, p. 23).

The larger or stronger a nationalist community becomes, the more it depends on the "imaginary", which, Laclau (2003) argues in his analysis of *Imagined Communities,* could take a negative turn to produce a racist or xenophobic nationalism (pp. 24 & 28). It is problematic when trauma caused by the past creates a reactive and protection-based ideology that leads ethnic forms (Piché, 2002, p. 10). The violation of the political principle, or, conversely, its fulfilment, creates a sentimental reaction in the people (Eriksen, 2002, p. 98). Gellner and Anderson have similar approaches in their emphasis on the ideological construction of the nation, looking for the link between the cultural group and the state, but while Gellner focuses on political aspects of nationalism, Anderson tries to understand the sentimental strength and persistency of the national identity (p. 98). Anderson is intrigued by the way in which individuals feel secure with members of their nation or ethnic community, but do not have such an altruistic attachment to their city or social class (pp. 77 & 98).

Eriksen (2002) uses a similar approach to Anderson but with a distinction between the nation and ethnic categories; he states that nations differ from ethnic groups because of their relationship to a modern state (pp. 97 & 119). Thus an ethnic ideology that has a state working for the ethnic group is a nationalist ideology, which when in action can be problematic. Since Anderson first wrote his book in 1983, there has been great change in ideas of nationalism with an increasingly problematic state in world affairs, but he has since improved his theory by adding a discussion on the politics of ethnicity (Chattergee, 2002, p. 16). Although Quebec has control of the provincial government and is represented by the *Bloc Québécois* in the federal government, it is clear that nationalism is connected to political consciousness and functional for the state since ethnic ideology and state apparatus join in its successful nationalism (Eriksen, 2002, pp. 103, 107 & 135). Nonetheless, people in Quebec do not consider their own culture as ethnic, which questions Eriksen's notion of a peculiar link between ethnicity and the state, unless one can equate culture with ethnicity (p. 98). Eriksen explains that the reason that nationalist groups equate ethnicity with the minority, is that as a majority in a nation state you are united by your imagined political community and ethnic boundaries must not invade political ones (p. 98). Research on such boundary maintenance and ethnic identity shows that constructed identities are most important at a time of change or modernization (p. 99). Therefore in a multicultural community, nationalism may not require ethnicity; individuals with different ethnic backgrounds can still be highly nationalistic and are possibly even more likely to be because of their experience of change, which can make them more vulnerable and in need for social cohesion. Nationalism creates the "collective individual", as Richard Handler suggests, and generally like ethnic ideologies

it creates symbols and meaning important to the daily life of individuals, while transferring emotional power to the state level (p. 107). Whereas Eriksen focuses on the combination of political legitimacy and emotional power, I agree with Anderson in reference to my research because the nationalist movement in Quebec is driven by reactionary steps against Anglo-Canada and the sovereignty movement. In conclusion, an analysis of nationalism shows that it is more influential than anticipated as the "most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (Anderson, 1991, p. 3), giving immigrants the choice of assimilation or ethnic incorporation (Eriksen, 2002, pp. 62 & 99).

Rocher (2002) argues that over the past four decades the Quebec government has taken numerous initiatives, including the development of a nationalist discourse in the province, which has strengthened the economic, cultural, social and political power of French-Canadians in Quebec, while also promoting the view of its unique position in Canada (pp. 1 & 16). The development of nationalist ideology, like in Quebec, results from conflict between groups with different interests and visions (p. 2). Piché (2002) questions the relevance of the nationalist model towards French-focused Quebec and argues that Canadians should create a more inclusive citizenship to adapt to new diverse and post-modern majority-minority relations of citizenship across nations (p. 1). The presence of cultural diversity must be intertwined within 'the nation' and welcome transnational ideas of citizenship in Montreal.

It is important to highlight the economic and cultural contributions of immigrants and the history of immigration in many of our own families to help combat strong nationalist movements against immigration. In the ambivalence towards immigration and diversity there is an increasing need to recognize that a culture is not clearly defined, but constructed in an ongoing process of negotiation of internal diversities (Symons, 2002, p. 22). To understand these variations there are multiple perspectives available to express these new hybrid forms of identity that exist, making the acceptance of diversity key (Landolt, 2005, p. 113). Thus, whether one applies a pluralist or multicultural approach to immigration, research must account for the great diversity between individual experiences. For this reason I chose to conduct interviews to contribute to previous research and develop scholar's social and experiential details on integration, to show the importance of welcoming newcomers with flexible policies and procedures and an understanding of their varying situations and needs.

4. METHOD

My qualitative research applies the critical interpretive approach in sociological research, recognizing diversity in viewpoints and meanings created through power relationships

(Alasuutari, 1995, p. 43; Bogardus, 2001, pp. 3-4). I follow the basis that research in cultural studies and sociology, as well as the critical perspective, should encourage "self-understanding and self-direction" (Zou and Trueba, 2002, p. 115) of those interviewed. To investigate my topic, I therefore conducted a total of six semi-structured interviews with newcomers in Montreal, asking individuals to reflect on their experience of immigration and integration. Ethical advice from Lund University's Department of Sociology was obtained, as well as informed consent from the participants for the interviews and research project.

I met my subjects through two immigrant community organisations that I was involved with as a volunteer in 2007, which are located in different areas of the city of Montreal. The first center (Center A) is in a Francophone area of Montreal with a large immigrant population and the other centre (Center B) is in an Anglophone neighbourhood. The sample was therefore one of convenience, initially derived by choosing individuals from these two centres that I approached about my research and who showed interest in being interviewed (Hulley et al, 2007, p. 32). This selection process requires subjective judgement to determine if results would be similar if a probability sample was used of the entire target population (p. 33). Although the non-random sample used may be unrepresentative of all immigrants in Montreal, the number of individuals that fit the selection criteria is too great and thus only those accessible in the research process have been asked to participate (p. 32). The idea is to document various experiences of integration of which the spectrum of diversity is more than I could possibly cover. The visitors at these centers are however from all over the city. Despite the limitations of this sampling technique, the participants were diverse in their country of origin, credentials, field of expertise and their personal history that brought them to Montreal. It is possible that selection bias in the sample, of which all individuals are affiliated with immigration centres, will alter the results (Oleckno, 2002, p. 140). The individuals interviewed may represent a more stable and active sample because of the social network the centre provides, or conversely, they may be less integrated into society than others who may already have jobs, or community and social support from other sources.

It is also important to define how the term *immigrant* is used in this report and sample selection. The official definition of an immigrant in Canada is someone who has the right to establish themselves permanently in the country, whereas a permanent resident has the right to live and work without citizenship (Juteau, 1999, pp. 62-63). Although I have focused on individuals who have recently arrived in Montreal and are permanent residents only, I categorize them as immigrants since they intend to apply for citizenship after the required three year waiting period. Individuals in this stage of immigration are also generally already

perceived and treated as immigrants by the host society. The reason that I spoke with individuals at this stage is because of my interest in the initial experience of integration and differences in language proficiency. It is in the waiting period to apply for citizenship that individuals truly experience integration and must adjust to the job market and culture.

The six interviews used contrast the experience of three individuals who are highly proficient in French, with three individuals enrolled in the government Francisation Program who have not yet looked for work. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, ranged from 30 to 90 minutes and were conducted in French, as chosen by the participants. It is important to note that French was not the mother-tongue language of any of the participants and therefore the level of language proficiency has implications in the results. The low number of respondents lends to greater depth in the analysis of cases presented. On several occasions the participants expressed that they gained great knowledge and personal growth in the interview process and were thankful for the opportunity to discuss their experiences, feelings and the meaning of their integration in bilingual Montreal. This positive outcome may be due to maintaining a feeling of reciprocity in understanding and experience between the subjects and the researcher by establishing researcher-respondent trust through dialogue in the interview process. Nonetheless, it is possible that respondent's simply felt a need to express themselves and share their situation with others; thus, when given the opportunity to discuss, they may inflate their need of support, or conversely, their independence in integration.

