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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Health and Rehabilitation Sciences

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Critically exploring the challenges of successful integration for French-speaking newcomers from visible minority groups within London, Ontario's Francophone minority community

(Spine title: Integration of Francophone immigrants in London, Ontario)

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by

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Graduate Program in Health and Rehabilitation Sciences

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
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THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

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Abstract

This study's objectives were to critically examine the experiences of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups within the London, Ontario, Francophone minority community (FMC). It sought to challenge unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration, and to raise awareness of the structural barriers faced by these immigrants in enacting occupation and negotiating identity, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender. A critical ethnography was undertaken, using a theoretical framework incorporating key concepts from Goffman and Bourdieu's theories of performance and practice and anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature. Eight Francophone immigrants from visible minority groups participated in up to five sessions consisting of narrative and in-depth interviews, the creation of a mental map, and engagement with the researcher in routine occupations. Six respondents from local organizations participated in an in-depth interview, and relevant government documents were critically reviewed.

Findings highlight that experiences of integration involve a complex process of 'starting over' that entails becoming aware of differences in fields and habitus within and between home and host societies, learning 'how things work' in the host community, voicing the unspoken assumptions characterizing fields and habitus, and negotiating one's performances in social interactions. This negotiation process is enabled or constrained by immigrants' differential access to economic and symbolic capital, including linguistic capital. Access to capital is related to ways immigrants' intersecting markers of identity are constructed within particular places and ultimately has implications for their possibilities for engagement in occupation and negotiation of identity. These findings challenge the linear process of integration identified within government documents that emphasize productivity and social contribution by immigrants, and highlight how newcomers' 'individual' experiences are embedded within a broader social structure. Better understanding and addressing immigration and integration into

FMCs requires problematizing the implied process and outcomes of successful integration as shaped within and through government documents and service provision. The modes of incorporation emphasized within current understandings of successful integration need to be questioned in order to attend to the diversity among and within FMCs, and to challenge processes of exclusion that hinder newcomers' integration and sense of being and belonging.

Keywords

Bourdieu, capital, Canada, community vitality, field, Francophone minority community, gender, Goffman, habitus, identity, integration, language, migration, occupation, place, race

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List of Abbreviations

ACFO – Association canadienne-française de l’Ontario London-Sarnia (French-Canadian Association of Ontario London-Sarnia)

AGM – Annual General Meeting

CACTIFO – Centre d’acquisition des compétences et des talents des immigrants francophones du sud-ouest de l’Ontario (Acquisition Centre for the Talents and Competencies of Francophone Immigrants in Southwestern Ontario)

CCR – Canadian Council for Refugees

CCRL – Centre communautaire régional de London (London Regional Community Centre)

CE – critical ethnography

CFSOO – Carrefour des femmes du sud-ouest de l’Ontario (Southwestern Ontario Women’s Group)

CIC – Citizenship and Immigration Canada

CIC-FMC Steering Committee – Citizenship and Immigration Canada – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee

CIRLM – Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

CSFISN – Réseau de soutien à l’immigration francophone du Centre-Sud-Ouest de l’Ontario (Central-Southwestern Francophone Immigration Support Network)

DRC – Democratic Republic of the Congo

FCFA – Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (Canadian Federation of Francophone and Acadian Communities)

FMC – Francophone minority community

FOLS – First official language spoken

LMLIP – London and Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership

MCCF – Ministerial Conference on the Canadian Francophonie
OCOL – Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages
OFLSC – Office of the French Language Services Commissioner
OLMC – Official language minority community
OTF – Ontario Trillium Foundation
SCOL – Standing Committee on Official Languages

CHAPTER ONE

1 Integration of French-speaking immigrants within London, Ontario: an introduction

1.1 Introduction

Canada can be described as a multicultural country with a history characterized by immigration. Yet many newcomers continually face a series of challenges that may contribute to their marginalization within Canadian society. This dissertation presents a critical ethnographic study of immigrant integration undertaken within the Francophone minority community (FMC)¹ of London, Ontario. The study critically examined structural influences upon the integration experiences of French-speaking immigrants² from visible minority groups within the London FMC. It explored the challenges and barriers faced by these migrants in enacting occupation, negotiating identity in place and working towards 'successful' integration within a particular socio-historic context.

This occupational science research is located within a critical paradigm with a purpose to deepen understanding of the role of occupation in processes of integration within the contemporary context of FMCs, and to elucidate how these processes, in turn, affected, and were affected by, changes to place and migrants' identities. Migrants' experiences were critically explored in order to challenge the assumptions implicit within contemporary understandings of

¹ 'FMC' refers to Francophone communities outside of Quebec, and encompasses individuals and structures of civil society such as schools, organizations and the private sector (Canada, 2006a). To be designated an FMC, a geographical region must have over 5,000 French-speakers, (defined by mother tongue, or first official language spoken) or have a French-speaking population that accounts for over 10% of the total population.

² In this document, the term 'settlement' refers to immigrants' early stages of familiarization with, and adaptation to, the new society; 'integration' refers to the longer term process whereby immigrants become full and equal participants in society (Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), 2006), and 'immigrant' is used to encompass all groups of newcomers that were born outside of Canada and migrated here internationally. As such, it includes those from all immigration categories (e.g. refugees, family class, skilled workers, etc.), regardless of their time of arrival. The terms 'newcomer' or 'migrant' are also used to refer to this same group.

successful integration. As will be highlighted throughout this dissertation, people's identities are dialogically connected to the occupations in which they engage, and the places where those occupations occur. When people migrate internationally, a change to the occupations in which they previously engaged, and to the places where those occupations occurred, may thereby affect their identities. Likewise, migrants' altered social locations, according to identity markers such as language, gender and race³ that result from migration, may also affect their possibilities for occupational engagement and identity within particular places. My study of a local context served to emphasize the ways in which the individual negotiation of integration is socio-historically located within broader structures.

In addition to being located within occupational science, this research was guided by a theoretical framework that drew upon Goffman's theory of performance⁴ and Bourdieu's theory of practice⁵ to highlight how people's daily experiences and social interactions are shaped by the particular contexts within which they are embedded, and how a change to one's contexts resulting from migration has implications for one's identity as one engages in altered occupations in different places. The framework was further informed by anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature in order to better attend to the intersectionality of people's identities, particularly according to markers of language, race and gender. This research location, which critically explores the contextual nature of identity,

³ It should be noted that social makers of identity, including gender and race, are socially constructions that have become reified. Thus, even if socially constructed, these labels, markers or categories have material effects and consequences. While gender and race do not 'exist', sexism and racism do (discussed further in chapter three).

⁴ Erving Goffman is a Canadian sociologist who published from the late 1950s, *The presentation of self in everyday life* (1959), into the early 1980s, *Forms of talk* (1981). He is a symbolic interactionist whose work focuses primarily on the micro level of society, and specifically on the interaction between individuals in social situations.

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu is a French sociologist with a constructivist structuralist epistemological location (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). He published between the early 1960s, *Les héritiers, les étudiants et la culture* (1964), and the early twenty-first century, *Science of science and reflexivity* (2004).

further served to emphasize the importance of occupation and place to everyday doing, being, becoming, and belonging.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the research objectives and is followed by a discussion of FMC vitality that addresses the following: key developments within the history of Canadian FMCs, demographics, and particular issues related to diversity, settlement, and integration faced by those living within these communities. These issues related to the vitality of FMCs, such as the communities' demographic characteristics, have contributed to the current emphasis placed upon Francophone immigration within official government policy. I then address the significance of the research, as well as my personal location. Finally, a description of the following chapters is outlined.

1.2 Research objectives

The primary objectives of this research are to:

- critically examine the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC in order to challenge unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration; and
- raise awareness of the structural barriers faced by these migrants in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, within specific socio-historic contexts.

As will be highlighted throughout the thesis, attending to occupation to enable a better understanding of the integration process required exploring how occupational engagement is embedded within, and interacts with, elements of the social structure. This section briefly introduces three points relevant to this research that highlight the contemporary significance of research on FMCs and that informed the approach taken toward addressing my objectives. These include my critique of the concept of successful integration, my emphasis on the

dialectical relationship between structure and agency within social theory, and my use of an occupational perspective.

The successful integration of Francophone immigrants is a key policy goal of the Canadian federal government aimed at maintaining and bolstering the demographic weight of FMCs. The birth rate within Francophone communities has dropped in past decades, even below the national average, and exogamy and language transfer⁶ have also contributed to the decline of French-speaking Canadians. While these trends have occurred irrespective of the country's immigration policies, they have further exacerbated the demographic plight of FMCs. Quell (2002) explained that as higher proportions of immigrants speaking English, or neither official language, move to Canada the proportion of the French-speaking population falls even lower.

Given this situation, a logical conclusion may be to assume that increasing the numbers of French-speaking immigrants, and supporting FMCs to reduce rates of language transfer among them, would effectively curb the decline of the Canadian Francophonie. However, it cannot be assumed that migrants will unproblematically achieve successful integration. While an increase in the numbers of French-speakers living in FMCs is arguably of value for these communities, it must be remembered that these 'numbers' represent individuals who face a number of opportunities and challenges,

The importance of the upheaval involved when individuals leave their country and move to a strange country is too often underestimated. Even in the happiest circumstances, this is not a painless transition. There are many challenges to meet, whether learning a new language or finding a place in the labour force. For many potential immigrants, the mere thought of the efforts they would have to make if they decided to move permanently to

⁶ Exogamy refers to the union of two people with a different mother tongue (e.g. a Francophone marrying an Anglophone). Language transfer refers to the phenomenon of not speaking one's mother tongue within the home or the abandonment of one's mother tongue (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010).

another country is enough to discourage them (Canada, 2003c, p. 10).

The notion of success, and the concept of integration itself, are heavily value-laden and one should question how and by whom successful integration is defined. Considering the potential structural barriers to integration discussed within this thesis, there is a need to bring to light and critically reflect upon the experiences of migrants in order to challenge unspoken assumptions within discussions of integration.

As will be further addressed below, French-speaking immigrants arrive from a variety of source countries, and while they share a language with those already residing within FMCs, they may not be of the same race or ethnicity as the majority population. Many are faced with a 'double-minority status' within Canada according to their language and race, and as immigrants they confront challenges that differ from those of Canadian-born Francophones. They are also a 'minority within a minority' within Francophone communities (Madibbo, 2005⁷, 2006; Canada, 2003c). As indicated by an immigrant participating in research conducted by the Fédération des communautés francophone et acadienne du Canada (FCFA, 2004), "You feel as though you are a minority within the Francophones and the Anglophones and you are also a visible minority. You are isolated on all counts" (p. 29). Ironically, these migrants face the challenge of being both visible and invisible within Canadian society (Daniel, 2005). Moving from a country where they may have been in the linguistic and/or racial majority, to one where they are minoritized on several levels (e.g. race, language, legal status) may directly impact their day-to-day lives and possibilities for integration. Better understanding the transitions experienced by immigrants as they arrive,

⁷ This working paper by Madibbo was accessed through the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS), which is one of five research centres across Canada forming Metropolis. Metropolis is a network for comparative research and public policy development on migration, diversity, and immigrant integration in cities in Canada and worldwide (http://canada.metropolis.net/index_e.html). The following references, cited later within this dissertation, were also drawn from Metropolis sources: Belkhodja (2008); Belkhodja & Beaudry (2008); Biles & Winnemore (2006); Friederes (2006); Gallant (2008); George & Mwarigha (1999); Jedwab (2008); Krahn, Derwing, & Abu-Laban (2003); Violette (2008).

settle, and integrate into the host society serves to elucidate how occupational engagement and the places where doing occurs are connected to one's identity, as well as how the integration process itself is contextualized and negotiated.

My research contributes to increased understanding of how migrants' experiences are embedded within a particular socio-historical context of immigration to FMCs. In order to explicate the degree to which, and the diversity of ways in which, migrants may integrate into a host community, their individual agency must be considered in relation to larger structures. The constructs of agency and structure must not be considered separately, as it is at the nexus of the two that daily life takes place. Schwandt (2001) broadly defined 'agency' as individuals' capacity to "perceive their situation, reason about it, consciously monitor their action, form motives, and so on" (p. 4). Conversely, 'structure' is viewed as encompassing the forces external to human agency (e.g. social systems, institutions) that give social life an "organised and enduring character" (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2004, p. 384). Layder (1994) further described the agency-structure dualism as the reciprocal influence of human activity and social contexts where it occurs, viewing individuals as creating society while being influenced by current social arrangements. He distinguished between agency as social interaction in face-to-face contact, and structure as the broader social relations that contextualize such interactions. What one does, who one is, and who one becomes is determined in part by one's agency and the choices one makes throughout the life course. Yet, one's occupations and identities are informed by, and embedded in one's location within the social structure and may influence whether one feels one belongs. For example, at the macro scale migration policies may influence what country, province and city of destination a migrant may settle in. Within this broader socio-political context, migrants' everyday experiences at the micro scale affect, and are affected by, their negotiation of transitions brought on by international migration. My aim in adopting this non-dualistic thinking with regard to immigrant integration informed the development of the theoretical framework as well as the choice of

methodology and specific methods adopted for this study (further described in chapters three and four).

An occupational perspective is useful when exploring complex human experiences, such as international migration and integration, because it forefronts considerations of people's engagement in occupation. Christiansen and Townsend (2004) differentiate between activity and occupation by defining the former as "an observable unit of behaviour" (p. 275) and describing the latter as "engagement or participation in a recognizable life endeavour" (p. 278). Thus, an occupation may comprise several differentiated activities, but in totality extends beyond the sum of its parts due to the meaning associated with, or gained from, engaging in the occupation. Consistent with the theoretical framework drawn upon in this study, recent work in occupational science informed by critical social theory points to the importance of contextualizing occupation (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphry, 2006; Laliberte Rudman, Huot, & Dennhardt, 2009; Suto, 2009). As will be further outlined in chapters two and six, particular forms of occupational engagement are strongly embedded in the discussion of successful integration within the migration literature and in governmental publications addressing FMCs. For instance, immigrants are expected not only to join the labour force and become productive members of society, but are also encouraged to engage in civic participation, which implies a range of occupations contributing to societal reproduction. Thus, my adoption of an occupational perspective was essential to unpacking the implied role of occupation within the discourse of immigrant integration. This occupational perspective facilitated an exploration of what people did upon arrival, in the early stages of settlement and at later temporal stages, and the consideration of how such doing changed as participants worked toward integration over time. Infusing this occupational perspective with insights drawn from critical theory furthered my understanding of how immigrants' occupational engagement is both enabled and constrained by the social structure. As this perspective will be applied to the

experiences of immigrants residing within the London FMC, an introduction to Canadian FMCs is presented in the next section of this thesis.