The interviewees were asked to speak about their experience moving to Montreal focussing on four main areas of discussion:

(1) **Background** - *country of origin, education/work, family, languages, reason for coming to Canada and immigrant category.*

(2) **Integration** – *meaning of integration, social relations (work, neighbours, cultural organisations etc.), association with Francophone or Anglophone communities, training services available and job market integration.*

(3) **Language, Francisation and Bilingualism** – *languages the individual speaks, uses daily or would like to learn and services provided.*

(4) **The significance of regulations to protect the French language** - *implications of provincial language legislations in bilingual Montreal.*

In the empirical analysis of the transcribed interviews I coded the respondent's ideas from the data, which lead me to focus on central themes. Through this analysis process, and as a form of data reduction, the major concepts integral to the research highlighted are: Language, Integration, Nationalism and Multiculturalism. As part of the interview analysis these concepts are defined and conceptualized within the primary and secondary data. Although the interviews were semi-structured with general topics outlined, the questions were open-ended

allowing respondents to drive the data collection process and analysis (Kreswell, 1998, p. 195). This inductive, hypothesis-generating approach looks for meanings of integration for the individuals from their perspective, rather than for behavioural generalizations (Silverman, 2000, p. 8). The research is structured as emic research as it reveals individuals' perspectives as well as my own theoretical and conceptual understanding (Willis, 2007, pp. 100-101). I do not claim that the research is objective as all qualitative research has elements of subjectivity from the project's inception, through the research process and analysis and into the final results and conclusions presented. Nonetheless, I position myself in the research and attempt to be impartial by being as analytically open-minded as possible.

In my analysis of the stories shared, I examine the individual's integration into the French and/or English communities in which they reside to consider the social significance of language in the integration experience. The intention is not to definitively answer general questions about meanings of integration in Montreal; rather the purpose is to reveal the various experiences creating these meanings and to highlight issues of language, diversity and nationalism. In addition to interviews, I gathered several notes through participatory observation from my involvement in activities at both centres. I also conducted an informal interview with the volunteer coordinator for the Francisation Program at Centre B for general knowledge about the clientele. This added an element of triangulation to increase validity, of which multiple perspectives are used combining data from different interviewees, observation notes, key informants, primary research and methodology (Marvasti, 2004, p. 114).

To share the people's voices, reduce common elements of research subjectivity in analysis and the limitations of reflexivity, I place emphasis on detailed excerpts from the interviews. These excerpts express the common ideas presented in the interviews and help to reveal how I, as the researcher, come to understand the participant's experiences and draw conclusions (Zou and Trueba, 2002, p.115). From the critical interpretive perspective I therefore recognize the positioned, partial and partisan nature of my own and the respondent's interpretations wherein reality is socially constructed and negotiated (Bogardus, 2001, pp. 3-4). The critical interpretive perspective encompasses a variety of schools of thought, including social constructionist viewpoints challenging conventionalism, and aims to promote justice and human action (p. 3). The individuals in this study construct their own meanings and knowledge about integration, revealing the complexities in experience and notions of practicality forming new national identities. Regardless of the complexities of experiences, in this study integration refers to the ability to 'fit in' to the host culture by adopting various cultural elements and learning how the society functions, not being

"absorbed" into the Quebecoise culture (Breton, 1964, p.193). Researcher and respondent positionality in qualitative research guides the results and I therefore present my own position and critical subjectivity in the research process (Kreswell, 1998, p. 196).

To summarize, the following analysis is derived from: six semi-structured interviews transcribed for analysis, field notes from a number of personal observations and discussions with key informants, and secondary research including official government documents on language and immigration policies, as well as other research and theoretical discussions on the meanings of integration, language, nationalism and social diversity in Montreal.

5. ANALYSIS

My interview analysis addresses suggestions and topics of discussion brought forth by the participants and intends to create a better understanding of the 'reality' of the experience of immigration and integration for French and non-French speaking immigrants in Montreal. In the interview group with highly proficient French-speaking immigrants I spoke with Fatoumata from Mali, where French is a common language (but not her mother-tongue), with Ana from Brazil who learned French after spending five years in Switzerland and with Imad from Iran who had been living and studying in France for ten years before coming to Canada[28]. From the group of individuals interviewed who are registered in the Francisation Program, I spoke with Miki from Japan who met her partner while at culinary arts school in France and with Maria and Johana both from Columbia who moved to Montreal recently with their families for reasons of safety and to provide greater opportunities for their children. All individuals are independent working-class/professional immigrants except for Fatoumata, who was sponsored by her husband to emigrate from Mali and is already a Canadian citizen.

The interviews brought forth several interesting suggestions and examples to understand the various experiences of immigrants in bilingual Montreal. These ideas are presented here with the following topics of analysis: *Language as a barrier and resource, Integration through Employment: the 'Quebecois Experience', Access to Quebecois Community Circles, Acceptance and Social Services, Nationalist Sentiments and Laws to Protect the French Language, Multiculturalism: the realities of integration and Political Implications.* These themes show that despite the complex nature of integration, experiences of cultural perseverance and defence are considerably more complex because of language issues and a history of oppression and self-proclamation. Overall results show that due to the

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[8] In the analysis pseudonyms are used to keep the subjects anonymous.

government's inadequate communication of the linguistic and cultural environment and lack of services to support bilingualism, the integration experience for both French and non-French speaking immigrants in Montreal is unstable. It is therefore common that immigrants in Montreal change their professional orientation as a strategy to overcome common linguistic and job market challenges.

Language as a barrier and resource

Despite the open-ended nature of my interview schedule, language was the central topic of discussion for each participant. The general feeling from these interviews is that language proficiency is a means to integration, or conversely, that language barriers are considered to be the number one barrier in integration (Mike Cole, Metropolis Conference 2007); this is also clear from my observations surrounding the interviews. Maria provided an excellent example of this when she argued with her children about the language of the film they were watching. First they were watching television in English, until they put on a film and her son set the language to Spanish. Maria struggled trying to change the language setting and told her he had to watch it in French. It is interesting to observe a child struggle between several languages and see Maria encourage him to learn and integrate. It is clear that language is a challenge that all non-French speaking immigrants face. It is also evident from my research that English improves chances in economic performance and integration in Montreal, making language a barrier also faced by French-speaking immigrants (Piché and Renaud, 1997, p. 6).

All individuals in the Francisation Program had additional concerns about learning English. Professional training or course work in English completed in Quebec is known to increase access to qualified work and professional pre-migratory experience in French or English can increase wages (Blaser, 2006, p. 99). Maria has already started taking English classes on the weekend in addition to the Francisation Program. She believes she will get a better paying job in the future if she speaks English and has a greater need because she lives in a primarily Anglophone area and wants to integrate and communicate with her neighbours. Language is thus an essential part of establishing cultural communities (Djité, 2006, p. 3). Most of the individuals taking the French language classes know some English, but believe it is better to focus on French and because of this they have forgotten a lot of their English.

In Center B, when a non-French speaking immigrant arrived at an activity, the women who I had always heard speak to each other in French began to communicate in English. I observed that some were even more proficient in English than in French. The focus in integration is however on French and this becomes their language of choice in conversation.

Regardless of the potential benefits of improving their English skills, French is considered essential and individuals utilize the government resources available to aid in their integration.

The government does not provide financial aid, such as welfare payments, to non-French speaking individuals if they have not been, or are not currently, enrolled in the Francisation Program. The reason for this is that the inability to speak French is viewed as the central barrier to economic integration and thus French language proficiency is a form of human capital (Blaser, 2006, p. 7). In one of my volunteer sessions at Center B, I noticed contradictory intentions of the government's restrictions when an individual from Iran spoke to me about her difficulty finding work. Nour has spent several years working in the Anglophone community in Montreal and has raised her children to become successful, educated adults. She has always been independent, but recently became unemployed because she does not have the written French skills required. Nour has become dependent on welfare and as a result is required to participate in the Francisation Program. She feels upset about her situation but is happy to learn French and knows that language is the main setback in her job search. Nour however expressed that she feels that the government's primary concern is that she find work and not that she learn French. I am confused about the government's primary concern because although linguistic and cultural integration is the basis of policy and programs, economic integration and sustainability are highly valued. There is an imbalance between nationalist sentiments to integrate newcomers and tactics to bring economic benefit; in this case it is evident that nationalism is laden with political implications functional for the state's cultural goals (Eriksen, 2002, p. 103). As a result of this structure, Nour's children will leave Montreal after graduating from university to find work in English, which indicates that language is the common denominator that compels life change for many in Montreal.