1.3 The vitality of Francophone minority communities in Canada

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL) (Canada, 2001a) pointed out that not only the preservation, but also the *development* of official language minority communities (OLMCs) in Canada is one of the three main objectives of the Official Languages Act. This focus on development emphasizes that OLMCs⁸ require more than mere legal recognition. It is noted that bilingualism should refer not solely to the offer of public services in both official languages, but also to the *vitality* of linguistic minorities. For instance, the OCOL (Canada, 2001a) stated that the ultimate aim of bilingualism is to enable both linguistic groups to flourish in communities across the country, not solely achieving equality, but living in a world that reflects their culture. Not only is it problematically assumed within such a statement that French-speakers share a single culture, but the notion of vitality also lacks clear definition within the government documents.

The introductory paragraph of the report presenting results from the Survey on the Vitality of the Official-Language Minorities (Corbeil, Grenier, & Lafrenière, 2006) explains that while the concept of vitality “is now an integral part of the vocabulary of many observers and players in the political academic and community spheres” (p. 3) it is not easily defined because when made broad enough to be useful, it becomes too complex to measure. ‘Vitality’ is nonetheless understood as having objective (e.g. facts and behaviours) and subjective (e.g. perceptions and representations) components. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) first introduced the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, arguing that “the more

⁸ OLMCs refer to both Anglophone communities within Quebec and Francophone communities outside of Quebec, thus encompassing FMCs. Federal documents referring to French-speakers outside of Quebec use these acronyms interchangeably depending upon their specific focus. While this research focuses upon immigrants residing within FMCs, as research and policies addressing both OLMCs and FMCs include this group, both acronyms will be used in this dissertation.

vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context” (p. 308). They further argued that three main ‘variables’ influence vitality: demography (e.g. numbers, distribution), institutional support (e.g. formal and informal), and status (e.g. economic, social, socio-historical, language). These three variables can be viewed as interrelated. For instance, institutional support to enhance immigration (e.g. government policy and services) can, but may not necessarily serve to support both the status and demographic vitality of FMCs.

The contemporary context of FMCs is nonetheless shaped in part by the Canadian federal government that has affirmed its commitment to the country’s linguistic duality and has taken actions to support these communities. Within the ‘action plan for official languages’ (Canada, 2003b), linguistic duality is viewed both as part of the country’s heritage and an asset for the future. The plan calls upon the federal government to make both official languages more accessible to all Canadians. OLMCs are proposed to be vital to achieving this goal, as they nurture linguistic duality and contribute to linguistic and cultural diversity. As a result, the federal government is seeking to increase the immigration of French-speakers to these communities (Canada, 2003b). The term ‘French-speaking immigrant’ is defined within the ‘Strategic plan to foster immigration to Francophone minority communities’ (Canada, 2006a) as: “an immigrant whose mother tongue is French, or whose first official language is French if the mother tongue is a language other than French or English” (p. 6) and will be considered according to this definition throughout the dissertation. The definition was extended beyond ‘mother tongue’ because that historical classification no longer represented the complex ‘linguistic realities’ characteristic of a diversifying society (Quell, 2002). This point is further addressed below (section 1.3.1) and within the presentation and discussion of my research findings (chapters five through seven). A number of key developments addressing the state of OLMCs have taken place in past decades and I will now present a brief overview of these to outline how the situation faced by these communities and by the individuals

migrating into them is currently framed within Canadian governmental documents.

It was not until 1969 that Canada's first Official Languages Act was passed. It declared French and English as official languages, giving equal rights and privileges to both languages within all *Parliamentary* institutions. The Official Languages Act of 1988 furthered this commitment by prompting the government to support the development of OLMCs and to fully recognize French and English in Canadian society. In the new millennium, this formal commitment to Canada's linguistic duality was reiterated during the Speech from the Throne in 2001:

Canada's linguistic duality is fundamental to our Canadian identity and is a key element of our vibrant society. The protection and promotion of our two official languages is a priority of the Government – from coast to coast. The Government reaffirms its commitment to support *sustainable* official language minority communities and a strong French culture and language. And it will mobilize its efforts to ensure that all Canadians can interact with the *Government* of Canada in either official language (Jedwab, 2002, italics added for emphasis).

Promoting the country's linguistic duality is, therefore, a priority of the federal government's mandate. It has committed to support the French population by expanding the influence of its culture and language across Canada, and by serving its citizens in both official languages (Canada, 2003b). At the federal level, emphasis is placed upon a bilingual government that enables French-speakers within the country to communicate with governmental institutions in either official language. However this differs markedly from one's ability to live one's daily life in the official language of one's choice. Quell (2002) argued that language is a key dimension of integration, as a migrant needs to be able to "communicate at a satisfactory level with his or her linguistic environment" (p. 21). Francophones living outside of Quebec may need to be functionally bilingual in order to successfully integrate within communities dominated by the English language.

Another important issue faced by FMCs is that of language transfer. The majority of French-speaking immigrants move to Quebec, and those settling in other provinces often live in urban centres with high concentrations of Anglophones. For instance, while immigrants comprise approximately twenty percent of the Canadian population, they make up fewer than five percent of the Francophone population outside of Quebec (Canada, 2003b). While not all Francophones speak English upon arrival, most ultimately end up learning the majority language. Jedwab (2002) stated that 98% of French-speaking immigrants within FMCs can also speak English and rarely continue to only speak French. He further argued that rates of language-shift within Ontario are more intense outside of Toronto and Ottawa. Time is an important factor, as language transfers can still occur following a decade of settlement and smaller cities face the continued loss of French-speaking immigrants (Jedwab, 2002). As stated above, however, while language transfer is partly responsible for the decline in numbers of French-speakers, it nonetheless remains necessary for immigrants to learn English when integrating into FMCs. Newcomers are faced with the lack of availability of French services and cannot live largely in French (FCFA, 2004). A study by the FCFA (2004) argued that it is important to properly inform newcomers “about our two official languages and the way in which we live out our linguistic duality” (p. 43) and that “one of the most significant impediments to the integration of newcomers is their limited knowledge of English” (p. 45). The FCFA indicated that immigrants often have a false perception of Canadian bilingualism. While the government promotes equal status of the official languages, basic English skills are necessary for entering the labour market and participating in society. This may be especially true in London where, as is detailed below, the Francophone community comprises a small percentage of the city’s population.

Despite the majority status of the English language in Canada, there have been continued efforts by the government to encourage the ongoing development of its bilingual society. In the Speech from the Throne in 2002, the government stated

its goal to present an 'action plan' that would reenergize the country's official languages policy. A number of developments followed, an important part of which was the role of immigration in enhancing the sustainability of FMCs. As a result, linguistic provisions were incorporated into the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act; the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities (CIC-FMC) Steering Committee was established; and the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages published two reports – 'Official languages and immigration: obstacles and opportunities for immigrants and communities' (Quell, 2002), and 'Immigration and the vitality of Canada's official language communities: policy, demography and identity' (Jedwab, 2002). The Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities, released by the CIC-FMC Steering Committee (Canada, 2003a) was published in 2003, as was the Government's Action Plan for Official Languages, entitled 'The Next Act: New momentum for Canada's linguistic duality' (Canada, 2003b), and the report by The Standing Committee on Official Languages of the House of Commons (SCOL), entitled 'Immigration as a tool for the development of official language minority communities' (Canada, 2003c). More recently, the CIC-FMC Steering Committee produced the Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (2006a) and the Government released its Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality (Canada, 2008)⁹. Such continued efforts by the federal government to foster linguistic duality, in part through the development of FMCs, suggest that these communities face challenges to their sustainability. The particular difficulties faced by the Canadian Francophonie, such as its demographic decline, have been researched and addressed within government documents attending to vitality. The following section specifically addresses some of the demographic characteristics of FMCs within Ontario, including London.

⁹ These documents will be reviewed in more detail in chapter six.

1.3.1 FMC demographics

Similar to the demographic profile of Canada as a whole, the birth rate within Francophone communities has dropped in past decades. Furthermore, proceedings from the CIC-FMC Steering Committee emphasized that “the Francophone minority communities are not receiving a large enough proportion of Francophone immigrants to ensure their demographic renewal” (Canada, 2003c, pp. 2-3). FMCs receive less than one quarter of the number of immigrants received by Anglophone communities (Canada, 2003c). To bolster or even maintain their demographic weight, FMCs need to attract and retain more Francophone immigrants (Quell, 2002).

The demographics discussed in this section are taken from federal and provincial government documents and Canadian Census data, and focus on the province of Ontario and the city of London. These documents, such as the ‘Portrait of Official-Language Minorities in Canada: Francophones in Ontario’ (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010), published by Statistics Canada, draw mainly from Canadian Census data, but also from the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities, which was conducted by Statistics Canada following the 2006 Census. Examining how the demographics of FMCs are defined and categorized is important, as such demographic constructions are drawn upon in the development and funding of services to support the settlement and integration of French-speakers. A discussion of demography relating to Francophones must, therefore, begin with a definition of this group.

While Francophones used to be categorized solely according to mother tongue, the official definition has since changed, in part due to increased immigration. Francophone immigration remains a small proportion of immigration to Canada, yet it is creating lasting and profound changes among host FMCs (Belkhodja, 2008). The resulting change in composition of the French-speaking population over the years led the government of Ontario to adopt a more inclusive definition

in 2009. Francophones within the province are now defined by their mother tongue or by their first official language spoken (FOLS). This definitional shift resulted in an increase of the Francophone population in Ontario by approximately 50,000 (nearly 10%), and in Southwestern Ontario by 6% (Office of the French Language Services Commissioner (OFLSC), 2009). The use of a more inclusive definition is also important to recognize because the provincial population of those with French as a mother tongue has experienced either a low or negative average annual increase since the 1970s. Additionally, the more inclusive definition better captures the French-speaking newcomer population, as immigrants comprised 7% of the province's population with French as a mother tongue, but twice as much (14%) with French as their FOLS (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). Both categories (mother tongue and FOLS) are now included when assessing the total population of Francophones. As a result, both categories are addressed below.

The population according to mother tongue for Ontario within the 1971 to 2006 Censuses is shown in Table 1.1. While the number claiming English or 'Other languages' as a mother tongue increased every year, the French mother tongue population dropped in 1981 and 1996. Furthermore, while the total population of those listing French increased by 27,890 overall between 1971 and 2006, their proportion of the total provincial population declined every year, from a high of 6.3 in 1971 to only 4.2 in 2006. Thus, it is crucial to consider not only the total numbers of mother tongue Francophones, but also their percentage of the population, as their proportional decrease over time contributed to a heightened emphasis by the federal government upon the need for immigration of French-speakers.

The population according to FOLS for Ontario within the 1971 to 2006 Censuses is shown in Table 1.2. While the number of those listing French as their FOLS is lower than the French mother tongue population, the calculation of *total* French

speakers according to FOLS also includes half of those listing both English and French.

Table 1.1: Population by mother tongue, Ontario, 1971-2006 (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010)

Year	Total	French		English		Other languages	
	number	number	%	number	%	number	%
1971	7,703,110	482,350	6.3	5,967,725	77.5	1,253,035	16.3
1981	8,534,260	465,335	5.5	6,611,990	77.5	1,456,940	17.1
1991	9,977,055	503,345	5.0	7,443,540	74.6	2,030,170	20.3
1996	10,642,790	499,689	4.7	7,777,734	73.1	2,365,367	22.2
2001	11,285,550	509,264	4.5	8,041,997	71.3	2,734,289	24.2
2006	12,028,890	510,240	4.2	8,313,880	69.1	3,204,770	26.6

Table 1.2: Population by first official language spoken, Ontario 1971-2006 (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010)

Year	Total	French		English		English and French		Neither English or French	
	number	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1971	7,703,110	488,920	6.3	7,013,835	91.1	30,260	0.4	170,090	2.2
1981	8,534,260	437,865	5.1	7,898,250	92.5	55,930	0.7	142,215	1.7
1991	9,977,055	483,445	4.8	9,255,865	92.8	52,410	0.5	185,335	1.9
1996	10,642,790	480,650	4.5	9,860,780	92.7	62,300	0.6	239,060	2.2
2001	11,285,550	489,920	4.3	10,493,685	93.0	75,610	0.7	226,370	2.0
2006	12,028,890	497,150	4.1	11,189,935	93.0	80,890	0.7	260,920	2.2

Likewise, the total number of Anglophones includes the English FOLS category, as well as half of those listing both English and French. Thus, the total number of French-speakers in Ontario represented 4.5% (N=537,595) of the province's population in 2006, while English-speakers represented 93.4% (N=11,230,380) (Canada, 2008).

Although the difference between the number of those with French as a mother tongue and French as FOLS is not large, the gap between the two categories grew within the period of 2001 to 2006 due to the increase of immigrants with French as their FOLS (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). It is also important to consider the FOLS immigrant population from a postcolonial standpoint. For many Francophone newcomers, such as those whose experiences will be discussed in this thesis, French is a colonial language. This population may thus have a different mother tongue but still be fluent in French, and this census category enables them to be 'counted' as French-speakers while the mother tongue category does not. The combination of these two categories in the contemporary definition of 'Francophone' thus serves to include a previously marginalized linguistic group (i.e. the FOLS population) that comprised a higher number of French-speaking newcomers than the mother tongue category. As a result, the revised definition is not only more inclusive from a linguistic standpoint, but also by extension from a 'racial' standpoint.

Since French-speaking newcomers are more likely to list French as their FOLS than their mother tongue, Table 1.3 indicates the place of birth of Ontario Francophones according to French as a mother tongue, and French as FOLS. For each category, the majority of Francophones were born in Ontario, and over 20% were born elsewhere in Canada, highlighting the limited number of French-speaking newcomers within the province. French-speakers born outside Canada accounted for only 6.9% (mother tongue) and 13.6% (FOLS) of the province's Francophone population in 2006. However, the FCFA (2009) viewed this more positively, indicating that between 1996 and 2006 the percentage of French-

speakers born outside Canada rose by over 10%. Jedwab (2002) also indicated that, although a majority of French-speaking immigrants arrive in Quebec, Ontario comes second in attracting approximately 16% of this group.

Table 1.3: Place of birth of Francophones by mother tongue and first official language spoken, Ontario, 2006 (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010)

Place of birth	Mother tongue		First official language spoken	
	number	%	number	%
Born in Ontario	327,222	64.1	320,568	59.6
Born in another province in Canada	147,753	29.0	143,618	23.7
Born outside Canada	35,266	6.9	73,246	13.6
Total	510,241	100.0	537,432	100.00

This indicates a growing role for the international Francophone community within Ontario. As a result of this increase in international migration, the province's Francophone population is becoming increasingly diverse. In 2006, the main countries of origin of French-speaking immigrants in Ontario were France (11.9%), Haiti (6.2%), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (5.3%), Lebanon (5.1%), and Romania (4.6%) (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). Whereas French-speaking immigrants from Europe form part of the province's Francophone population, the FCFA (2009) indicated that over 40% of French-speaking immigrants within the province arrived after 1996, and a large proportion of them came from Africa. This points to the critical need for greater attention to be paid to the increasing diversity within FMCs, as well as the intersectionality of individual migrant identities.