Maria also makes it known that integration is more difficult than she anticipated because of the language barrier. In her interview she said:

> **M**: Maybe I think that it *[integration]* is a bit more difficult.
> **K**: Than you thought?
> **M**: Yes, I thought that it's not easy, but I know that for the first month we did a lot of things. We went to all the places for immigrants.
> **K**: All the centers?
> **M**: Yes, all the centers, but, for example, I asked for integration to know the language, to know the region, the city; but all the places told me to integrate the first thing is that you must learn the language. […] I say, no, but why? If I have to speak French, I have to know that and then if I am with this person I can improve my French.　　　　(Maria, Sept 28, 2007)

It is clear in this example that linguistic integration is treated as the government's priority, but it was only at Center B that Maria was encouraged to come to participate in activities regardless of the language barrier. Maria felt that her and her family would learn and integrate faster by trying; even if they do not understand guided tours in a museum they have

the opportunity to meet people and to speak some French. Maria commented on how surprised she is at her children's ability to communicate with others, which proves that contact with community organisations and people helps improve language skills. Although language is important in one's personal identity and empowerment, integration is an on-going process, and regardless of language proficiency, integration can start before language skills are perfected, making involvement in community programs beneficial for integration (Djité, 2006, pp. 1-2). It is therefore important to be aware of the effect that a lack of support for Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone language rights in Montreal can have on cultural communities, as well as on individual's personal identity and happiness (p. 2).

It is clear that the individuals interviewed have made great efforts to integrate and although those from the francisation group focus mainly on learning French, some still look at possibilities for employment early-on. Linguistic integration in the job market is primarily in French for new immigrants; however immigrants are often hired in smaller enterprises with fewer than 50 employees, where the language used in the workplace varies highly based on the owner, often resulting in high linguistic concentrations in different enterprises (Maheux, 2004, p. 4). Maria's husband, for example, works for a courier company in the evenings. His job interview was conducted in Spanish and the work only requires basic English skills. Similarly, Miki found work before finishing the Francisation Program as a baker. Miki does not need French since most of the employees are immigrants and she does not deal with clients. She intends to open a bakery in the future; therefore she will continue with the language course later on. In such cases, it is more difficult for a new immigrant to integrate into the Francophone community, but Montreal's sociolinguistic diversity provides choice to work in different languages. Based on the examples presented, it is clear that where language is not essential for employment individuals enter the workforce as soon as possible.

There is less pressure for individuals participating in the language program to find work, since the program signifies progression as part of their economic, linguistic and cultural integration. Language however is not always the central element to explain periods of employment or unemployment for newcomers and, in Montreal in particular, it is difficult to distinguish the relative importance of French or English, since both have specific roles at different stages in employment integration (Maheux, 2004, p. 73). Individuals in the French-speaking group began the integration process looking for work and were often confronted with the difficulty of not speaking English. Several newcomers I met in Center A mentioned that in job interviews they were almost always asked several, even sometimes all, questions in English. Ana's husband, for example, works in the research field where he feels it is easier

to find a job in English. On an international scale he was prepared for this requirement because of the global dominance of English, but he did not anticipate this trend in Montreal.

As a result of the common English requirement, all French-speaking participants decided to change their profession; Fatoumata returned to school to pursue studies in an area that she thought would not need English and to get 'Quebecois experience' and both Imad and Ana found work in a different field that requires less experience. As a comparison then, the individuals enrolled in the Francisation Program were much more positive about language in Montreal, learning French and their experiences, than the French-speaking group who were further along in the job-seeking stage of settlement. Those seeking work discovered that depending on the company, sector, or region in Montreal, language can be a great barrier in integration into the job market. Language proficiency affects an individual's economic performance, which in turn influences their socio-economic status (Blaser, 2006, p. 7).

Integration through Employment: the Quebecois Experience

Employment creates a sense of purpose and is one of the central means of self-assurance and integration in a capitalist society[29]. Conversely, a change in profession or unemployment can alter an individual's life focus and personal identity. Many individuals that I interviewed experienced such change after leaving their home country. Ana, for example, is educated and worked as a language pathologist in Brazil. After moving to Switzerland for five years she felt that the language barrier (French, German and Italian) made her unable to work in her profession and as time passed she became disconnected from the field and approaches used. She found work as a librarian in Switzerland specialising in Brazilian texts and is currently employed in the same field specialising in French texts in Montreal. Ana is happy with her job, but it is clear that she had to adapt her skills in each new area of settlement.

The central challenge for professional immigrants across Canada is to prove to employers that their educational and employment background are legitimate and relevant, followed by the requirement for 'Canadian'/'Quebecois' experience and language fluency for workplace skills (Laaroussi and Walton-Roberts, 2005, p. 2; Sotomayor, 2004, p. 3; Silvano Tocchi, Metropolis Conference 2007). Renaud (2006) investigated the level of academic credentials and speed for immigrants to be active in the Quebec labour market to find that more than 91 percent of selected workers access the job market within five years, of which 68.7 percent will have a job corresponding to their level of education, with a 12.2 percent

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[29] Jean Renaud, University of Montreal (personal communication, February 17 2007).

chance of being demoted (p. 64). Although 91 percent may appear favourable, after five years immigrants should be able to utilize their skills and work in a job that corresponds to their level of education. One must take into consideration that individuals with low levels of education and low-paying jobs are included in the analysis and that after five years many have upgraded their diplomas or attained 'Canadian/Quebecois' experience for advancement.

Imad is an example of an individual faced with barriers of credential recognition. He has a PhD in Linguistics and is working in a bank while he waits for the review of his diplomas and experience to be processed. Imad is a qualified worker in the independent immigrant category and upon arrival followed all of the administrative steps in integration; just a few days after his arrival he began two months of orientation and training sessions for new immigrants looking for work. Imad was pleased overall with the training and keen to participate, but felt the sessions were too theoretical with insufficient practical information. When I asked Imad to describe what integration in Montreal means to him he said:

> **I:** For me, in general, someone who speaks the language that does not have difficulty to express their ideas. To apply, then to find work, and then someone who speaks perfectly, not perfectly, but well enough to manage in everyday life and who does not have trouble to adjust to the society. Who does not feel bad, who stays and who tries to stay, who finds work, and for me it's the person who is already integrated. Even if I take myself for example, my example it has been four months since I arrived in Montreal but I feel integrated; because I speak the language, French, and because I have found a job. And it's true that integration at first is that, and after there are other levels. (Imad, Sept 27, 2007)

So it is possible that he only feels integrated based on his ability to speak the language and contribute to the economy, but there are several incidences when Imad expresses uncertainty in his integration with comments on a lack of information, or the level of acceptance of newcomers. The way he presents himself socially and his eagerness to speak with someone and reflect on his experience is evidence of possible difficulties in integration. All the services he requires are offered - except for the costs and delay in his diploma evaluation - but he recognizes that there are many levels in integration and that he will still progress.

In general, integration is discussed in the interviews in relation to the individual's neighbours, work, friends and family (Dorval and Joly, 1993, p. 74). The interviewees also express a need in accordance with the CERE[30] definition of integration, founded on the notion of co-responsibility, with "[…] participation that implies a reciprocal exchange between the immigrant and the society" (Sotomayor, 2004, pp. 1 & 5). The interviewees used expressions such as "I feel integrated", "I make a lot of efforts to integrate myself" and so on, which illustrates a notion of non-existing reciprocity in integration. Even if the Quebec government is tolerant, understanding and welcoming to cultural diversity, it is also up to

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[30] Conseil Européen sur les Réfugiés et les Exilés

individuals to create active participation for reciprocal integration. It is possible that old cultural prejudices have taken on new forms, making integration highly connected to discrimination (Mc Andrew, 1996, pp. 9 & 15). An analysis of the individual's feelings of integration and the government's purpose to integrate newcomers will confirm this view if cases presented indicate that strong nationalist sentiments are imposed on immigrants, rather than active participation of both the newcomer and the native-born Quebecois.

To investigate this further, I asked Imad about the challenges he faced, if any:

I: Oh a challenge to raise, of course, of course! Yes the challenge was to forget ones skills; to forget ones diplomas and to restart from everything; to restart at zero. Maybe it is a bit exaggerated, but almost zero; to climb the ladder, from the bottom of the ladder. To start to climb from the bottom of the ladder […] even with a doctorate from France, yes the diploma. It has been; they have said that it would take a month and a half to evaluate and it has already been two months and I still have no response. I have no response for the comparative evaluation, but aside from that it is, it is very hard also in teaching for example, in the teaching domain.   (Imad, Sept 27, 2007)

Imad then adds that he feels people have been welcoming and the system has provided both social and financial aid, but he does not know yet if his challenges are societal, or personal.

I: If there is something that rests in my heart, right here, it's ok. I am happy. I know that I already have a job that does not correspond to my skills; I know that I could do a lot better than this. But in principle I will see. It will take time. If it takes too much time, it won't be ok; it will not be so easy.   (Imad, Sept 27, 2007)

Despite the setbacks he has experienced, Imad has not been here long enough to say whether or not people are truly accepting in the workforce and society. He does however know that there are several highly educated immigrants working in professions unrelated to their field and wonders if this could be a discrimination issue. Research conducted by Piché and Renaud (2002) shows this discrepancy between education and professional orientation in their results indicating that when immigrants are classified by their country of origin there is unequal advancement in the workforce, as well as a variation in salaries (p. 5). Immigrants from Western Europe and the United States are favoured in these areas, which is further evidence of ethnic discrimination and inequality (Renaud, 2006, p. xi). On an socio-economic level, immigrants classified as 'socio-professionals' and independent immigrants also have a greater chance of performing in the work force in Quebec and are more successful economically than family class immigrants or refugees (Piché and Renaud, 2002, p. 6). Nonetheless, despite their skills the cases presented in my research reveal difficulties in credential recognition. Along with credential recognition, immigrants are often demoted in the economic sphere (Labelle, 2005, p. 88). Imad gives the common example of a doctor he knows who is working as a taxi driver and makes the remark that this "says a lot".

Imad is not the only one to feel that he is not living up to his potential; both Fatoumata and Maria speak of the long waiting period before getting started professionally.

Fatoumata waited three months to have a meeting at an employment centre, Center A, and after calling other centres found it to be the same waiting period. Six months passed before she became 'active' in Montreal and decided to go back to school. Even though she felt this was too long, most of her friends considered her lucky to get set-up so 'quickly'. When I asked her what she did during this time, she said: "Nothing; watch television and sleep". Fatoumata was not aware that English would be important before coming and did not find any reasonably priced English language services when she arrived. Eventually she registered in the course at Center A, which was only available because I volunteered as the teacher.

Fatoumata cannot work in a bank like she did in Mali because she does not speak English. Since her husband was already established in Montreal, he was able to provide support in her integration and stability while she decided what steps to take to enter the workforce. She enrolled in a CEGEP (community college) program, which will prolong her integration into the workforce, but give her Quebecois experience. Fatoumata believes that in addition to the problem of language barriers, foreigners are disadvantaged in the job market because of the requirement for 'Canadian/Quebecois experience.' She expressed this idea when asked if she feels Quebecois people are generally welcoming to newcomers:

> **F:** I find that they are welcoming, but when you stay a while you will find the opposite because the moment that you have started to look for work you will have trouble to find work, trouble to integrate and all that. […] when you come the first thing is that […] you don't have Quebecois experience, and they don't think about your past experiences. The people have trouble to integrate since, that's it.
> **K:** Yes.
> **F:** I confronted the same difficulty when I arrived, I wanted to work, but they told me 'you have no experience Madame' and that's it.   (Fatoumata, Sept 20, 2007)

There is truly a feeling of wanting to contribute to society and wanting to work, but these circumstances sometimes place individuals in a situation of dependency. Even though new waves of immigration bring generally young and well-educated people rich in skills to work in key economic sectors, to help stimulate the economy and to encourage exchange between countries, there is a lack of social recognition for foreign experiences (Piché, 2002, p. 2). It is essential that new approaches to diversity be applied to such barriers in integration (Labelle, 2005, p. 88). Regardless of the will and the skills to work, when newcomers are continually turned away, they often fall into depression. Imad describes this part of the integration process as making people "vegetate" and feel helpless. Despite such setbacks, many remain hopeful and wait for an opportunity to enter the job market and contribute to society.

In Maria's interview, she expressed both happiness and longing. Maria feels fortunate to have time to spend with her children, but misses the personal fulfilment she once had as a professional woman. She is educated at the university level and worked hard in Columbia as

an administrative assistant for her family company, but wants to be active professionally in Quebec. She is currently in the 'Francisation stage' in her settlement and has been told "you must learn French, you must learn French". Maria is eager to have a 'real' life in Montreal:

> **M:** But I think in March I have to work because for me it is very important, my job, for me. Because now I don't do anything; I go home, but I need to work. My whole life I have worked, it's my first time on vacation I think. Because the last three years I did not have vacation […] but the first month for me that was very hard because all was so slow […] and I have energy to start and they say wait, wait […]
> **H:**   […] It was hard the first month.
> **M:** I am a very active person, to have nothing to do, I can't imagine it *(laughs)* and all that. But, after the first month, I had to […] for me it is hard because my whole life I have been very very fast, for me it is very hard. It is the first time for me. For me it is hard because there are a lot of opportunities because now I can have a lot of time with my children, more than before, and I prefer that. […] I make dinner and lunches and all that I can do, and I can go with Nicolas to wait for the bus. I can take my child to daycare. A few small things like that, some people say that maybe it is not important, but for me it is important. I can stay with him all night, before I could not do that. We would work and we would arrive late and maybe I would come home at five and my husband at seven or eight and my kids go to bed at seven so I only had one or two hours with them and that's all. Now I can have more time. We can go for a walk in the park and during the week, before that was not possible. But now Nicolas finishes his homework and we can go to the park. That is good. It's good and I can see him play and that is good.   (Maria, Sept 28, 2007).

Maria is enjoying her new lifestyle and is happy to spend time with her children, but her comment "I am a very active person" shows that she is missing self-fulfilment through work.

Dealing with change and integration appears to be both exciting and hard for those interviewed. When Johana from Columbia spoke of integration she expressed her difficulty:

> **J:** Integration is very hard. […] We can integrate with other people that speak the same language.
> **K:** Like people that speak Spanish?
> **J:** Yes. Integration with these people, but I think that integration should be with everyone. For example, Canadian people, people from Quebec, but I see that integration is hard. The first thing because we don't speak French well, it is a problem for communication. […] I want the person to be from Quebec and then there are people that see immigrants differently.
> **K:** You think that they see you differently?
> **J:** Different, and yes, and the people from Quebec is not integration. For example when we go into a building we give a greeting 'hello' and no one responds. It is very different for us.
> **K:** It is also a cultural difference.
> **J:** Yes, different. Because in our country when you arrive in a building […] the elevator for example, on the elevator it is normal to say hello and everyone responds.
> **K:** Ok, ok, and it is different.
> **J:** I see that the people are more apart.
> **K:** Are introverted?
> **G:** Yes are more introverted. Yes, and I make a lot of efforts to integrate myself with other people. Because I think that other people are very interesting. I think that I can give a lot of things to another person and the other person can know a little about my country. Because in my country there are a lot of problems, but the people are different and the problems are because of a small group of people that live there; but all the people are not like that.
>   (Johana, Sept 26, 2007).

Johana's focus is to integrate with Quebecois and Canadian people in Montreal. She lives in a highly Spanish-speaking area which has helped in her integration, but she does not feel close ties to her neighbours. She seeks individuals from Canada/Quebec who speak French and will be a part of her family. Despite Johana's difficulties with the cultural differences in Montreal,

it is important not to equate her culture with her ethnicity and to recognize that her experience varies from Maria's, who is also from Columbia; several elements of culture are combined and defined in the integration process making ethnicity and culture best defined through the individuals' perceptions (Eriksen, 2002, p. 56; Hall, 1992, p. 3). I observed at Center B that Johana invited myself and the only other Quebecois volunteer into her home. She was not the only individual I met who sincerely wanted me to meet her family and provide friendship.