Although the discussion above centres on a broader provincial overview of the French-speaking population, it is also important to explore some of the demographic details that are specific to London, Ontario. Due to the lack of

attention the city received within the federal and provincial documents reviewed, the following tables present data obtained from the 2006 Canadian Census London community profile. Census data presented in the following tables indicate that, of London's 348,690 residents, just 5,115 (1.5%) list 'French only' as their mother tongue, while 630 (0.2%) list both English and French (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4: Population by mother tongue, London, 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007)

	London		Ontario	
	Total	%	Total	%
Total population	348,690	100	12,028,900	100
English only	271,330	77.8	8,230,705	68.4
French only	5,115	1.5	488,815	4.1
English and French	630	0.2	32,685	0.3
Other languages(s)	71,615	20.5	3,276,685	27.2

In terms of the 'knowledge of official languages', the vast majority (317,345 - 91%) list 'English only', while just 275 (0.1%) list 'French only', and 26,710 (7.7%) list both (Table 1.5). One's knowledge of official languages refers to one's ability to conduct a conversation in English only, in French only, in both English and French, or in neither of the official languages of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007). These figures point not only to the relatively small number of Francophones within London, but also to their weak proportion of the city's total population. Beyond total numbers, it has been suggested that the demolinguistic *concentration* of Francophones within a particular area is also important, and both are described as contributing to the *confidence* of Francophone minorities (Bourgeois, Denis, Dennie, & Johnson, 2007).

Table 1.5: Population by knowledge of official languages, London, 2006
(Statistics Canada, 2007)

	London		Ontario	
	Total	%	Total	%
Total population	348,690	100	12,028,895	100
English only	317,345	91.0	10,335,700	85.9
French only	275	0.1	49,210	0.4
English and French	26,710	7.7	1,377,330	11.5
Neither English nor French	4,355	1.2	266,655	2.2

Bourgeois et al. (2007) further relate the confidence of a linguistic group to its subjective vitality. For example, Francophone respondents to a Canadian Heritage survey conducted in 2002 were asked about confidence in relation to six factors: “1) the community’s capacity to stay strong; 2) the community’s ability to retain its young people; 3) the survival of the community; 4) the minority community leadership; 5) the capacity of the community institutions to represent and serve the interests of Francophones; and 6) *the capacity of the community to integrate outsiders*” (Bourgeois et al., 2007, p. 116, italics mine). The authors suggest that the higher the number of Francophones in a region, the higher their confidence according to these factors. Thus, confidence is defined as relating in large part to individuals’ perceptions of the strength and future of their communities. Yet the number and proportion or concentration of French-speakers within the province varies markedly between regions. This can lead to additional challenges for newcomers attempting to integrate into FMCs like London that have a smaller concentration of Francophones, as compared to other FMCs such as Ottawa where their proportion is higher (Statistics Canada, 2007).

In a report analyzing migration of Francophones in Ontario between 2001 and 2006, it is stated that London received 1,455 French-speaking immigrants (international and interprovincial), the equivalent of 19.4% of the city's Francophone population, yet it lost 1,075 (14.3%) Francophones to out-migration (Forgues, Beaudin, Noël, & Boudreau, 2010). This represents an overall gain of 380 French-speakers. Interestingly, the report noted that within London, Francophone migrants speak French within the home more often than non-migrants. Migrants are also more likely to have a university degree and speak French at work than non-migrants. The 2006 Census provides further information on the city's immigrant population. Table 1.6 highlights the immigrant status and period of immigration for the London population.

Table 1.6: Immigrant status and period of immigration among the London population (Statistics Canada, 2007)

	Total	%	Male	Female
Total population	348,690	100	168,070	180,625
Non-immigrants	269,020	77.2	129,830	139,185
Immigrants	75,620	21.7	36,075	39,545
Before 1991	46,730	13.4	22,255	24,475
1991-2000	16,645	4.8	7,910	8,730
2001-2006	12,240	3.5	5,905	6,335
Non-permanent residents	4,050	1.2	2,160	1,890

Table 1.6 shows that nearly one quarter of the city's population was comprised of immigrants, a number that is likely to increase as the percentage of immigrants arriving in London between 2001 and 2006 is nearly as high as that for the nine years preceding that period. This projection is in line with the 'Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities' (Canada, 2006a)

which estimates that, by 2011, about 15,000 French-speaking immigrants will settle outside Quebec, and that within 15 years FMCs will be able to reach the annual target of 8,000 to 10,000 newcomers. Unfortunately, this target does not speak to the challenges some of these immigrants may face upon arrival to FMCs due to a variety of factors, such as their 'minority within a minority' status as French-speakers from visible minority groups (Madibbo, 2005). These difficulties may also fail to be addressed if understandings of 'vitality' are mainly connected to overall numbers and proportions, without further considering the heterogeneity of Francophones within FMCs according to a variety of identity markers.

Although London is becoming increasingly diverse, Table 1.7 shows that the population is still largely Caucasian. In 1996, those who were not visible minorities accounted for 91.1% of the city's population, and that proportion dropped to 89.1% in the 2001 Census. It should be noted that the Census category changed from 'all others' in the 1996 and 2001 community profiles, to 'not a visible minority' in the 2006 profile. According to the Office of the French Languages Services Commissioner (2009), French-speaking visible minorities account for 10% of Ontario's Francophone population (N=58,390).

This section highlights some of the demographic challenges faced by FMCs in Ontario, and by London in particular. Generally, Francophones outside of Quebec do not represent a large proportion of the total population, and they are geographically scattered resulting in their low concentration within many FMCs. They also receive a smaller share of newcomers and are less diverse than Anglophone populations. For London in particular, only 1.5% of the city's population lists French as its mother tongue, yet this accounts for over 5,000 individuals, resulting in the city's designation as an FMC. However, of the city's French-speaking population, just 1,605 indicated they use 'only French' within the home, even fewer use 'only French' at work (N=860), and a fraction (N=275) claim to only have knowledge of French as an official language, indicating that

most French-speakers within the city are bilingual at some level (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Table 1.7: Visible minority population characteristics among the London population (Statistics Canada, 2007)

	Total	%
Total population	348,690	100
Total visible minority population	47,955	13.8
Chinese	6,270	1.8
South Asian	6,195	1.8
Black	7,620	2.2
Filipino	1,790	0.5
Latin American	7,730	2.2
Southeast Asian	3,700	1.0
Arab	7,715	2.2
West Asian	2,205	0.6
Korean	1,970	0.6
Japanese	495	0.1
Visible minority, n.i.e. ¹⁰	750	0.2
Multiple visible minority	1,510	0.4
Not a visible minority	300,735	86.2

This demographic portrait has implications for Francophone newcomers to the city. The strong predominance of English within the London FMC may pose an important and often unanticipated challenge for many Francophone immigrants. Newcomers may be largely unaware of a city's demo-linguistic concentration, confidence, and vitality when settling. Further, the increasing multicultural nature of FMCs must also be negotiated by the communities and can impact upon newcomers' integration. Despite such issues, immigration remains an important aspect of targeted governmental efforts attempting to address the challenges

¹⁰ Statistics Canada (2007) notes that the n.i.e. abbreviation refers to groups 'not included elsewhere' and comprises responses listing additional visible minority groups such as 'Kurd' or 'Guyanese' among others.

faced by FMCs that are largely defined in relation to demographics. Those developing Canadian immigration policies must, therefore, take their potential influences upon FMCs into account. To date, French-speaking immigrants have remained a relatively small group of the total number entering Canada. These communities are also dispersed throughout the country. While OLMCs represent almost 2 million Canadians, a population higher than that of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, or any of the Maritime provinces, they are not characterized by 'power in numbers' because they are scattered and face different challenges across provinces and regions. The federal government suggests that Francophones wish to avoid becoming an even smaller proportion of the areas they inhabit (Canada, 2003b), and it views immigration as an important strategy for addressing this issue. For instance, the 'Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities' (Canada, 2006a) proposed that,

The recruitment of French-speaking immigrants to FMCs takes place within the immigration targets established by Parliament each year. This means taking action within the existing mechanisms to increase, among immigrants who choose to settle outside Quebec and who have knowledge of both French and English, the number of people whose mother tongue is French and the number of people whose first official language is French. (p. 11)

The emphasis on numbers is clear; however, what is less clear is whether simply increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants will contribute to the strength and vitality of FMCs, and whether these immigrants feel welcome, seek to, and are able to integrate within these communities.

1.3.2 Diversity in settlement and integration

The discussion of FMCs above centred on demographics and language as related to vitality, yet these communities are not homogenous. I argue that it is also important to consider how diversity within FMCs may affect their vitality and newcomers' possibilities for successful integration. Individuals may identify with aspects of their identity beyond language, or may consider their identity more

holistically and be unable to separate their language from their race or their gender (Dei, 2005). In addition to their modes and forms of self-identification, immigrants may be viewed differently by others within the host society according to various aspects of their social and personal identities. An overview of how diversity has been addressed in the literature on OLMCs follows. This section also briefly reviews discussions of settlement and integration within this literature. As implied in the previous section, a goal of the initiatives to foster and support FMCs is to strengthen their demographic weight by attracting and retaining French-speaking immigrants. As FMCs become increasingly diverse, partly as a result of government initiatives geared toward attracting newcomers to FMCs, it is vital to explore migrants' experiences within these communities in order to critically consider the potential influences such initiatives have upon their settlement and integration.

FMCs tend to be less diverse than majority communities, due in part to the smaller number of immigrants they receive. Until recent times, FMCs remained 'self-sufficient' by drawing on tight-knit networks, and the migration of Francophones from Quebec (Quell, 2002). As outlined above however, FMCs are viewed as needing additional French-speakers to sustain their communities demographically, and this leads to growing diversity through "immigrant-richness" (Quell, 2002, p. 5). Since the 1990s, the majority of French-speaking immigrants have been members of visible minority groups from countries outside of Europe. Approximately one quarter of Francophone immigrants who come to Ontario are from Africa (Jedwab, 2002). These increasingly heterogeneous communities continue to share a language, but the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of their members vary, pushing FMCs to contend with their growing multicultural nature:

As more and more Canadians are expressing the unique combinations of their backgrounds and see themselves as carriers of multiple identities, the role of communities is changing. They are increasingly becoming vehicles for the expression and promotion of interests and identities (such as language) that one has chosen freely (Quell, 2000). The consequence for official language

minority communities is that they need to embrace multifaceted identities. Under the roof of a common language, many other identities can coexist. (Quell, 2002, p. 55)

Yet Jedwab (2002) stated that within Ontario's FMCs, community outreach to immigrants has been limited. Concerns with increased diversity relate to the tension between bilingualism and multiculturalism, as an expanding Canadian 'mosaic' may be viewed as a potential threat to the "notion of Canada's two founding peoples" (p. 36). This dichotomy also exists within federal policy, as:

[T]he federal government's commitment to promote the linguistic vitality of official language communities does not imply support for the ethnocultural expression of the group identities. Such support may be available under the Multiculturalism Program, although the latter no longer offers significant funding for mono-ethnic groups. Thus it is hard to justify support for the promotion of ethnic identification within the support for official languages. (Jedwab, 2002, pp. 40-41)

French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups cannot be easily categorized according to either language or culture, yet the dichotomization of these policies within Canada does not easily enable the expression of intersecting identities.

Whilst migration can indeed increase the number of Francophone linguistic minorities, the FMCs experience social and cultural change as a result. This phenomenon may potentially be perceived as threatening because it is relatively recent. Interestingly, the report by the FCFA¹¹ (2004) indicated that nearly nine out of ten respondents to their questionnaire believed their community would be prepared to receive more Francophone newcomers, but were less receptive if immigrants were from visible minority groups. Over one third of participants

¹¹ The 2004 FCFA study included interviews, surveys, and focus groups conducted with newcomers, Canadian-born Francophones, representatives from agencies that deliver reception and integration services, and representatives from organizations working in the area of Francophone development. Data collection occurred in the cities of Moncton, Ottawa, Sudbury, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver within phase one, in Calgary during a follow-up to phase one, and in provinces and regions of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Northern Ontario and Saskatchewan within phase two.

believed increasing multiculturalism would increase resistance to immigration. The report stated that “resistance to high immigration has been growing in the largest centres, and is higher in second-tier cities than in smaller towns where there are fewer immigrants” (p. 95). The discussion explained that the communities were not necessarily overtly racist; instead, some felt migrants of visible minority status would face additional challenges to integration, in part because they were not always equally accepted or represented in Canadian society. However, just over one third of respondents also felt “the multicultural character of Francophone immigration could increase resistance to immigration in their community” (FCFA, 2004, p. 96). The reasons for this should be explored, as a lack of community reception can increase the barriers faced by immigrants.

Conversely, the more open an FMC is to diversity, the more likely it is to enable the settlement and integration of newcomers. Quell (2002) claimed that immigrant integration needs to be a two-sided process including both the immigrants themselves and their receiving communities. The receptiveness of particular FMCs to immigration is also a necessary consideration for immigration policy. The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) argued that Canadian Francophones must continue to expand their awareness of the different cultures and ethnicities of immigrants joining their communities in order to better receive and accommodate them. Increasing awareness within the host community can begin through research that aims to provide a better understanding of the challenges immigrants face throughout the settlement and integration process. This requires attention to the transitions they experience to their occupations as they move from one place to another, because people’s occupations and the places where they occur are embedded within particular contexts that are altered by migratory processes.

When international migrants initially arrive in Canada they are immediately faced with a social structure that differs from that of their source country, leading them

to experience a range of transitions. The Citizenship and Immigration Canada 'Welcome to Canada' (Canada, 2006b) guide stated:

Your first year in Canada will be emotional and full of change. You may be looking for a place to live, a job, and schools for your children. [...] Regardless of your situation, being a newcomer may mean giving up some familiar things for a new way of life. As a result, you may feel anxious or afraid, especially during the first few days and weeks. (p. i)

This process of initial familiarization with the new society is described as 'settlement' and refers to the early stages of immigrant adaptation, such as finding housing and employment. 'Integration' refers to the longer term process whereby immigrants "become full and equal participants in all the various dimensions of society" (Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), 2006, p. 109). While the quotation above highlights the challenges faced by migrants shortly after their arrival, Sluzski (1979) emphasized, with particular reference to family migration, that processes of change are not short-lived and that stress associated with family migration can emerge years after arriving in the new country, when additional issues can manifest themselves. He suggested that in the period immediately following immigration, the family's energy is focussed on finding a home, securing an income and establishing a lifestyle. Only once that is accomplished, parents may begin to mourn what they left behind.

The CCR (2006) described both settlement and integration as multi-dimensional because they occur within interconnected social, political, cultural and economic fields. They also entail a number of dimensions embedded within these fields such as family, education, employment and civic participation. Consequently, while similarities may exist within these general processes, individuals' experiences of settlement and integration remain unique, and are influenced by multiple aspects including source country, immigration class, legal status, gender, race, and language. Further, as settlement and integration are in part temporal processes, immigrants' occupational engagement is likely to change over time. Immigrant integration does not necessarily follow a clear linear

progression of stages concluding with full civic participation and belonging. Each process (e.g. finding a job, learning a language, joining a community organization) is influenced by the immigrant's particular location within the broader social structure.