It is important that newcomers interact with Canadians/Quebecois in order to learn the language and shared culture. One must also recognize how the government and the people could help achieve this goal. It is clear that although the meaning of integration varies between individuals, it was not easy for those interviewed. Ana is the only one that expressed ease in her integration. She believes that because she has previously been through the integration process in Switzerland, where she did not speak the language, this similar experience has prepared her and made her move to Canada with ease, relative to the others interviewed. This past experience has given her the coping tools and her ability now to speak French has also helped in her communication and integration in Montreal. Ana is lucky to no longer have a significant language barrier, since such an obstacle commonly leads to social isolation, miscommunication and exclusion from the job market (Sotomayor, 2004, p. 2).

Access to Quebecois Community Circles

Other than linguistic and economic integration, I discussed community circles with participants to consider their involvement in ethnic or other community centres in Montreal and how this may have influenced their integration. I discovered that individuals find their own means to learn about a country and to get advice to aid in their integration. One of the most fascinating stories presented to me in the interview analysis is the story of "Aurelie au Canada" *(Aurelie in Canada).* Aurelie is a woman from France who moved to Montreal and created a blog describing her experience and the steps she took to help in her integration. In their research, before moving to Canada, Ana and her husband found Aurelie's blog online and used the information as their guide to integration. They did not consult government resources, or participate in information sessions; instead they decided to follow Aurelie's advice. Ana began by applying for a job in the same IGA supermarket as Aurelie to help her adapt to the Quebecois accent and slowly integrate into the culture. Eventually Ana found a new job working in a library, but was pleased that she chose to follow Aurelie's footsteps.

Ana is also one of the few people to integrate primarily with Quebecois people and less into the multicultural community. When she took the language course at Center A, she

was happy that it gave her an opportunity to meet people from different cultural and religious backgrounds. It was surprising that although most individuals I interviewed had friends from their home country, or who spoke their mother-tongue language, they did not seek integration in cultural community centres. It was only Ana who felt that her connection to the church created an immediate Christian community and a support network when arriving, of which most individuals were Quebecois. She mentioned that she did not seek aid in a centre because she did not want to be classified as an 'immigrant' and "put in a box with the others" with normal 'problems' of integration; she felt happy to do things for herself. The others are more or less integrating together and experiencing the place as a family. Imad however, who is single, appeared quite lonely, although he said he is fine and chose to volunteer to help in his integration. All others participated in some activities at the community centres, but wished to know more people from Quebec or Canada and felt somewhat isolated within their family.

I heard a fascinating story about community circles and the history of Centre B from one of the old sisters who has been working in the centre for over half a century. She said that, beginning in the 1940s, the community centre would have weekly Thursday night dinners open to everyone in the community for a small fifty cent fee. When a new family would arrive in Montreal the sisters would invite them to the dinner so that they could meet others in the community and network with people who share interests, language and culture. This is a great idea for a community event that could be beneficial for newcomers today. The government now has a "Jumelage" *(Buddy)* program to connect newcomers to other citizens already established in Canada, but since the benefits of this service are hard to measure, the program is loosing support. These social programs and services are extremely important for newcomers but many are not well-funded and rely on volunteer aid. Several of the individuals I spoke with mentioned that they are pleased with the medical care and social aid provided, but feel that they lack connection to everyday people and the Quebecois culture.

Discussion of integration in Quebec therefore requires an understanding of the notion of the Quebecois people and culture. Although Quebecois is a modern-day term most often used to imply Franco-Quebecker, I use it as it was first defined by the Gendron report to include all Quebec residents, be it Franco-Quebecois, Anglo-Quebecois or individuals of another origin who intend to remain in Canada (Fontaine, 1995, p 1043). It is less common however, for Anglo-Quebecois to use the word Quebecois to define their national and cultural identity, possibly because French is the official language closely tied to the history of the national culture and the term Quebecois reflects a close relationship with one's culture and personal identity (Hiller, 2000, p. 190). There are therefore several levels and ways of

understanding the notion of Quebecois, which for many ethnic minorities or new immigrants can be both welcoming in its flexibility and difficult in its uncertainty. Nonetheless, it is clear from my material that the individuals interviewed did not yet consider themselves to be Quebecois and believed that greater access to, and participation in, Quebecois dominant community circles would aid their integration and feeling of acceptance.

Acceptance and Social Services

In the interviews, most stories described the acceptance and welcoming nature of people and the government in Canada, but also with suggestions for change and improvement. Miki provides an excellent example with her story of why she and her husband chose Montreal:

> **M**: I thought that I was going to live in Paris with my husband but he wanted to look for another place outside because he is French, but of African origin. So he told me that since he has been small everyone has told him that he is not French. He grew-up in France, but he is not French. So he did not feel at home back there. And then also, after he went back to his country of origin everyone told him that he is French, and that he is not Cameroonian. Therefore, he did not feel at home there either. […] He wanted to find a place where he would feel at home. Then he came for a week on holiday and he told me that there are a lot of immigrants, so he felt that he was at home because it's like, how do you say, it's the specialty to be an immigrant   (Miki, Sept 24, 2007).

Although her husband is a citizen of France, he felt trapped between two cultures where no one let him in. He was not accepted in his home country of Cameroon, or in France where he spent most of his life. It was not until he visited Canada that he felt he could fit in and be accepted for who he is in a multicultural city. Miki also compared Canada to Japan and said that she feels that Canadians are more open-minded. It was not just cultural acceptance, but she found it easier to find a place to live and as a resident feels that she has a lot of rights. She is still somewhat apprehensive about becoming a citizen since she will have to abandon her Japanese citizenship, but is happy that social services are available for immigrants in Canada compared to Japan where similar services are not even provided for native-born citizens.

Johana's experience coming to Canada has been a mixture of warm feelings from the people she meets and sensitivity to cultural differences that she finds difficult to deal with. It is less common for strangers to greet each other in Canada than what she is used to at home, but she is happy to be here in a new place. It is interesting to see a contrast in the feeling of Canada being open to cultural acceptance and closed in Johana's expressions of cultural customs. This shows how small incidents can influence an individual's experience of integration[31]. Whereas Johana described cultural differences, Maria has several stories of

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[31] In January 2008, French versus English language dominance in Montreal was debated in local newspapers with experience-based articles. *Le Journal de Montreal* presented an article on the lack of customer services in French and *the Gazette* responded to such accusations with a focus on the diversity of French and English

kindness from the Canadians/Quebecois she has met. In particular, when I asked her if she found people welcoming in Montreal she told me that she remembers the day "when we had arrived here *(laughs)* and a person said thank you for coming to our country". She was shocked that someone would thank her, when she felt that she had Canada and the people here to thank. She responded with: "But thank *you* that we can live here". She went on to describe an experience she had had just that day at a pharmacy in Montreal:

> **M:** Today I went to the doctor and I needed to buy medicine for Alexandra *(her daughter)* and […] I said, 'how much does it cost? And the pharmacist asked me if I had insurance from the government and I said, 'I don't know, here is my card'. So she told me, 'don't worry I will find it'. And after she told me, 'no you don't need to; you have insurance and for the time being you don't have to pay. Thank you and you're welcome.' Every one that knows that we are immigrants *(she becomes emotional here on the verge of tears)* they are so, I don't know, the people that know that we just came here. (Maria, Sept 28, 2007)

Maria was moved by this experience, which is an example of services provided by the government for new residents. Johana agreed that, even though they must wait three years to apply for citizenship, she is happy that the government offers social services, education and health care. She notes however that she does not have full rights:

> **J:** Yes, but we cannot, we are not Canadian citizens yet. We have to stay for three years to be Canadian citizens. But us here, we have a lot of rights, me and my family. Except the rights to vote and other things. I do not remember the other thing; I have forgotten. (Johana, Sept 26, 2007)

Johana does not appear to feel a great disadvantage in Montreal. Education is expensive in Columbia and she is happy to have these services. Therefore, despite research claiming a possibility of high level of discrimination against immigrants in Quebec, aside from their feeling of disconnection from native-born citizens, these individuals feel accepted and are generally happy with the government services provided (Dorval and Joly, 1993, p. 74).

Nationalist Sentiments and Laws to Protect the French Language

I went further to ask the participants what they thought about laws in Quebec to protect the French language and was surprised by the support for language laws by the non-French speaking group, since they often restrict choice. Imad is the only one who said he cannot comment on bilingualism because he does not speak English. He feels that there is insufficient communication between communities and that only those that are bilingual and immersed in both groups can draw conclusions. Ana's husband is bilingual and feels that the laws in place to protect French should be supported by an economy dictated in French, since he feels that there are several opportunities for work in English. He believes it is problematic that support programs implemented are to learn French even though English remains an asset

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services and situational factors. The contrast between these partial articles reveals that isolated events and individual opinions should not be presented as a general consensus in the language debate.

for many jobs. In one way he supports francisation programs by saying: "It is problematic if the money language is English and the economy is not able to work in French […]". Nonetheless, he believes the government is to blame for the strength of English in the job market and that if English is the reality in Montreal it should be worked into the programs and accepted. It is clear that there is a discrepancy between provincial laws and the experience of living in the bilingual city of Montreal.

Maria, however, was not aware of the language laws and said: "I do not know them well, but I heard last week or a few weeks ago that there was a law or something, a birthday or I don't know what". Maria is talking about the celebration of 400 years of Quebec, which is viewed by many, including the key informant that I interviewed in Center B, as an effort to foster more nationalism in Quebec. I went further with Maria to explain that when children enter the school system, if neither of his/her parents have attended an English school, or simply if they are immigrants, they are required to attend a French school in Quebec (Fraser, 2006, p. 154). There have been cases where new citizens, or even Anglophone Canadian citizens, have taken the Quebec authorities to court because they feel that their child would thrive better in the English school system. While some families win in court, others are forced to send their child to a French school where they sometimes have poorer grades and a low self-esteem from speaking French 'differently' than their Francophone classmates (p. 155). Some individuals I interviewed believe such restrictions are a violation of rights for personal choice, whereas others see the situation as normal for immigrants in a new country. Fatoumata, for example, believes that it is difficult for a person coming from any country to be put in a school where they do not speak the language and does not think that placing new immigrants in a French school is problematic. Despite living in an Anglophone area in Montreal, Miki also agrees with laws protecting French since the bilingual and multicultural aspect of Montreal makes it a unique part of Canada.

Maria also supported such laws and responded to this discussion by saying:

M: But I think that it is a good thing because not everyone is able to speak French. If I want to go to a French place I have to speak French. In my country, something like that, if I go to […] I have to do that, ok, if it is a francophone's place I have to speak French. I am not okay with other people that say, no, I have to study English. No but here, a lot of work is in English a lot, a lot, a lot and when we go for a walk a lot of people are speaking English. And I have only been here for four months, but I think that that is not good because after a while French will disappear and that is not good.
K: Yeah.
M: I say, ok, this is the person that wants to live in Montreal, he has to speak French. If not, I am sorry, we have other places in Canada where they speak English and you can go there.
K: Ok, but what do you think if, you for example, you are going to take English courses on the weekend because when you look for work you need the two languages. But the government does not give those courses; you have to pay for these courses.

M: Yes

K: So, like this do you think that maybe even if in Quebec in general, we speak French and everyone has to speak French everywhere, there could also be services for people in Montreal, where there are also Anglophones, to learn to speak both languages. Or, do you think that the government would not be protecting the French language if they gave both? It is just to know your personal option, for example.

M: I think that, you have to protect French. That is all. If it is not easy to find a job in English and if the job is the best […]

K: […] The best?

M: They give more money to the French. I will earn a bit, but if I have both [languages] I will earn a bit more. And ok, that is good, but for me, it is better that the government protects French.   (Maria, Sept 28, 2007)

Maria feels strongly about protecting the French language in Montreal but does not seem to recognize that there are many Anglophones in Quebec, whose history and roots are Quebecois, making some laws problematic. I have the impression that she sees the protection of the French language as separate from the history of Quebec and rather on a more global scale of the dominance of the English language. I realised this could be her feeling when she discussed her reason for choosing Quebec and Canada and spoke both negatively about the United States and passionately about the French language. Djité (2006) stresses the importance of providing choice for education in one's native language, which is the central issue in French language protection laws in Quebec (p. 2). The element of choice, however, must also be respected for individuals with other native languages, to help empower minority linguistic groups in Montreal. Nonetheless, with multiculturalism, although many believe the policy promotes diversity, schools and language services have not been developed for all ethnic groups (Hiller, 2000, p. 203). In Canada, there are a variety of services available and some government sponsored 'ethnic' schools, but it remains uncertain, in discussions of reasonable accommodation, to what extent the government can adequately accommodate the present diversity. Thus focus is on integration and francisation programs (p. 203).

The investigation of immigrants (a "minority" group in Quebec) integrating into the Quebecois culture (a "minority" group in Canada) creates a unique perspective on nationalism in Quebec. Nationalist sentiments are primarily strengthened by a belief in the importance of survival of the francophone culture in Quebec and Canada, of which language is considered to be fundamental to cultural survival (Hiller, 2000, p.190). Immigration is therefore sometimes viewed as threatening to cultural survival because not all immigrants learn French; some even learn English and integrate into Anglophone communities (p. 190). This defensive approach based on past trauma creates an imagined nationalist community and effects one's integration (Anderson, 1991, pp. 135 & 141). When asked about the feeling of nationalism, Imad said:

I: At the level of nationalism, I felt it, yes, from the first days, yes I felt it well. They made me understand well that Quebec is a province, not completely independent, but anyways, that plays a

role in Canada and that is also independent and then that is as independent and that reclaims its independence, and like, yes I felt that. Yes, exactly. (Imad, Sept 27, 2007)

Fontaine (1995) explores the increasing power that the Quebec government has obtained in issues of immigration as the relationship between the Quebec provincial government and the federal government in policies of immigration is an area of discussion and conflict (p. 1041). Historical struggles to create a cultural-identity and a nation-state in Quebec have influenced language legislation and immigration policies, as well as attitudes towards immigrants and cultural minorities, which when reactionary become problematic (Anderson, 1991, p. 4; Eriksen, 2002, p.101; Fontaine, 1995, p. 1041). These attitudes have evolved within the framework of new federal policies and definitions of immigration and multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism: the realities of integration

Multiculturalism was a common theme in the interviews, which I originally had not intended to examine. This topic came about in discussions of integration and challenges when arriving in Canada. Factors commonly used as indicators of such diversity are: ethnic origin, language, birthplace and visible minorities (Piché, 2002, p. 2). In such discussions, when asked about the meaning of integration in Montreal, Fatoumata said:

> **F:** It was not easy for me when I came. […] because the culture is different of the people. Yes. It is multicultural here. Us, we are not really used to it. Actually where we are from there are fewer foreigners, in Mali then, ah, there is, there is not bad, we are closed-minded because there are fewer foreigners. So for me, when I arrived I had difficulty because I was not as open as that. […] I stayed all closed-minded and everything, I had trouble to [...]
> **K:** [...] but as a foreigner, in a new country, was that nice to have it like that?
> **F:** Ah yes. It's good too; it is nice because it makes you change your mentality. […] You really change. It is new experiences too.
> **K:** And at the level of the Québécois culture, do you find more a culture of multiculturalism in Canada then?
> **F**: Umhumn *(affirmative)* (Fatoumata, Sept 20, 2007)

Although this is not consistent across the board, for Fatoumata integration was into a multicultural community, not the Quebecois culture. In school she encountered individuals of diverse backgrounds and she lives in an area with a high population of immigrants. In this particular case, Fatoumata did not feel that being surrounded by individuals with similar situations and needs helped in her integration; in fact in her discussion of differences between Mali and Canada, she found it difficult when she arrived to learn to be open to culture with Montreal's ethnic diversity. For Fatoumata the central issues are language (bilingualism) and culture (multiculturalism). She believes that the government was not clear about the barriers she would face upon arrival and could have made the transition easier for her if they helped in her preparation, to understand the reality of the place and of the integration experience.