There is an implicit assumption within many documents and reports produced by organizations (e.g. Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants) and government ministries (e.g. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages) that if immigrants are initially supported by communities this will enable their full integration and contribution back to the communities. In essence, migrants are presented as resources (e.g. demographic) for communities, and if communities are willing to invest in resource development (e.g. service provision), they stand to reap the benefits (e.g. immigrants' economic and social contributions). Indeed, Quell (2002, p. 43) argued that *successful* integration is dependent upon two main factors:

- a) selecting an adequate number of people who are likely to succeed, and
- b) giving them the kind of support that will ensure their successful integration. Successful integration also means that the community that is meant to benefit from it actually does.

The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) also proposed initiatives that seek to “ensure that new arrivals would be able to contribute fully to their community and to Canadian society” (p. 12). Certainly immigrants should have full and equal right to societal participation, but should this be expected from them? Is the same expected of Canadian-born citizens? How much time is perceived as necessary for immigrants to familiarize themselves with the host society before a return is expected on the country's demographic investment? The expectations placed upon immigrants are especially weighty given the extent of transitions they experience. International migration entails changes to the occupations and places most familiar to people, which may influence how they see themselves and how they are or wish to be seen by others. To better understand this

process, my research aimed to uncover how occupation and place contributed to, and were influenced by immigrants' identities, within and throughout processes of integration, and how processes of 'othering' according to socially constructed markers of gender, race and language presented additional barriers to integration. This process was considered in relation to the local context of the FMC within London, Ontario, as well as the broader socio-historical context. Addressing the research objectives outlined above therefore has implications for Canadian FMCs in general, and also for individual migrants, and London's community in particular.

1.4 Significance of the research

While federal policies and priorities tend to focus on a national scale, the experiences of individual migrants within the specific contexts of particular FMCs cannot be discounted if plans and frameworks to promote these communities are to succeed. The government itself acknowledges the role of the communities. In fact, the closing sentences of the report of the SCOL stated:

Finally, the Committee wishes to recall that governments cannot act alone in this regard. The official language minority communities will have to take ownership of the issue and make immigration a long-term community project to ensure their development (Canada, 2003c, p. 18).

Some action has been taken on this front. Local-scale studies have been conducted that address immigration to OLMCs. In 2000, the FCFA held a *Dialogue* tour where forums were organized across the country to allow Francophone and Acadian communities to meet and exchange ideas. The resulting report entitled *Let's Talk* was published in 2001. This research served to address key issues raised by the FCFA. For instance, their consultations with newcomers revealed that "overall, the process of settling in Canada is difficult and that they are dissatisfied with the support services they received" (2004, p. 25). This earlier work helped me to identify areas for further investigation, as it identified particular obstacles and challenges faced by French-speaking

immigrants. Some of these included migrants' need to prioritize the occupations they engaged in according to necessity (e.g. first learning English in order to be able to find a job), the perceived misrepresentation of Canadian bilingualism abroad, and lack of available French services, among others.

The FCFA (2004) has also evaluated the capacity of particular FMCs to host immigrants. Phase I of their report presented findings from Moncton, Ottawa, Sudbury, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver, with a follow-up focussed on Calgary. Phase II examined rural areas from five provinces that are located apart from major immigrant destinations: Newfoundland; Prince Edward Island; Nova Scotia; the Northern Ontario cities of Kirkland Lake, Timmins, Kapuskasing, and Hearst; and Saskatchewan. However, there is a noticeable lack of research conducted on FMCs in Southern Ontario, particularly Southwestern Ontario, and my study of London begins to address this knowledge gap. This is especially important as London is a second-tier city with an increasingly diverse community. While the visible minority population in the 2001 London community profile totalled 36,420, by 2006 it had reached 47,955 (Statistics Canada, 2007). The need for research on second-tier cities is especially important as immigrants are increasingly discouraged from settling in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. For instance, at the provincial scale Ontario's Pilot Provincial Nominee Program distinguishes between 'GTA' and 'non-GTA' employers, and eases restrictions on regional employers outside of the GTA to participate in the program¹². At the local scale, factors such as high housing costs also push immigrants to settle in surrounding areas (Canada, 2006a). Quell (2002) indicated that Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) was "considering ways to regionalize the flow of immigration, which would oblige immigrants to settle and remain in regions outside Canada's major centres for a period of time in the hope that initial settlement will turn into long-term attachment" (p. 52). It is problematically assumed in many government documents that the longer an immigrant resides in

¹² The 'GTA' refers to the Greater Toronto Area and encompasses the City of Toronto, Durham, Halton, York and Peel regions (<http://www.ontarioimmigration.ca/english/PNPquestions.asp>)

a country, the more their attachment and feeling of belonging to the country should increase (Quell, 2002). Yet this may depend upon their experiences within the host society, and may not be an unproblematic and automatic temporal process. My research critically explores the implicit assumptions within contemporary understandings of successful integration in order to highlight how the challenges and barriers faced by individual immigrants' are shaped in relation to the social structure.

1.5 Location of the researcher

This research was particularly important to me as a Francophone who has lived my entire life within an FMC. My positionality informed this work, and I introduce myself and my interest in this topic within this section. Further reflection upon my role as researcher within this study is also included within the thesis conclusion. I am a Caucasian female who turned thirty while conducting this research. I was born and raised in Welland, Ontario, a city of approximately 50,000 inhabitants with a Francophone population of nearly thirteen percent. French is my mother tongue and I attended relatively small French language public elementary and secondary schools that had a largely homogeneous student body. The majority were Caucasian and Catholic, and we were bound together as linguistic minorities within the larger community. I left the FMC of a smaller city to attend The University of Western Ontario, an Anglophone institution characterized by greater cultural diversity. Indeed, the residence I lived in during the first year of undergraduate education had approximately three times as many people as my entire high school and openly emphasized its commitment to diversity. My primary language has since shifted to English and I have experienced a degree of language transfer, yet the transition I experienced in my language of education as a result of attending an English university was not overly challenging as I have been completely bilingual from a very young age. Despite this, I had still largely self-defined as a minority due to my linguistic position in society, but upon

moving to a more diversified context I became increasingly cognizant of the complexity embedded within the term 'minority'.

Many of the friends I made during my undergraduate experience were born outside of Canada and their stories of immigration were of great interest to me. To learn more about Canadian immigration policies and the experiences of those who moved to Canada from abroad, I chose to focus on immigration while doing my Masters in Geography at The University of Western Ontario. My study focussed on the experiences of skilled South African immigrants residing within London, Ontario. The participants that I interviewed as part of that study, most of whom were male, were also all health professionals that were fluent in English and were not members of visible minority groups. I began to wonder what experiences of integration would be like for newcomers who did not speak English, or who were from visible minority groups, or who worked in different professions prior to, or following their migration. I also became increasingly interested in the gendered nature of international migration as many of the men who participated in my Masters research addressed the challenges they felt their female spouses faced throughout the immigration and integration process. These reflections upon my previous research, and upon my own Francophone identity, motivated me to conduct my doctoral research critically exploring the integration experiences of French-speaking immigrant men and women from visible minority groups.

While broadening my horizons, I resist being pulled from my roots, and striving to better understand the experiences of Francophones within FMCs has always been important to me. This led me to attend the CIHR 2008 Summer Institute on 'Health Within Official Language Minority Communities' to learn about current research on this topic. The ongoing development of discourse surrounding OLMCs allows me to meld my Francophone identity with my research interests in migration, especially as the experiences of French-speaking migrants are

influenced not only by the languages they speak, but also by the intersections of their linguistic identity with those of their racial and gendered identities.

The emphasis I place upon my linguistic identity highlights the extent to which the normativity of the white race is dominant within society. To be white is to be normal, and no reflection or activism is needed. Questioning the everyday power I have as a white person requires a conscious effort on my part, which can be undertaken or ignored as I please; it is a privilege (McIntosh, 1988), one that is unavailable to visible minorities. Thus, throughout this work I strove to continually interrogate the assumptions I made based on my privileged position within society in order to undertake critical research that seeks to challenge the inequalities that have historically worked to oppress people of 'other' races. My own identity influenced my engagement in this research, and this brief description of myself should be kept in mind when reading the following chapters, outlined in the following section.

1.6 Thesis organization

A review of the migration and occupation-based literature is presented in the next chapter. I bring together these two bodies of otherwise largely separate literature by linking the concept of identity with those of place and occupation. Beyond outlining recent research on occupation and migration, the purpose of the review is to frame my research on the intersections of occupation, place and identity within processes of integration.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework adopted for this research. As my study critically explores migrants' experiences in relation to elements of the social structure, it was necessary that my theoretical framework stress the dialectical relationship between human activity and the social context where it occurs. Within the chapter I outline key concepts from Goffman's theory of performance and Bourdieu's theory of practice that were used to inform my data analysis. I also present insights drawn from anti-racism and postcolonial

feminism to interpret these theoretical concepts according to contemporary understandings of identity.

The fourth chapter presents the research methodology and methods used for the study. It begins by outlining my ontological and epistemological positions within a critical theory paradigm. Next, the critical ethnographic methodology used to conduct this research is outlined, including a description of the research field; the boundary setting and recruitment process and criteria; and methods of data management, generation, and analysis and interpretation. Lastly, the study's quality criteria and ethical considerations are addressed.

Chapters five and six present and interpret the research findings. Chapter five presents the findings stemming from the first three stages of the study (described in chapter four). These stages entailed a total of thirty-seven sessions held with eight participants that included a variety of data generation methods. Chapter six then outlines the findings resulting from the fourth stage of data generation (described in chapter four). This included a review of government documents as well as semi-structured interviews conducted with six representatives from government and community organizations within London.

Chapter seven presents the discussion of findings and conclusions of this research. The discussion addresses four main issues to be taken into account in considerations of Francophone immigration and integration into FMCs. I then outline directions for future research and reflect upon my experience of conducting this research. Finally, my conclusion highlights the contributions of this research to occupational science and migration studies and outlines the implications of my work.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review was guided by the research objective to critically examine the structural barriers to integration experienced by French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC by focussing on the intersections of occupation with place and identity. Within this review, literature addressing these intersections within the fields of migration studies and occupational science is reviewed. Since these are both interdisciplinary fields of study, the literature addressing migration and occupation is broad and varied. Despite the vast amount of research addressing each, the two bodies of literature remain largely separate and there are a much smaller number of publications that bring insights from both fields together. As the occupation-based literature largely focuses on the construct of occupation, and place figures more prominently in the research on migration, I use the concept of identity as a thread for bringing the two bodies of literature together. In this literature review, I contend that there is tremendous potential to illuminate the problematic of 'successful' immigrant integration from an occupational perspective, in part because such an approach is largely absent from migration theory and literature; and also because there remains a paucity of research on migration and integration within the occupation-based literature.

The review is presented in two main sections, the first on migration and the second on occupation. Both sections are organized similarly. The first sub-section in 2.2 (Migration) addresses recent trends and tendencies within the field. As the number of articles within the occupation-based literature on migration is limited, the first sub-section in 2.3 (Occupation) discusses specific studies. The second sub-sections then explore the literature on migration and occupation respectively in relation to identity. As mentioned above, the concept of identity is

being used as a bridge to link occupation and place. Insights relating to particular markers of social and personal identity¹³ are addressed. The final sub-sections examine how identity has been related to place and processes of transition. The concept of transition figures prominently in both bodies of literature as people experience transitions to their occupations for a number of reasons, and migration causes a myriad of transitions. Thus, the purpose of this literature review is not solely to outline recent research on occupation and migration; rather, it aims to draw on insights from each field of study in order to frame my research on the intersections of occupation, place and identity within processes of integration.

2.2 Migration

The migration literature has followed a general trend within the social sciences away from strictly post-positivistic¹⁴ studies, toward increasingly interpretivist and critical research. Research on identity within this more recent work has been explored at a variety of levels, often in direct relation to place, but less often in relation to occupation. Where occupation is addressed, it tends to be in relation to particular forms of engagement (e.g. work) rather than in relation to a broader occupational perspective that encompasses the range of everyday activities. Thus, a review of recent trends within the literature on migration helps frame the discussion of identity in relation to migration, place, and transitions; and to

¹³ 'Social identity' reflects one's social location and can be gleaned by others at a glance. Markers of social identity include gender, age and race, among others, which may influence how an individual views, and is viewed by, other people. 'Personal identity' is gleaned through direct contact with others when people display aspects of themselves and attempt to manage others' impressions of them. Aspects of one's personal identity are not solely derived from appearance and may include characteristics such as taste in music, literature, and political views. This level of identity is influenced, but is not determined by, one's social identity (Erikson, 1968).

¹⁴ In this thesis, post-positivism is understood as a variation of positivism. Lincoln and Guba (1994) describe positivism as characterized by an ontology of naive realism, which believes that a single reality exists and is apprehendable. Post-positivism has a critical realist ontology, which also believes in a single reality but recognizes that this reality can only be "imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable" (Lincoln & Guba, 1994, p. 109). Each of these forms of realist ontology have been challenged by the alternative paradigms of constructivism and interpretivism and of critical theory that are respectively characterized by more relativist and historical realist ontologies.

highlight how adding considerations of occupation, as informed by the occupational science literature, can enhance this research.

Castles and Miller (2009, pp. 10-12) identified six general tendencies related to contemporary international migration. First, it is becoming increasingly globalized due to the larger number of countries being affected by migratory moves. Second, migration is accelerating as the volume of international movements increases. Third, it is becoming increasingly differentiated as a wide range of migration types occur, such as temporary labour migration or migration leading to permanent residency. Fourth, migration is experiencing feminization as women play a more significant role in labour migration. Fifth, migration is increasingly politicized through global governance. For instance, particular source and host countries can develop bilateral relationships regulating immigration, such as the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program, which organizes temporary migration from countries that participate in the program (e.g. Jamaica). Finally, there has been a proliferation of migration transitions as more countries become lands of both immigration and emigration. These trends are characteristic of what has been termed the 'new migration' (Herbert, May, Wills, Datta, Evans, & McIlwaine, 2008; Nagel, 2002; Silvey, 2004b). This growing complexity of international migration requires research that problematizes migratory moves, as they can no longer be strictly viewed as based on rational decisions made by balancing logical 'push' and 'pull' factors.

The changes outlined by Castles and Miller (2009) highlight that migration no longer automatically implies a unidirectional move from one country to another followed by assimilation into the host society. Researchers within migration studies have thus paid increasing attention to the places within, and scales at which, people belong. This can range from specific places and local scales such as households and communities, to broader spaces and macro scales contributing to the development of hybrid and transnational identities (Castles & Miller, 2009; Samers, 2010; Silvey & Lawson, 1999). As stated by Silvey (2004b)

there has been a focus “on the differences that shape individual and group identities and the political consequences of these differences” (p. 306). How migrants are incorporated into their receiving societies has consequently also garnered much attention in research on migration. Here I briefly outline some of the concepts related to ‘modes of incorporation’ (Portes & Zhou, 1993) that have been addressed within the literature to help contextualize the discussion of migration and identity that follows in the next sub-section.

Assimilation has traditionally referred to a form of incorporation whereby newcomers are expected to forego their identifying characteristics (e.g. language, culture) and become indistinguishable from the host community. This expectation has always been problematic because it assumes that societies can control difference, but has become increasingly difficult in current times given the recent tendencies in global migration listed above, such as the growing diversity of migrant populations and increasing transnationalism. Traditional policies of assimilation had also been critiqued for perpetuating the marginalization or exclusion of those who were ‘different’. Assimilation now takes on different meanings, such as segmented assimilation, where newcomers may assimilate according to some characteristics of the host society but not others (Castles & Miller, 2009; Samers, 2010; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Although discussions within the literature have changed over time to reflect alternative forms of incorporation, such as multiculturalism and integration, Samers (2010) noted that recent critical literature continues to examine assimilation ‘as a discourse’. This refers to the use of notions of assimilation, such as expecting immigrants to adopt cultural practices of the host society, within discourses attending to immigration and integration, even though assimilation may not be official government policy.

Multiculturalism can perhaps be viewed as the opposite of assimilation. It intends for immigrants to have equal participation in all spheres of society, while maintaining their cultures, religions and languages. Yet, the expectation remains that newcomers will nonetheless conform to certain key values of the host

society (Castles & Miller, 2009). Multiculturalism became an official public policy in Canada in 1971 and was later adopted in other countries, such as Australia in 1978. However, such policies can also be problematic and have since been retrenched in some countries. For instance, it has been argued that multiculturalism can lead to ongoing separation of groups and create a backlash from those who may view migrants as resisting or refusing integration (Castles & Miller, 2009). This problem is explored by Herbert et al. (2008) in their study of everyday racism experienced by Ghanaian migrants in London, England. The authors argued that the discourse on the “failures of multiculturalism” within Britain should attend to the racism, exclusion and material inequalities experienced by low income immigrants; rather than place the blame for ‘failure’ upon newcomers from minority ethnic groups (Herbert et al., p. 103). Samers (2010) further noted that policies on multiculturalism may also imply an internal coherence among groups that likely does not exist.

The concept of *integration* views adaptation as a temporal process requiring mutual accommodation by immigrants and the host society (Castles & Miller, 2009). Samers (2010) presented three interpretations of the term, the first more closely resembling that of assimilation, the second reflecting that of multiculturalism, and the third, but admittedly less frequently used interpretation, referring to a process of ‘coming together’ of migrants and citizens. It should be noted that while integration is described here as a particular form of incorporation, the term is also used more generally across categories. While particular countries such as Canada may adopt an official policy of multiculturalism, its implementation may also emphasize immigrants’ successful integration within the multicultural society. For instance, Teixeira and Li (2009) indicated that successful integration is based on migrants attaining their basic needs, and prioritized the following: access to affordable housing located within safe neighbourhoods and welcoming communities; access to quality education; adequate income and employment; and successful social and cultural integration. Given that the term integration may be interpreted differently, either

as a form of incorporation in itself, or as an integral component of other forms of incorporation, it is important to consider how it is used within particular documents and policies. Discourses of incorporation are inherently spatial because they are taken up differently at national and local scales, and immigrant identities are then shaped by the discourses and practices within particular places (Samers, 2010).

Considerations of identity are essential to understanding each of these modes of incorporation, as it is at this level that most have proved problematic. Each defines the host society and newcomer populations in particular ways. For example, while policies of multiculturalism are more tolerant of difference than those of assimilation, they nonetheless focus on 'culture', which may overshadow additional markers of identification and differentiation such as gender or language. This discussion addresses, in part, the relationship between place and identity within migration studies, as varying modes of incorporation refer to people's inclusion, or lack thereof, within the places they occupy. What could be made more explicit through the use of an occupational perspective is what the implications of these forms of incorporation are for migrants' engagement in occupation. Current understandings of belonging also address the relationship of place and identity and could similarly be enhanced by considerations of occupation, as belonging is inherently connected to what people do on a daily basis within particular places (Rebeiro, 2001).

While the concept of 'citizenship' is often thought of as a form of legal status within a country, additional interpretations of citizenship are present within the literature on migration. Citizenship as *belonging* is one such consideration that is useful for highlighting the intersections of identity, place and occupation. For instance, Samers (2010) stated that 'substantive citizenship' can be understood as encompassing daily issues within immigrants' lives, many of which relate to occupation such as securing housing and employment, selecting children's schools, participating in organizations and events of interest, accessing health

care, among others. He explained that these issues are exacerbated by expectations of certain kinds of cultural behaviour or even racism that are expressed by organizations, citizens, and other migrants. He also described substantive citizenship as concerning a sense of 'belonging':

Though migrant identities constantly change vis-à-vis citizens, other immigrants, and compatriots remaining in the country of origin, they are shaped by influences associated with the country, region or village of origin and other axes of differentiation including age, gender, religion, and skin colour. The ability to express this identity or these identities in the country of immigration in which they settle is a particular concern for many migrants. At the same time, many migrants also wish to adopt at least some of the cultural, political, and social practices of the majority of citizens in the country of immigration. Yet if the expression of people's identities were only an individual issue then neither governments nor the media would afford it much attention, but managing diversity (that is managing people's cultural, political, and religious identities) is something that governments feel is necessary to regulate the relationship between migrants, citizens, economic development, and indigenous political institutions and parties. (pp. 19-20)

This quotation highlights the complexity of 'belonging' as people's occupations are shaped not only by what they need and want to do within their new societies, but also by how they are contextualized and represented within the new places they inhabit. Gilmartin (2008) also addressed the spatiality of belonging. She emphasized that practices of exclusion exist at a range of scales, including the creation of barriers and policing of borders, which are implicated in the 'politics and practices of belonging'. While a detailed discussion of the concept of belonging remains outside the scope of this chapter (see Antonsich, 2010; Gilmartin, 2008; Phizacklea, 2000; Samers, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006), it was raised to emphasize that forms of immigrant incorporation are often based not only on personal identity, but also on social identity. Yuval-Davis (2006) conceptualized belonging based on personal identity as 'place-belongingness' to explore whether or not people feel they belong, and conceptualized belonging based on social identity as the 'politics of belonging' to address whether people are excluded based on socially constructed markers of difference, such as race.

The review now turns to considerations of identity within the literature on migration.

2.2.1 Migration and identity

Postmodern, feminist, and other contemporary schools of thought have been applied to understandings of migration within this era of globalization. In particular, the intersections of one's identity according to gender, race and other characteristics have been explored in relation to processes of migration. For instance, Silvey (2004b) identified a number of trends within critical migration research including scholarship on "the reification of socio-spatial boundaries defining race and ethnicity", and the "production of belonging, exclusion and identity in particular places" (p. 304). Thus, categories such as 'women' and 'household' that were once adopted unproblematically have more recently been questioned (e.g. Halfacree, 2004; Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, & Pessar, 2006).

Gender has featured prominently in scholarly work on migration and identity, and indeed feminist scholars have led migration studies in this direction both theoretically and empirically. Given the heteronormativity of Western society, much research on gender and migration has addressed the movement of couples or household migration typically referring to a nuclear family. Research has addressed topics including gender relations within migratory families (Dyck & Dossa, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Kofman, 2004a; Lawson, 1998; Williams, 2005); dual career households (Green, 1997; Hardill, 2004; Hardill & MacDonald, 1998); wife's sacrifice (Cooke, 2001; Piper, 2003); and transnational families (Cai, 2003; Parreñas, 2005; Phizacklea, 2000). In Kofman's (2004a) critical review of European migration studies for instance, different forms of family migration are outlined. These include family reunification, family formation and marriage migration, and the migration of entire families. Issues associated with such types of migration include familial separation, transnational parenting, and retirement migration. She argued that migration policies ultimately influence the

level, composition, and gender balance of family migration. Further, given the division of productive and reproductive work within families, several studies have focussed on the role of, and impacts upon migrants' productive occupations (Bailey & Cooke, 1998; Boyle, Cooke, Halfacree, & Smith, 1999, 2003; Hardill & MacDonald, 2000; Preston & Man, 1999; Purkayastha, 2005; Raghuram, 2004; Yeoh & Khoo, 1998). For example, Hardill and MacDonald (1998) emphasized the contributions made by the female participants in their study who had migrated with their families. The women had built networks and contacts within the community that helped to integrate the entire household. Raghuram (2004) specifically highlighted two important issues to consider when addressing family dynamics within migrant households: "ways in which the shift in the skills of the primary migrant reconfigures family migration" and "ways in which immigration regulations intersect with labour market conditions in influencing family strategies around labour market participation of men and women in migrant households" (p. 303). Such studies point to the need for further exploration of occupation as related to processes of migration and integration by extending beyond a focus upon paid work.

While productive occupations are most emphasized within the migration literature, likely due to the need for employment within capitalist society, government documents' discussions of successful integration also address civic engagement and contributions to the host society, such as voluntarism, community involvement, and engagement with children's schools (e.g. Canada, 2003c). These reproductive occupations remain unpaid and largely invisible within society, despite also being necessary to support capitalism. Thus, different types of occupations should be included within studies of integration. The expectation that immigrants and immigrant households will fulfill their obligations to the host society imposes particular challenges upon them that must be negotiated at a number of scales (e.g. individual choices, household decision-making, transnational family dynamics). Bailey and Cooke (1998) identified issues related to occupation within this area of scholarship that should be further

addressed in migration research, including underemployment relative to skills, and gender roles within the family. These insights are important to consider when addressing FMCs, as migrants within them come from a variety of countries that differ from the Canadian host society in terms of political and economic circumstances, gender norms, and social practices, among others. In becoming embedded within a different socio-historic context, French-speaking newcomers may experience changes to their daily occupations due to issues like familial separation resulting from their particular circumstances, such as their legal status (e.g. Arsenault, 2003).

International migration is thus not solely an individual event. It has been described, for example, as requiring negotiations at the household level and as having implications related to gender roles within the family that can influence who is responsible for productive and reproductive occupations (e.g. Dyck & Dossa, 2007). As a result, considerations of identity cannot focus solely on individuals either, as they are connected to others (e.g. ethnic communities), and the literature on migration therefore also reflects analyses of migratory moves exploring the dimensions of identity at a number of scales (e.g. individual, household, networks, policy)¹⁵. Indeed, individual migrants are contextualized within their host societies according to the intersections of their occupations, places, and identities. In a study of gender and emotions in women's experience of migration, Espin (1997) argued that identity is not a singular notion for each individual, rather people are each located in, and opt for different and possibly conflicting identities that depend in part upon the social, economic, political, and ideological contexts in which they find themselves. Ni Laoire (2003) similarly described identity as contextually-embedded, rather than stable or fixed. Lawson's (2000) research illustrated specific examples of this by showing how migrants' access to social networks, the labour market, and state assistance are not solely individual experiences, but rather are shaped by the social relations of

¹⁵ See Dyck & McLaren, 2004; Hardill, 2004; Hyndman, 1999; Kofman, 1999; Lawson, 1998; Parreñas, 2005; Phizacklea, 2004

migrant status, gender, class, and ethnicity, each of which affect individuals uniquely. Robinson and Carey (2000) further highlighted how individuals' actions and interests are not solely dictated by institutions. Instead, they claim that individuals selectively draw on institutional rules and resources to pursue their interests, which inevitably works to reproduce the social system. Such broader contextual forces upon migrant experiences are prominent within research conducted on gendered migration policy and trends (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, & Pessar, 2006; Hyndman, 1999; Iredale, 2005; Kofman, 1999, 2004a, 2004b; Kofman & Sales, 1998; Phizacklea, 2000; Smith, 2004), and have led to the development of migration theory addressing the intersections of identity (Grieco & Boyd, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000; Lentin, 2004; Piper, 2006; Silvey, 2004a, 2006).

Discussions of race and ethnicity also figure prominently in the migration literature. As migration flows continue to diversify, so do forms of integration. Castles and Miller (2009) argued that culture, identity and community are thematically central to discussions of "new ethnic minorities" (p. 40) for four reasons:

- a) Cultural differences serve as markers for ethnic boundaries;
- b) Ethnic cultures are vital to community formation;
- c) Ethnic neighbourhoods can be perceived as a threat to the dominant culture and national identity; and
- d) Dominant groups may view migrant cultures as static, regressive, and unable to integrate into contemporary society.

Thus, it is not solely the presence of ethnic minorities that complicates immigrant integration; it is also their spatial concentration and racialization that leads to marginalization and discrimination based on difference. Liu (2000) specifically explored how place is intricately related to the construction of immigrant racial-ethnic identities. Race and ethnicity should not, however, be used interchangeably. Ethnicity refers to "a sense of belonging, based on ideas of

common origins, history, culture, experience and values” (Castles & Miller, p. 35). However, it is often attributed to particular groups based on visible markers of identity, including race. Wieviorka (2004) argued that ethnic minorities are “often racialized and are pressurised to define themselves as different” (p. 201). Like race, ethnicity is socially constructed and the two remain interrelated to a certain extent because racism is not based solely on skin pigmentation. It is often directed toward those who are ‘different’ according to markers that become racialized including, but not restricted to biological differences, such as ethnicity, religion, or language (Castles & Miller, 2009; Wieviorka, 2004). Thus, Herbert et al. (2008) argued that discussions regarding the failure of multiculturalism, or what Castles and Miller (2009) refer to as the ‘crisis of integration’, should critically examine issues of racism, inequality and exclusion experienced by immigrants, rather than blame ethnic minorities for their lack of integration.

Given that international migration is now recognized as gendered, racialized, or otherwise differentiated, researchers continue to unpack how migration is diversified according to markers of social and personal identity. For instance, Man’s (2004) research on female migrants from Hong Kong and mainland China emphasized that race, class and gender cannot operate separately because they are not distinct entities. Aspects of one’s identity are dynamic and fluctuate within space and time, and Man argued that they “appear in divergent forms in different social and historical periods” (p. 137). Thus, it is essential to consider migrants’ multiple affiliations when addressing any shifts to their identities as these are not likely to be related solely to gender, race or language, but rather to all three, among others that migrants may identify as pertinent to their experiences. Considerations of occupation as related to place and identity in research on migration and integration would serve to highlight the material effects of these concepts, and their interrelation, upon immigrants’ daily experiences, since issues such as sexism, racism and social exclusion based on identity are likely to impact upon occupational engagement within particular places.

While the focus of this section has been predominantly on gender and race, the intent is to emphasize the complexity and intersectionality of people's identities. Individuals both identify with, and are identified by, a variety of markers of social and personal identity. For example, McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer (2007) used the Althusserian concept of 'interpellation' to explore how particular groups of people, hotel workers in the case of their study, are idealized and stereotyped by those with power (e.g. managers), thereby contributing to the social construction of their identities. The intersectionality of people's identities becomes increasingly complex when people migrate into a new society where they likely differ from the host community in multiple ways, especially given the heterogeneity of international migration flows (Teixeira & Li, 2009). The transitions they experience as they move between places are then also necessary to consider.