Ana spoke positively of multiculturalism in Montreal, which she had experienced in Switzerland but not in Brazil. In contrast to Fatoumata's difficulties, Miki and her husband were also positive and able to make Canada their home quickly because of multiculturalism. Unlike many countries with a strong national identity, Canada prides itself in its multicultural framework, but in Quebec there is a more defined culture to adapt to. In a multicultural framework there is not supposed to be a dominant group or culture, the idea is that a level of neutrality be present, rather than separation between groups (Feinberg, 1996, p. 1). The notion of pluralism in Quebec within a multicultural country goes back to feelings of protection for the French culture as a minority group in Canada. Thus, "the principal difference between the Canadian and Quebec orientations to diversity has been Quebec's promotion of its 'cultural convergence,' reinforcing the French character of Quebec's civic culture." (Symons, 2002, p. 21) Although multiculturalism as a policy is federal, through increasing immigration in Quebec, Montreal can be described only as multicultural. This cultural mosaic allows individuals to integrate with others into the changing national identity.

Although not many spoke about their cultural identity as 'Quebecois', possibly due to their stage in integration, Miki stressed the importance of language and her attachment to the Quebecois culture. When I asked her where she classified herself culturally she stated:

> **M:** Ooh, between Quebecois and Japanese.
> **K:** Do you think that that will change?
> **M:** Yes that will change because I think that when I start to speak the language well, then you can have a lot of Quebecois friends, Quebecois, I think that it will change a lot. […] You will know the things, that, ugh, and now, I have already started to like Canada a lot. Before I thought a lot about Japan, but I think that thanks for my children, because my children are born here. That helps; I started to feel really at home, because now with my family, it's my husband and my children   (Miki, Sept 24, 2007).

Miki appears to conform to the government's approach to promote the "Néo-québécois" of individuals with ties to Quebec nationhood, while respecting preservation of ethnicity and diversity (Symons, 2002, p. 21). For most others interviewed it was clear that it is too early in the integration process to feel a close connection with the culture; there were still strong feelings of being able to maintain one's ethnicity while in Quebec. Nonetheless, cultural integration is on the agenda in programs provided for newcomers, including the Francisation Program that provides more than just linguistic education, but also cultural education.

Whereas the ideals of multiculturalism are supposed to apply to all Canadians, many Quebecois apply the policy of pluralism and see the need to focus on collective rights, not individual rights (Juteau, 1999, pp. 72-73). It is impossible to say, for example, that determining a common public language is culturally neutral (Piché, 2005, p. 4). Regardless of criticisms and the classification of approaches taken to cultural diversity, as Montreal

continues to diversify it is safe to say that "[…] multiculturalism is not something one believes in or agrees with, it simply is" (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997, p. 2).

Political Implications

My final analysis outlines suggestions, or further comments, on possible changes in people or government policies. Based on the need for greater connection with other Quebecois people in integration, I find it especially important to highlight Johana's opinion that more programs focussed on integration need to be available. Although such programs exist, they are limited by their dependency on volunteers. Johana said that she registered for a Buddy program but was not connected with anyone because of this lack of volunteer help. She wanted more help upon arrival to learn about the culture and the place with new people. She noted that:

> **J:** Yes I think that a program specialized for integration is missing.
> **K:** Like the buddy program for example.
> **J:** Yes, but for the buddy program it is a bit difficult. For example we are registered for the buddy program at UQAM but now there are no people to carry out the integration exercise to help learn the language. […] I think that there should be an organization that […] specializes in integration, because we have to have integration with Quebecois people and the new arrivals […]. I think that I have to integrate better with the Quebecois culture.
> **K:** Ok. You have to do that more, or […] it is the government that has to do it?
> **J:** It is hard because I can't do a lot of things because I don't speak French, because I do not know the city well or the province, it is difficult. I have to wait while I learn. But I think that the Quebecois people could offer a lot of things.   (Johana, Sept 26, 2007).

Johana found that there was a lot of information about Quebec and thinks that it is a place with no discrimination, but is disappointed at the efforts made by others to help in her integration. This feeling is reflected in current debates of reasonable accommodation with the issue of co-responsibility in the integration process between newcomers, the government and the people of Quebec. The government of Quebec puts a lot of focus on attracting immigrants, as many noted that there was a lot of information about Quebec in particular and that it was considered 'easier' to be accepted; however it is important to follow through with integration when newcomers arrive. The reason that Quebec wants to attract people is to increase its population to help support the baby boomer population as they age; "to keep the economy rolling" as the director of Center B put it. Although research shows that many are not happy with the integration of immigrants into the French community, the contribution of immigrants in the economy must not go unnoticed (Dorval and Joly, 1993, p. 74). Maria also feels that there is a push to learn the language, but that there needs to be more opportunity to interact for hands-on learning. Johana described Montreal as "a different reality" despite all the information provided before arrival. Rather than approaching immigration from a

protection-based nationalistic ideology fostered by trauma, the government and people need to work together to communicate the reality and meaning of integration in Montreal.

The central suggestion from the interviews for improvement was exactly this; that the reality of the integration experience must be communicated, since everyone discussed that the situation was not as they had anticipated. In Johana's discussion of changes and suggestions, she mentioned this feeling:

> **J:** The services that are missing, yes for example for integration. To learn about the Quebecois culture, for example, when we arrived here and we did not know the places or did not know where we could buy the things that we needed.
> **K:** Ok.
> **J:** A lot of things because we don't know. Because there is a lot of information on the internet, but when you arrive, the reality is different. Because you have to, you have to find a place to live, and you have to find a school for you children. For example I think that the education here is different than in my country. I think that high school education is for example is bad.
> **K:** Here?
> **J:** Yes, here because there are not a lot of rules no […] I don't know how to say it but I want them to have more rules.   (Johana, Sept 26, 2007).

We discussed this feeling of not enough discipline in Canadian schools at a volunteer evening where several newcomers expressed that the system does not discipline children enough. Information about such cultural differences could be available to help parents understand cultural norms in Canada. There is evidence of changing notions of culture across the country and between individuals, making it difficult to define for newcomers. Culture combines knowledge, experience, values and many other elements developed and continuing to change over time, of which learning is the most important part (Samovar and Porter, 2003, p. 8). The buddy programs is, of course, one of the better hands-on ways of learning from common people about culture and provides discussion and change by learning form each other, but many expressed long waiting periods and that they still need more information.

Imad even thought that it would be beneficial if more of the individuals used in the information and training sessions were those who had been through the immigration and integration processes themselves, because he felt that those who had emigrated from another country provided more practical information and had a better understanding; whereas others analysing the experience only presented theories of 'successful integration'. In his discussion of language barriers in integration he said:

> **I:** Yes, I looked hard for English services, because it's easy to pay to go to a language school, but seeing as I had just arrived and I had a lot of expenses, it cost me a lot and then I didn't have money and it was costing me a lot. But finally I finished by finding something that was not too expensive, but I don't know, I did not find a good free course, one not to expensive for English. […] Then the French courses are free, they are the Francisation courses organized by the Ministry of Immigration.
> **K:** Yeah
> **I:** Yes, it's a double, a very double discourse, at the same time its Quebec its Francophone, but at the same time, you have to, it is normal that you have to also speak English, you have to understand English and therefore bilingualism is a must.

K: And before coming did you know that it was going to be like that?
I: Yes, I knew that it would be like that but,
K: But how was it explained to you? Was it the government, or?
I: Yes, the day where we are selected in Paris, we had an information session right away after the selection. They explained everything to us. But it, it is all different when you arrive in the place and you see the importance of English.
K: But they explained it to you.
I: Yes, but very quickly, in one hour the people explained about the language, the geography, a bit of history, the society, politics, and all, but very quickly. It is a one hour session about. It lasts an hour, but it is very quick and then when you are far and you do not really have a clear idea until you are there, and then it is clearer and you have the […]
K: […] the reality.
I: They reality of things.   (Imad, Sept 27, 2007)

More assistance in pre-arrival preparations will improve the employability of immigrants and create a better situation for all. Despite such challenges, as Johana says: "Everyone is excited to integrate with the Quebecois and Canadian people." It is up to everyone to let this happen.

6. DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

In this research on the *Meanings of Integration* for newcomers in Montreal, it is evident that despite the similarities in their integration, individuals are novel objects of study with their experiences and patterns of adjustment influenced in part by their desires, in part by their opportunities for interaction and in part by their language proficiency (Landolt, 2005, p. 106). In this final chapter I provide suggestions for changes relevant to newcomers, government officials and citizens in Montreal concerning issues of language, nationalism and social diversity. My general results suggest that due to the government's inadequate communication of the linguistic and cultural environment in Montreal and the lack of services available to support individuals in their adjustment to the city's bilingual culture, the integration experience for both French and non-French speaking immigrants is precarious. As a result, it is common that immigrants in Montreal change their professional orientation to help overcome common linguistic and job market challenges.

Quebec has experienced many changes since the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s but the most prominent change is in the strength of the French language relative to the past (Hiller, 2000, p. 189). Many Quebeckers, however, still argue that the French language is not the sole language of the workplace and school, which is the case in Montreal. Nonetheless, French remains the only official language in the province of Quebec despite language support provided by the federal policy of bilingualism (Labelle, 2005, p.91). Results show that, although Quebec nationalism has changed with history, it remains in the framework of the government and people in Quebec. Many Franco-Quebeckers have an internalized sense of being colonized, which has been transmitted between generations through history texts and

family stories with the perspective of French as a minority in Canada (Fraser, 2006, p. 82). Rather than arguing about the relative status of francophones in Canada, it is important to be aware that trauma from past events has created a strong nationalist sentiment and imagined political community, which unites the Quebecois against the 'other' (Anderson, 1991, p. 4). As a result, there is a possibility of inequality and discrimination against newcomers manifest in reactionary sentiments (pp. 135 & 101; Eriksen, 2002, p. 101). Language is therefore the central means by which the government can protect Quebec's culture (Hiller, 2000, p. 190).

Although the provincial government tries to attract newcomers to Quebec to increase the population, it applies a pluralist approach to integration to protect the French culture and language (Hiller, 2000, p. 203). The Quebec government's nationalistic immigration laws and policies influence the social and cultural integration of newcomers, particularly in the bilingual city of Montreal where linguistic requirements complicate the selection and integration process. Although Quebec immigration laws favour French-speaking immigrants in the selection process, non-French speaking immigrants tend to have more government and community support upon arrival through the French-language programs and cultural lessons. The government focuses on linguistic integration of non-French speaking newcomers and provides several services to help in this process. As the majority of newcomers in Quebec settle in bilingual Montreal, many French-speaking immigrants are faced with great difficulty in job market integration, due to poor English language skills.

As Imad stated in his interview, there is a "double discourse" in Montreal with regard to language because the government only provides French language programs for newcomers and favours those who speak French. Although French is viewed as important human capital in settlement, it is clear that English is also necessary. The respondents generally found that social services are provided to them, but that they require both French and English to advance in the workforce. It is clear that language proficiency affects economic performance and the socio-economic status of newcomers in Montreal, but no affordable English language services are available. The interviewees expressed that government officials could work harder to properly prepare newcomers before arrival for the realities of the immigration experience, language requirements and barriers to employment integration. For the most part, they had 'ideas' of what it would be like, but once they arrived in Montreal they found that it was not as anticipated and as a result, language becomes a challenge for all.

The government tends to focus on francisation with programs for linguistic and cultural integration; rather than programs to help connect newcomers to the Quebecois people. Integration is an ongoing process that begins before language acquisition and thus more

emphasis should be placed on integrating individuals into the local community, since life experience and immersion in French helps in the language learning process. As a result, in Montreal individuals find themselves in an unstable situation in their integration because of a lack of reciprocity in the process and disconnection from the people. Family becomes a strong support network in adjustment and although individuals often meet people from their home country because of language, they do not seek support in cultural community centres.

Most importantly, all individuals interviewed expressed a strong desire to contribute to the economy and society, as well as integrate into the Quebecois culture. Where language is not necessary, immigrants enter the workforce early on and will either continue with the francisation course while working, or put it on hold. It is common for immigrants in Canada to experience unemployment or a change in profession because their foreign credentials and experiences are not recognized. As a result of this professional change, as with other cultural elements, individuals often redefine their personal identity (Hall, 1992, p. 3). In order to support and improve employability of newcomers, all citizens and the government have to be aware of, and respond to, the problem of the necessity for Canadian/Quebecois experience by helping to reduce immigrant's general feeling of disconnection to the community.

These various examples of meanings of integration in Montreal demonstrate a need for more flexibility in government policies and regulations, as well as openness towards newcomers. The people and the government of Quebec have to try to forget the past and put nationalist sentiments and reactions caused by the imaginations of the nation aside to help follow through in the immigration process. This is, however, difficult for those who identify strongly with historical struggles to protect the Quebecois language and culture. Thus, newcomers and native-born citizens must work together and apply a reciprocal approach to economic, linguistic and cultural integration that is beneficial for all citizens. This notion of 'co-responsibility' in integration remains ever-present in Montreal in the ongoing discussion of reasonable accommodation.

My interest in the relationship between government actions to protect the Quebecois culture and language needs for newcomers remains strong. Due to the provincial government's aims to have a majority of French-speaking immigrants, there are several individuals that migrate to Montreal from France and Africa. In further comparative research, the difference in integration and employment experiences of those presented in my research could be compared to those of native-French speakers. Research including these individuals would enrich our understanding of the complexities of immigration in Montreal. It is increasingly important to understand, adjust to and function in a diverse society: in 2001, the

percentage of foreign-born Canadians was at 18.4 percent and individuals classified as 'visible minorities' had increased from 4.7 percent in 1981 to 13.4 percent in 2001, which is expected to increase up to 20 percent by 2016[32] (Labelle, 2005, p. 89). The meaning and experience of integration however remains varied; some find Montreal's diversity hard to adjust to, whereas others find multiculturalism welcoming. Results from this report highlight the importance of understanding this diversity and the reality of integration experiences and situations for immigrants today. An investigation of the meanings of integration makes each personal account representative of an experience and from discussion over these realties comes understanding of general trends in the integration process. With such understanding of experience individuals become more open to current issues related to immigration, language, nationalism and social diversity. Acceptance of these new elements will, in turn, reduce the level of ethnocentrism and discrimination, possibly providing insight into integration experiences and reasons for ease or barriers in the process. Future research would also provide further insight into the reasons for ease or barriers to integration with a goal to make all situations heard and relevant in debates, to welcome all cultures and people in Quebec.

This research analysed immigration and the diversity of experiences and situations lived by newcomers in bilingual Montreal. I cannot provide solutions to challenges faced by immigrants in Montreal other than finding ways to connect newcomers to the local Quebecois people, being more open to social and cultural diversity, flexible in laws and realistic in pre-arrival information. One must be careful of pluralism manifest in policies that focus on "[…] the full participation of cultural communities in a national culture" (Marhraoui, 2005, p. 10) wherein the national culture contains moral contracts for citizens responsibilities towards language, politics and diversity within a democratic society (p. 11). Whereas this may seem appealing and open, creating a moral contract causes conflict between cultures with different ideas of democracy and linguistic needs and such agreements leave little room for choice. We need to be more flexible in our approach to diversity and culture, and to progress against the strong nationalist sentiments constructed by the "image of [the] communion" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) if we are to support immigrants and create harmony, in a landscape in which reciprocity is increasingly fundamental.

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[32] The use of 'visible minorities' as a factor determining immigration levels and diversity is problematic because of the long history of immigration that has changed to 'Canadian Face' and of course because of those immigrants from Great Britain and Europe who often do not fall into this category. Nonetheless, it is an indication of the diversification of the population in Canada.

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