2.2.2 Place and transition as related to migration

Place has inherently been considered throughout this review of the migration literature, as migration is essentially a process of movement from one place to another. However, given the developments in contemporary social theory, how place is understood within current migration research should be explicitly addressed. Silvey and Lawson (1999) drew on feminist and postcolonial scholarship to provide a detailed discussion of this topic in their article *Placing the Migrant*. Like markers of identity, the authors identified place as socio-historically constructed. This implies that places are given meaning according to their particular scales and sites of analysis. For instance, Yeoh (2003) explored place in relation to migration in her exploration of 'postcolonial memory and the localization of identity', indicating that places are shaped by their histories. She cited the example of street names reflecting colonization in their commemoration of the British Empire. Viewing places as contingent or spatially unbounded, as Silvey and Lawson suggested, opens new avenues for migration research. This is reflected in theory and research on concepts including hybridity (e.g. Plaza, 2006) and transnationalism (e.g. Scott & Cartledge, 2009),

which connect place to migration and identity. Interestingly, they further emphasized that considerations of power, that is, of who makes meaning about place, encourages understandings of place as a *process*. For example, citing Sassen (1996), Hall (1994) and Massey's (1994) work, Silvey and Lawson explained that place is given meaning in relation to particular markers of identity and can be problematized according to those markers. This refers to critiques of concepts such as the 'household', which was briefly addressed in the previous sub-section on migration and identity. Thus, places are shaped and experienced differentially, and the relationship with identity is dialectical. Migrants integrate into places that have implications for their identities, yet their presence there also has implications for the places in which they reside. As Silvey and Lawson stated: "migrants participate in ongoing reworking of their identities, as well as the places and social contexts among which they are moving" (p. 125). This process of 'reworking' occurs throughout the integration process as immigrants navigate a multitude of transitions related to occupation, place and identity.

Transitions resulting from international migration occur as people become embedded within different economic, political, cultural and social contexts. Yet relocation does not sever ties to the source country. Migrants may maintain multi-stranded and simultaneous social relations in countries of origin and destination, leading to multiple identifications that challenge notions of stable or singular identities (Boyle, 2002). They may become 'transnational' at a number of levels. While some may frequently move back and forth between countries, others may maintain a more emotional connection while rarely ever returning to their source country. The implications of such transnational lifestyles, which entail living 'between countries' that are characterized by differing social norms, influence the identities of migrants with attachments to more than one country. When examining the transition period experienced by migrants, Espin (1992, 1997) found a 'discontinuity of identity' that could be linked to transitions in occupation as participants struggled to reorganize and reintegrate their identities within new contexts, resulting in a reconstruction of the self. She explained that as the

women in her research left the places where their identities were shaped, they not only experienced the loss of a particular way of life, but also of all that was implicated in that way of life: “The pain of uprootedness is also activated in subtle forms by the everyday absence of familiar smells, familiar foods, familiar routines for doing the small tasks of daily life” (1992, p. 13). The inability to engage in familiar occupations following migration can thereby affect one’s identity as related to those occupations. For instance, the migrant women participating in Yeoh and Khoo’s research (1998) indicated that changes in their environments created different demands upon them (e.g. remaining home with children due to lack of child care alternatives), and generated a sense of social dislocation that affected their self-identity and sense of well-being. Their productive lives were devalorized, they were relegated to the domestic sphere, and they lost the social support connections previously provided by family, friends, community, and place, which had to be recreated within an unfamiliar social context. Again, this shows the centrality of various types of occupation to one’s daily life and identity within particular places.

In this sense, occupation also came to the forefront in Man’s (2004) study of Chinese women in Toronto. The participants from Hong Kong were more financially independent than those from mainland China, and while they could afford to become full-time homemakers, many were unhappy with such an option and became frustrated with their difficulties in finding suitable employment in the labour force. Employment obstacles were also a source of exasperation for women from the mainland whose lack of finances and difficulty with the English language negatively affected their sense of well-being and stability, and contributed to feelings of depression and isolation. Migrants’ loss of meaningful occupations was likewise addressed by Yeoh and Khoo (1998) who found that most participants in their study felt overwhelmed and lost due to the increased free time they experienced following migration. Engagement in productive employment helped them to cope both psychologically and socially with the pressures of transition to a new country. They explained how working outside of

their homes increased their morale and personal well-being, and “perceived abilities to cope with the realities of living in a new environment” (p. 170). Given the demands and expectations within their changed contexts, the authors described the participants as active agents engaging various strategies to negotiate their migration and to cope with the transformations they experienced in the home, at work, and within the community. In this instance, occupation can be viewed as a means to enact agency through everyday engagement. Yet such transitions and negotiations occur within particular contexts. For instance, government policies serve as one mechanism to construct places and identities by enabling or limiting access to certain places under particular conditions (Silvey & Lawson, 1999). The opportunities that migrants have to engage in occupations are intricately connected to both their identities and their places, and are thereby related to their processes of integration. To expand upon the attention paid to occupation in the literature on migration, I now turn to the occupation-based literature, once again using the concept of identity to bridge the two bodies of research.

2.3 Occupation

While migration has not been addressed in great detail within the occupation-based literature, it is increasingly becoming a topic of research within the field. The following articles related to migration have been published. Snyder, Clark, Masunaka-Noriega and Young (1998) presented the ‘New Occupations for Life Program’ that targeted Hispanic and African-American youth deemed to be at-risk for involvement in Los Angeles gangs. The research did not directly address immigration; rather, the authors used the example of an immigrant youth who participated in the six-week pilot program to illustrate its potential. The goal of the program was to provide participants with a safe space to explore productive and socially acceptable occupations that were enjoyable and meaningful, and that would offer them an alternative ‘mode of being’.

Connor Schisler and Polatajko's (2002) research on Burundian refugees explored the changes to daily occupations associated with environmental change resulting from migration. The ethnographic study entailed in-depth interviews, and general and focused observations at a refugee shelter. Findings identified changes to occupations of self-care, productivity, and leisure. The article also addressed the impact of such changes upon individuals, who were viewed as mediators of the changes they experienced. For instance, the authors explained that participants faced conflicts between the "socio-cultural factors" (p. 89) characterizing their home and host societies and negotiated these based on personal values, such as one participant who chose not to eat in public despite it being socially acceptable to do so within the host community.

Like Snyder et al. (1998), Whiteford (2005) used the example of a migrant's experiences to explore issues related to occupation. In this research, the author sought to further develop the concept of occupational deprivation, which refers to social processes or injustices that preclude people from engaging in occupations. In order to further develop this concept by exploring it as a lived experience, the story of a Kosovar refugee in Australia was used as a case study. The author also described occupational deprivation as a temporal process, indicating that exclusion from participation in occupation can occur over time.

Martins and Reid (2007) examined the transitions experienced by South Asian immigrant women who moved to Toronto. They conducted a descriptive exploratory qualitative study using in-depth interviews to address the impact of changes to one's environment upon occupation. Findings were presented in relation to four themes: fitting in and coping with a new life, doing and caring, benefitting from the environment in Toronto, and future goals and concerns. The authors argued that adjustment following migration involves the maintenance of some occupations (e.g. cooking) and adoption of new ones (e.g. language classes).

Suto (2009) addressed occupational transitions related to employment following women's international migration to Canada. Using a methodology informed by critical theory and ethnographic influences, such as a focus on context, the author conducted in-depth interviews with fourteen well-educated immigrant women. Three of the participants also created an activity log accounting for one or two days' time. The discussion of findings focussed on the primary theme of 'compromised careers' characterized by the downward mobility the participants experienced in relation to their work. Additional sub-themes addressing the participants' work transitions included a discussion of the women's work prior to migration, how they orchestrated their days within the host society, and how their skills were under-utilized following migration leading many women to work below their capacity. These thematic findings were further interpreted using Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital, discussed further in chapter three of this thesis. For instance, the loss of economic capital the women experienced following migration was described as contributing to their compromised careers.

Heigl, Kinébanian, and Josephsson's (early online) research explored the perceptions of Albanian Muslim immigrant men in Switzerland regarding their daily occupations to inform understandings of the relationship between occupation and culture. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight men and analysis followed a comparative approach. The authors identified three themes: 'everything I do I do for my family', 'where do I belong?', and 'doing something for myself'. These themes were said to reflect the participants' perceptions of occupation and were discussed in relation to discourses of individualism and collectivism. Although 'place' is not explicitly addressed, the authors did discuss the sense of ambivalence the participants felt between their home and host societies, which led to their difficulty in defining where they belonged.

Most recently, the *Journal of Occupational Science* published an issue focussed on migration (Vol. 17, number 2, 2010) featuring three articles addressing

international migration. The first, by myself and my PhD supervisor Laliberte Rudman (2010), was a theoretical article exploring how a change in place resulting from migration can affect occupational engagement and, by extension, one's identity. We drew on Goffman's theory of performance and Bourdieu's theory of practice to articulate the notion of 'doing identity' that highlights how migrants' identities are situated by their habitus and performed in social interactions through occupation. Fuller discussion of these concepts, as used in the theoretical framework for this thesis, is provided in chapter three.

The second, by Boerema, Russell and Aguilar (2010), examined the meaning of sewing as expressed by thirty-eight immigrant women that had been interviewed about sewing and had contributed sewn items to the Migration Museum in South Australia. The authors undertook a secondary analysis of the interview transcripts. Emerging themes indicated that sewing was perceived as an enduring part of their lives, a means of expression, keeping their culture, and very useful. Ultimately, sewing was viewed as an occupation spanning space and time that enabled some continuity following migration.

The third, by Burchett and Matheson (2010), studied the impacts of employment restrictions upon asylum seekers in the United Kingdom, as well as the effects of later obtaining refugee status. Two in-depth interviews were conducted with one refugee and data analysis was guided by grounded theory methods. The following themes were identified: the lack of control resulting in change of identity and roles, changes in motivation, and the impact of stigma. The authors emphasized that prohibiting employment is a form of "legislatively imposed occupational injustice" (p. 85) and argued that asylum seekers should not be denied their needs for safety and a sense of belonging.

These articles do consider how occupations are related to the environments in which people engage in them. For instance, the article by Snyder et al. (1998) highlighted how providing a safe space for at-risk youth could encourage their engagement in meaningful occupation by providing them with a place to

experience alternative 'modes of being', and the articles by Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002), and Martins and Reid (2007) both draw on the 'PEO' model, where the 'person', 'environment', and 'occupation' are all viewed as inter-related. However, in this sense the environment, or place, is viewed largely as residing outside the individual. This means that a person is understood as interacting with a particular place when performing an occupation within it, but remains unaffected by that place when engaging in different occupations elsewhere. The purpose of my research is not solely to highlight how place is a physical barrier or enabler for particular occupations, but also to consider critically how individuals' opportunities, or lack thereof, for occupational engagement are mediated by their identities within and across different places. This is related not only to how they see themselves within places (e.g. whether they feel they belong), but also to how they are seen by others within places (e.g. whether they have experienced discrimination). Thus, considerations of place can further discussions of environment or context beyond an objective 'sphere' interacting with people and occupation to highlight instead how places are instrumental to the production and reproduction of people's identities as they engage in routine occupations.

The discussion of occupation within these articles on migration also refers to the people engaging in them, thereby addressing identity either directly or indirectly. For instance, Burchett and Matheson (2010) argued that asylum seekers may experience a lack of control resulting from government legislation restricting their right to work. In their study with an individual asylum seeker, they explained that such restrictions resulted in changes to the participant's roles and identities because she was unable to continue her previous interests and occupations. She felt the changed social identity she adopted within the new country no longer reflected her personal identity. Some articles also addressed constructs related to identity, such as one's 'culture', and examined how occupation and culture are interrelated (Boerema et al., 2010; Heigl et al., 2010). Discussions of occupational engagement in relation to identity or culture are often described as

confirming and reaffirming them. The development of identities within particular contexts and the need to re-engage in them following migration remains largely unproblematized. For instance, in the study of sewing in the lives of immigrant women (Boerema et al., 2010), 'sewing is keeping our culture' is one of the key thematic findings. In this sense, culture is strongly tied to the idea of tradition so that an occupation reaffirming one's culture would be one that has been practiced for generations. Within this study, the traditional occupation of sewing was described as one expected to be learned by girls in many cultures "in order to prepare for marriage and motherhood" (p. 82), yet a critical discussion of gender does not figure within the article. Thus, although the research on migration within the occupation-based literature does consider place and identity in relation to occupation, it often fails to capture the complexity of the relationship between the three.

Research on migration within occupational science could benefit not only by drawing more strongly on the migration literature outlined above, but also upon recent trends within occupational science itself. Similar to rise of critical perspectives used in migration studies, some occupational science scholars are increasingly beginning to critique assumptions within the field. For instance, Suto (2009) drew on critical theory, Bourdieu's theory of domination in particular, to explain how transitions to work following migration occurred within particular fields and were mediated by one's habitus and loss of capital. She argued that such analytical concepts can "serve as a corrective to the over-emphasis on the individual that has been prevalent in occupational science [...]" (p. 428). Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry (2006) also critique the focus on individualism within occupational science and propose the use of a 'transactionalist' perspective drawing on Dewey's form of pragmatism to better attend to context.

Given the limited discussion of migration within the literature on occupation, a review of how identity has been addressed in relation to occupation within the field is presented. The following sub-section explores how occupation and

identity have been explicitly linked, including how occupation has been explored in relation to particular markers of social and personal identity, and also in relation to the development of 'occupational identity' as a concept. The second sub-section examines how notions of place and transition have been addressed in relation to identity within the literature on occupation. Though the articles reviewed in the following sub-sections are not directly related to international migration, the discussion highlights important insights that can be applied to research on migration as a transition that involves changes in occupation. As I argue throughout this dissertation, migrants' identities are related to their occupations and these are affected by the transitions they experience as they move between different places.

2.3.1 Occupation and identity

Christiansen (1999) explicitly highlighted the connection between occupation and identity when he stated that, "occupations are key not just to being a person, but to being a *particular* person, and thus creating and maintaining an identity" (p. 547). Christiansen contended that occupation is the primary means through which individuals both develop and express their personal identities. He based his argument on four propositions: identity is an overarching concept that shapes and is shaped by relationships with others; identities are closely tied to what people do and their interpretations of those actions in the context of their relationships with others; identities are important to self-narratives and life stories that provide coherence and meaning for life and everyday events; and life meaning is an essential element for promoting well-being and life-satisfaction because it is derived in the context of identity.

This can clearly be connected to processes of migration as all four propositions would be affected by movement from one country to another. For example, people's relationships with others would be altered as they leave family and friends behind but maintain international ties, and create new relationships within the host society. What they do would also be affected, in part because migration

entails changes to many if not most of people's occupations (e.g. due to differences between labour markets). However, even if what they do does not always change (e.g. engaging in self-care), the way they do occupations, and the interpretation of their occupations within their newly formed relationships may also differ from their previous contexts. In developing his arguments, Christiansen (1999) drew on symbolic interactionists to highlight the interdependence of individuals and society, and the influence of social interaction upon identity. This interdependence and interaction occurs over time within a particular context. Discussions of occupation and identity become particularly interesting when a disjuncture occurs as a result of change, whether a change to individuals themselves or to their contexts.

Laliberte Rudman (2002) also found that connections between occupation and identity were central within the findings of three qualitative studies and outlined the five following themes:

- 1) 'Demonstrating core characteristics' outlines how occupation becomes a medium for expressing one's self to others.
- 2) 'Limiting and expanding possibilities' addresses how the restriction of one's occupations can limit possibilities for self perception and identity management, whereas occupational engagement serves to enhance opportunities for identity reconstruction and growth.
- 3) 'Maintaining an acceptable self-identity' addresses people's use of occupation to maintain an acceptable form of personal identity - understood as "the arrangement of self-perceptions and self-evaluations that are meaningful to a person" (p. 12).
- 4) 'Managing social identity' addresses how people seek to be viewed by others through the management of their occupations in social situations.
- 5) 'Control as an essential condition' serves as a mediating factor, rather than a direct link between occupation and identity, and refers to one's sense of control over one's occupations and the relationship of such

control to making occupation an important contributor to individuals' lives.

The insights presented by Laliberte Rudman resonate with the theoretical framework of this study (described in chapter three), as the relationship between one's identity and occupational engagement is viewed as related not only to oneself, but also as contextualized by social interactions. Thus, insights drawn from these articles in regard to the relationship between occupation and identity include the need to consider the reciprocal influence of each upon the other, in relation to both levels of identity. Despite emphasizing social interaction in the development and display of identity however, Christiansen (1999) and Laliberte Rudman do not explicitly consider the role of place, that is, *where* occupations and interactions occur. As people move between countries, their social interactions and the places where these occur shift, potentially affecting how people's identities are shaped in relation to their occupations.

Discussions of occupation as related to identity have also focussed upon particular markers of social and personal identity. To reiterate, social identity represents what can be gleaned by others at a glance, as though one could affix labels to others based on their appearance (e.g. 'white', 'poor'); and personal identity reflects how one sees oneself and presents oneself in interaction with others. Many of the articles within the occupation-based literature address transitions causing a disjuncture between individuals' levels of identity. For instance, the diagnosis of a chronic illness may cause one's personal identity as an able-bodied, independent, productive member of society to no longer 'fit' their resulting social identity as ill, disabled, or unproductive. Research studies exploring the impact of disability, illness and serious injury upon one's occupations and identity predominate within the literature (Brott, Hocking, & Paddy, 2007; DeGroat, Doyle Lyons, & Tickle-Degnen, 2006; Doubt & McColl, 2003, Fieldhouse, 2003; Fitzgerald & Paterson, 1995; Frances, 2006; Goldstein, Kielhofner, & Paul-Ward, 2004; Gray & Fossey, 2003; Henare, Hocking, &

Smythe, 2003; Jakobsen, 2001; Klinger, 2005; Laliberte Rudman, Hebert, & Reid, 2006; Larsson Lund & Nygård, 2003; Magnus, 2001; Mee, Sumsion, & Craik, 2004; Purves & Suto, 2004; Rebeiro Gruhl, 2005; Reynolds, 2003; Segal, Mandich, Polatajko, & Valiant Cook, 2002; Specht, King, Brown, & Foris, 2002; Unruh, 2004; Vrkljan & Miller Polgar, 2001; Yallop, 2000). However, the transitions experienced as part of international migration may differ and should, therefore, also be specifically explored within research on occupation. For example, some migrants exercise a certain degree of control over their movement, such as deciding when and where to relocate, relative to the lack of control associated with the sudden onset of a disability. Yet, as with all the transitions discussed, human agency is tempered by the structure with which it interacts. Individuals are located within particular fields (e.g. social, cultural, political, economic) and the development and expression of their identities are influenced by their interactions with others within these fields. For instance, government policy and legislation can restrict individuals' ability to migrate, or may shape their possibilities for integration and engagement in occupation (e.g. eligibility for settlement services). Further, while many of the transitions affecting identity within the occupational literature focus on physical changes, transitions can also be caused by other changes, such as the loss of capital (e.g. linguistic, economic) resulting from migration. For example, in migrating to an FMC, the 'value' of the French language as a form of capital differs than in places where French is the primary language of the majority population (further discussed in chapter three).

In addition to a focus on transitions to identity resulting from disability, illness or injury, research has also considered occupation in relation to specific markers of social and personal identity, including:

- Age (Carlson, Clark, & Young, 1998; do Rozario, 1998; Dunn Cruz, 2006; Gattuso, 1996; Haak, Ivanoff, Fänge, Sixsmith, & Iwarsson, 2007; Hugman, 1999; Robichaud, Durant, Bédard, & Ouellet, 2006);

- Class (Beagan, 2007; Cena, McGruder, & Tomlin, 2002; Ganguly-Scrase, 2000; Levin & Helfrich, 2004);
- Culture (Bonder, 2001; Cena, McGruder, & Tomlin, 2002; Darnell, 2002; Ekelman, Bazyk, & Bello-Haas, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2004; Fisher, 2005; Hocking, 2000; Hocking, Wright-St. Clair, & Bunrayong, 2002; Iwama, 2004; Kirsh, Trentham, & Cole, 2006; Nelson & Allison, 2000; Whiteford & Wilcock, 2000);
- Gender (Beagan & Saunders, 2005; Goodman, Knotts, & Jackson, 2007; Helitzer, Cunningham-Sabo, VanLeit, & Crowe, 2002; Levin & Helfrich, 2004; Primeau, 2000a, 2000b; Segal, 2005; Taylor, 2003; Wada, Backman, & Forwell, 2010);
- Race (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Cena, McGruder, & Tomlin, 2002; Hasselkus, 2002; Lee, 2000); and
- Sexuality (Birkholtz & Blair, 1999; Devine & Nolan, 2007; Kirsh, Trentham, & Cole, 2006; Sakellariou & Algado, 2006; Williamson, 2000; Yallop, 2000).

Though it is important to highlight diversity in occupation according to aspects such as age, gender, or race, it is vital to emphasize that people are not just 'old', or 'male', or 'white'. While these articles provide important insights into the differentiation of occupation according to particular aspects of identity (e.g. occupations are gendered), they could better emphasize the *intersections* of identity. For instance, Beagan and Etowa (2009) studied the impact of racism upon African Canadian women. The authors highlighted the subtle and pervasive way that the participants experienced racism on a daily basis, thereby affecting their engagement in occupations within particular places. Findings highlighted the racism women experienced in relation to leisure (media and shopping), productive occupations (paid employment and schooling), and caring occupations (parenting). Yet, while all the participants were female, the authors did not attend to gender as a marker of social identity, nor to the intersection of race and gender. However, this article still goes further than others by specifying

that the participants were African Canadian women, thereby highlighting more than one characteristic of identity even if not addressing each within the article. Many articles focussing on a particular aspect of identity do so without mentioning any others. For instance, Primeau's (2000) study of the division of household work explores the impact of gender ideologies upon family practices of reproductive occupations. Yet, how such gender ideologies may be related to additional aspects of identity, such as sexual orientation, religious affiliation, or social class are not considered within the article.

When considering occupation in relation to particular social markers of identity, it is important to keep in mind the complexity of identity. The ways that aspects of people's identities interrelate also have implications for the occupations they engage in. Moreover, the place-based context of the relationship between occupation and identity remains vital to consider, as people's identities according to such markers as language, which remains largely unexplored within the literature on occupation, may shift with migration. Parallel to the rising integration of critical perspectives in migration studies, some of the studies above have contributed to an increasing awareness of 'Western' assumptions embedded within existing conceptualizations of occupation, and have led to calls for further research on the cultural dimensions and situatedness of occupation. For instance, Darnell's (2002) article reflecting on cross-cultural miscommunications highlighted how emphasis upon paid employment within the public domain in mainstream society conflicted with Aboriginal people's traditional socialization emphasizing family and community. This growing recognition of the need to consider the socio-historic context shaping occupational engagement reflects the integration of advances in social theory stemming from contemporary theories, including anti-racism and postcolonial feminism, which are discussed in the following chapter. It also supports the need to think about occupation, place and identity not solely in relation to the particular places where people currently engage in occupation and how those places and occupations contribute to identity (whether positively or negatively), but also in terms the places people

have come from and the occupations they used to engage in, and how the transitions they experience may require the renegotiation of their identities. When people move from one place to another, they may go from a majority to a minority position, or may find themselves in a place where social rules and norms differ from their source countries. Consequently, the experience of being a French-speaking, Black man may differ between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Canada. Thus, one's possibilities for occupational engagement may differ between places according to how one's identity becomes embedded within the social structure of the host society following a migration, and these altered possibilities may themselves have implications for how people are seen by others and how they come to see themselves.

Discussions of identity within occupational science have not solely considered occupation in relation to the identity, that is, as two separate but related entities. Over the past decade, the concept of 'occupational identity' has been developed and elaborated, and considers how occupation and identity are intricately bound together. The following definitions highlight some of those proposed within the literature:

Conceptualized as the expression of the physical, affective, cognitive and spiritual aspects of human nature, in an interaction with the institutional, social, cultural and political dimensions of the environment, across the time and space of a person's life span, through the occupations of self-care, productivity and leisure (Unruh, Versnel, & Kerr, 2002, p. 12).

Development and maintenance of a sense of self through occupational engagement (Howie, 2003, p. 130).

The composite sense of who one is and wishes to become as an occupational being, which is generated from one's history of occupational participation (Kielhofner, 2004, p. 153).

Across these definitions, emphasis is placed upon the continuity of meaningful occupational engagement over time. Whether 'occupational identity' is postulated to be a distinct aspect of identity or not, one's identity is seen as influencing what occupations people engage in and find meaningful, and engagement in such

occupations is seen as developing and/or reaffirming identity. Consequently, when one's occupations are affected, due to factors such as illness, retirement, migration, or others, there are resulting implications for one's identity. Therefore, the relationship between identity and occupation is not static, and may be particularly influenced during times of transition. Indeed, much of the existing research on occupational identity has addressed transitional events and processes and how these are negotiated and influence occupational identity. Examples include Braveman and Helfrich's (2001) narrative study of men with AIDS; Alsaker and Josephsson's (2003) examination of the everyday occupational life of people living with chronic rheumatic disease; Howie, Coulter, and Feldman's (2004) study of engagement in creative occupations among older retired people; and Vrkljan and Miller Polgar's (2007) exploratory study of driving cessation among older adults. Transitions in relation to disability (Mettävainio & Ahlgren, 2004), chronic illness (Dyck & Jongbloed, 2000; Jakobsen, 2001), or injury (Klinger, 2005; Stone, 2003) and how they impact upon engagement in productive occupations have also been a focus. Likewise, migration itself can be conceptualized as a complex transition with potential implications for occupational identity. When transitions occur as a result of changes within or between places, place-based considerations become essential to explorations of occupational identity. Thus, the following sub-section discusses how notions of place and transition have been addressed within the literature on occupation and identity.

2.3.2 Place and transitions as related to occupation

Place is often addressed as, or in relation to, the 'environment' within the literature on occupation. The environment, whether physical, social, or otherwise, is most often conceptualized as a barrier or enabler to occupation, especially for those with a disability (Dyck, 2002). Yet, understandings of the environment as a place with meaning can also be found. Rebeiro (2001) proposed that the environment not only influences one's occupational performance (i.e. the doing of

occupation) but also the meaningfulness accorded to occupation. The author stated that environments providing “affirmation of the individual as a person of worth, a place to belong, and a place to be supported” (p. 80) enabled occupational performance over time for the women with mental illness she interviewed. Bundgaard’s (2005) study of the meaning of daily meals among older people living in residential care also highlighted a connection between occupations and the places where they occur. The meaning of a place or environment for one’s identity in particular has also been addressed. Rowles (1991) specifically considered the relationship between place and identity by exploring ageing people’s environments. He argued that when one has lived in the same area for a prolonged period, the setting becomes linked to one’s self-identity due to the associated meanings that have built up over time. This occurs in part as individuals transform their physical settings to reflect their tastes and preferences. Likewise, when people leave the places in which they have resided, the influence of this change upon their occupations and identities should also be considered.

Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) explored this phenomenon among a group of Burundian refugees in Canada. They found that “the physical, socio-cultural, political and economic environmental changes that these refugees experienced impacted on all aspects of their daily occupations and on their perceptions of themselves” (p. 82). Yet their discussion of findings remains largely descriptive, in terms of identifying particular changes the participants experienced. Insights presented in this article could be strengthened through a critical exploration of the assumptions embedded within the process of transitioning between places. For instance, the authors explained that volunteering enabled the participants to use their skills and expertise and made them feel “less guilty about being on welfare, because it provided an opportunity to do something for Canada” (p. 87), yet they did not question why newcomers’ skills go unrecognized within the Canadian social structure, forcing people to draw on social assistance and work without remuneration. While the importance of the ‘environment’ as providing a

context for engagement in particular occupations is widely acknowledged within occupational science, research on occupation must go beyond this to critically consider how places are intricately involved in the production and reproduction of identity through occupational engagement. This is especially pertinent when people experience transitions to places and occupations resulting from migration. Thus, a discussion of how transitions have been addressed within the literature on occupation is also essential.

The notion of transitions, occupational or otherwise, is pervasive in the discussions of identity within the occupation-based literature. Whether transitioning from one phase or role in life to another such as retirement (Howie et al., 2004), experiencing transitions as a result of a physical change such as chronic illness (Jakobsen, 2001; Reynolds, 2003), or undergoing other changes, processes of transition have implications for peoples' identities (Klinger, 2005; Vrkljan & Miller Polgar, 2007). This is especially due to the temporal nature of transition periods, which highlights the ongoing process of occupational engagement and identity development over time. Christiansen (1999) noted that a recurring theme in "studies of adaptation to illness and disability is the role of identity in creating a sense of coherence or continuity over time. When people experience loss and change, the continuity of their lives is disrupted" (p. 554). Thus, some research considers how people seek to re-engage in similar occupations following a transition (Dyck & Jongbloed, 2000; Fitzgerald & Paterson, 1995; Howie et al., 2004). Stemming from assertions within the literature on occupation that identity is not static, rather that it is formed over time, narrative methodology and methods such as life story and life history interviews that address past, present, and anticipated futures are often employed to explore the temporal and transitional aspects of identity, and to research the connections between occupation and identity in relation to life transitions (Finlay, 2004; Wiseman & Whiteford, 2007). Such an approach serves to highlight how the continuity of occupational engagement over the life course contributes to consistency in personal identity despite the transitions one experiences at

particular points during one's lifetime. For example, Wiseman and Whiteford (2007) used life history interviews as a means to understand intersections between occupation, identity and context in a study of older rural men. The impacts of transition into retirement upon their occupational engagement and perceptions of identity were addressed. However, it is not always possible to engage in similar occupations following a transition, especially if it entails a change in place, as with migration.

When moving from one country to another, people may experience changes to several of their occupations at once and their potential to engage in occupations similar to those in their source countries may not be possible due to the changes in place. This may relate to the physical features of place (e.g. different landscape), or to social features of place (e.g. lack or support network) among others. The insights drawn from research on the connections between occupation and identity, the construct of occupational identity, and contextual understandings related to place and processes of transition can inform research on international migration, which remains largely unaddressed within the occupation-based literature. Yet, as emphasized throughout this section, the need remains to explore more critically the intersections of place with occupation and identity, as migration entails changes to people's familiar places and occupations, causing transitions to their daily routines, and ultimately affecting their identities.

2.4 Summary

The purpose of this literature review was to draw on the occupation and migration-based literature to highlight the potential to better understand immigrant integration by emphasizing the interconnectedness of occupation, place and identity. Explorations of identity within these interdisciplinary fields of research highlight a number of insights to consider when critically examining processes of international migration and integration. This chapter's first section, on identity within the literature on migration, reviewed current trends within the

field and addressed migration in relation to identity, place and transitions. The need to consider occupation, as it is broadly conceived within occupational science, within this discussion was emphasized, as migration entails shifts to the occupations in which people engage. This can result from changes related to processes such as the reconfiguration of gender roles within the family, or household strategies for economic integration. Immigrants' changed social location was also shown to be related to identity, as they may self-identify or be categorized differently within a host community than they were 'back home'.

Likewise the second section, on occupation, explored research on migration within this field. It then addressed how identity is related to occupation at the levels of both social and personal identity, given that what people need, want, and have to do is related not only to how people see themselves, but also how they are, or wish to be seen by others. The concept of occupational identity was then described as emphasizing the reciprocal influence of identity and occupation upon each other, and the importance of locating this relationship within its particular context. Thus, the importance of place and the impact of transitions were also both accentuated as key dimensions to explore when addressing shifts to identity resulting from international migration and integration. Considering these two bodies of literature together strengthens research on migration within occupational science. Although both fields of study explore the concept of identity, the occupational science literature fails to critically engage contemporary understandings of place, while the migration literature incorporates a narrow view of occupation. Bridging the two enables the adoption of an occupational perspective that is informed by critical considerations of place and identity. In later chapters presenting and discussing this study's findings, the insights drawn from this review will be further considered in relation to the theoretical framework presented in chapter three and the empirical data generated in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This research had two primary research objectives. First, it was to challenge the unspoken assumptions that are embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration by critically examining the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC. Second, it was to highlight the structural barriers faced in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, within specific socio-historic contexts. It therefore examines the intersections of occupation, place and identity within processes of integration. The literature reviewed in the preceding chapter served to outline research within migration studies and occupational science that would enable a better understanding of how identity is related to place and occupation and how it may be affected by changes to these resulting from processes of international migration and integration within the host society. Given my critical orientation, it is also necessary to theoretically locate my research, and thus the purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework developed for this study of French-speaking immigrants' integration into the London FMC.

Building upon insights drawn from the literature review, the theories and concepts discussed in this chapter frame a particular approach for critically exploring how people's integration experiences are embedded within a specific context. Key concepts are drawn from Goffman's theory of performance (i.e. performance, interaction order) and Bourdieu's theory of practice (i.e. field, habitus, capital) to conceptualize how identity is enacted within particular places through engagement in particular occupations. As this research examines migrants' individual experiences to highlight structural barriers to their integration, as well as explore active ways in which they work to negotiate such barriers,

adopting a theoretical framework that stresses the dialogical relationship between agency and structure is essential for highlighting the reciprocal influence of human activity and the social context where it occurs (Layder, 1994). Though agency and structure may be conceptualized as separate and opposing forces creating a dualism, overcoming this theoretical division is essential for highlighting their interaction. Goffman and Bourdieu's seminal social theories of performance and practice explicitly challenge the agency and structure dualism by attending to the ways in which social structures both shape, and are continually reproduced through, people's dispositions and social interactions. These theories are used in this thesis to consider how markers of identity, including gender, race, and language, are performed within social interactions and how occupation and place in relation to migrants' identities are situated 'between' structure and agency, meaning that they are shaped by the *relationship* between structure and agency, rather than by one or the other.

Goffman's ideas have been linked to those of Bourdieu, indicating that their contributions to social theory complement each other despite having some differences in their theoretical locations (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Hallett, 2003). For instance, Goffman's theory of performance tended to focus on how elements of the social structure, particularly norms, get negotiated within daily social interactions, without much attention to how social structural elements themselves are shaped and maintained. Bourdieu's theory of practice addressed these broader elements of social structure, attending to how they are related to power and are unintentionally reproduced through everyday practice. Both theorists pointed to the importance of elements of the social structure for setting the conditions in which individuals routinely and habitually enact agency and shape identity through everyday social interactions, and when engaging in occupation within particular places. People's location within the social structure, according to their particular markers of social and personal identity, may then also influence their possibilities for occupational engagement and identity within particular places. Yet, people's location may need to be continually negotiated

within various fields of practice given the diversity of Canada's multicultural society.

While Goffman and Bourdieu's works are instrumental in highlighting how everyday occupation is related to one's identity within specific contexts, their theories were developed prior to contemporary understandings of identity, which underline the intersectionality of markers such as race and gender. Therefore, my theoretical framework also includes insights drawn from anti-racism and postcolonial feminism, which are discussed in the third section of this chapter. 'Diversity' was essentially described by Quell (2002) as heterogeneity within community members' cultural and ethnic backgrounds (section 1.3.2), yet it is difficult to fully deduce a person's background within a social interaction without explicitly asking. As a result, 'race' often becomes the social marker used to classify people as being the 'other' within a mainstream community. As immigrants within FMCs are increasingly likely to be members of visible minority groups, and such members were the focus of this study, considerations of race were essential. My theoretical framework was therefore further informed by anti-racism, which centres race, and postcolonial feminism, which emphasizes the intersections of race and gender. The inclusion of postcolonial theory was also important as immigrants within FMCs are increasingly likely to move from former French and Belgian colonies (e.g. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti) and this may have implications for their integration. For instance, since Canada is part of the Commonwealth, the government structure differs from those of the French colonial system, creating unfamiliarity for immigrants from these countries with the government, laws, customs, and traditions within Canada that are based on the British system (Canada, 2006a). Taken together, insights drawn from theories of performance, practice, anti-racism, and postcolonial feminism serve to address particular issues raised within the literature review and provide a theoretical framework guiding this research.

3.2 Doing identity in place: Goffman and Bourdieu

The use of an occupational perspective in this thesis serves to highlight the relationship between occupation, place, and identity. The notion of 'doing identity in place' used in the title of this section expands considerations of the interconnections discussed in the literature review (Chapter Two) by drawing on key concepts from Goffman and Bourdieu's works. Individuals within a given society do not all have the same knowledge of, and access to, social rules and resources that shape the conditions of their existence and their possibilities for agency. Yet, all are likely more aware of the rules organizing the social structure in which they live than those in other contexts, making place-based considerations essential. As explained within the literature review, people also experience places differently according to their particular social location within them (Samers, 2010). Drawing on the theories of Goffman and Bourdieu, I contend that one's identity is affected by the transitions to, and within, places and socio-historic contexts different from those in which one is socialized. As habits and routine are formed in part through occupation – doing similar things at similar times and in similar places, day after day, the experience of international migration causes a destabilization of routine as people transition from one context to another. I argue that occupational engagement is vital to recreating routine within one's new context. The following discussion of performance (Goffman) and practice (Bourdieu) therefore highlights the importance of both knowledge of the 'rules' within which daily interaction occurs and routine, or noticeable lack thereof, for one's identity as enacted through occupation within particular places.

Goffman's (1959, 1977) micro-sociological analysis explored interactions between individuals in social situations, where the relationship between social structure and individual agency is played out in each individual's performance for the other. He claimed that people's performances tend to reflect social norms and dominant discourses. While an individual may display aspects of their

personal identity during the interaction, upon initial contact one has already gleaned an impression of the other through aspects of their social identity, such as race. Goffman (1977) used the example of gender in his explanation of this phenomenon:

Right from the start of an interaction, there is a bias in favour of formulating matters in sex-relevant terms, such that sex-class provides the overall profile or container, and particularizing properties are then attributed to the outline by way of specification (p. 319).

He argued that social identity is determined in part through categorization. When people are assessed by others at a glance, they are placed into a series of categories, such as young or old, male or female, black or white. Once initial impressions are made, should people interact with each other it is likely that their performances will be influenced by how they see others, and how they are thought to be, or wish to be seen by them. Such an approach to understanding social interaction is useful for research on migrant integration, as the literature on modes of incorporation reviewed in chapter two suggested that each mode attempts to deal with 'difference' between people in society resulting from the increased diversity of migration flows (Castles & Miller, 2009). How newcomers are categorized within the host society at various interacting levels such as within policy and within daily interactions may influence their experiences of integration.

As suggested within the literature on the 'new migration' (e.g. Silvey, 2004b), in order to pay attention to the places within, and scales at which people belong, it is crucial to consider how people's interactions within those places and at those scales are influenced by the way they categorize, and are categorized by others during social interaction. When interacting with others, the aspects of personal identity people choose to share add to, but also reflect aspects of their social identity. Thus, social norms influence social identities, which in turn influence personal identities as people seek to confirm or reject the categories into which they are placed. While personal identity may theoretically be separated from aspects of social identity, when performing personal identities to others in social

interactions, people are perhaps more likely to emphasize those elements that fit social norms in general, and specifically those that fit their social identity (e.g. young, black man; upper-class, older woman). Thus personal and social identities are inevitably inter-twined. The way that newcomers performed in their home countries may no longer reflect their social identities within the host society thereby creating a disjuncture between how they see themselves (or wish others to see them) and how they are perceived by others within the host community (Christiansen, 1999).

The interrelation of people's personal and social identities may be complicated by processes of migration as newcomers may be unfamiliar with the norms that are implicitly understood by the host community. Not knowing how to perform accordingly in particular situations within the new society, migrants may not be 'othered' simply because they look different, but also because they may act differently from members of the host society. Goffman (1977) explained that a continual process of 'institutional reflexivity' reinforces the identities people convey. This process is related to one's tacit understanding of what behaviours and performances, or 'scripts', are expected and appropriate within particular settings. When one migrates to a different country and finds oneself within new and unfamiliar settings, past 'scripts' may no longer apply. This may lead to experiences like the discontinuity of identity described by Espin (1997) in which the women participating in her study experienced a shift to a particular way of life and all that it entailed resulting in a 'reconstruction of the self' following migration.

Goffman (1979) also pointed to the ways that particular forms of informing behaviour related to markers of identity become routine within each culture and society, so that they appear natural. Within what Goffman termed the 'interaction order', people express their identities within socially acceptable terms, thus affirming their own identity but also reproducing differences between individuals (along gender, race, language or other lines). Social accountability to one's identity is enforced in part through cultural notions of proper conduct, as "To *be* a

given kind of person, then, is not merely to possess the required attributes, but also to sustain the standards of conduct and appearance that one's social grouping attaches thereto" (Goffman, 1959, p. 75). It can thus be argued that it is necessary to *do*, in particular ways, in particular interactions, in order to *be* who one is, and to *become* who one will or should be, thus highlighting the centrality of occupation in the daily negotiation and performance of identity.

One's ability to 'perform' stems in part from the familiarity one develops with routines. West and Zimmerman (1987), and Fenstermaker and West (2002) drew on Goffman, but their work provided further rationale for emphasizing the necessity of occupation for developing and maintaining one's identity. They argued that identity is more than who one is; rather, it is what one does on a recurrent basis while interacting with others. Identity is thus understood as an ongoing activity that manages one's conduct within situations. This activity is based on normative conceptions of what is understood as appropriate for particular categories of people within particular societies. To reiterate, Goffman argued that the context provided by social situations creates an environment for seemingly natural expressions of identity, yet these are actually socially learned and patterned. Displays of social and personal identities, through doing, allow people to portray a version of themselves to others, and their relationship with them at given moments. Learning such tacit 'rules' of appropriate conduct as related to one's identity may be a key challenge for newcomers, since unlike more objective structures (e.g. laws), these tacit rules are often not explicitly stated.

Bourdieu (1990, 1993) also considered how arbitrary characteristics based on systems of classification, such as sex, are naturalized and become taken-for-granted, thereby not only reproducing and reinforcing society, but also *power relations* within society. He emphasized power and social power relations more strongly than Goffman, making his addition essential to the theoretical framework of my research. While Goffman's key concepts contribute to this study by highlighting how identity and occupation are connected within particular places

(e.g. through people's performances, that is, how they 'do' their identities within the interaction order), they were not sufficient on their own, due to their development within a symbolic interactionist, micro-sociological perspective. Goffman's work did not emphasize the differential power among individuals in social interactions. As this study undertaken with French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups is located within a critical paradigm, Bourdieu's work enabled Goffman's seminal concepts to be interpreted and applied in a critical manner. The following exploration of the key 'thinking tools' drawn from Bourdieu for the theoretical framework of this thesis illustrates why this is so.

Like Goffman, Bourdieu recognized that social structures shape human interaction. Yet, while Goffman emphasized people's agential capacity to recognize their contexts and perform accordingly, even if largely tacit in nature, Bourdieu's considerations of power better emphasized how one's 'performances' are inherently tied to their social position. Specifically, he proposed that people's sense of social reality and what they take for granted, which are socially and differentially shaped in relation to social position, influence their degree of agency. In addition, their social interactions are contextualized within different social settings or fields of practice. *Fields* (e.g. economic field, education field) are characterized by norms that over time become naturalized and self-evident. The more stable a field or 'objective structure', the more likely it is that individuals reproduce it on a day-to-day basis, and the more likely it is to be taken for granted. For instance, potentially arbitrary characteristics within society, such as systems of classification (e.g. sex, age), become naturalized within fields and serve to reproduce and reinforce power relations within the social structure.

Within the context of a particular field's norms, whereby the natural and social worlds come to be viewed as self evident, individuals' sense of limits are developed. The resulting conditionings associated with their circumstances of 'existence' within particular fields produce their *habitus*. Briefly, *habitus* refers to one's dispositions that have been acquired over time in relation to a particular

context (Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, migrants may not simply come from another country to Canada and make the necessary transitions to their occupations in order to integrate. Rather, they developed a particular habitus within the context of varying fields of practice within their home country, learning the tacit norms that guide their performances within such a context, thereby connecting their occupations to their identities within particular places. When migrants move to Canada, the integration process is complicated by their location within different fields of practice that are characterized by different naturalized norms. As a person's habitus was developed in relation to particular fields (further discussed below), a disjuncture may occur when one moves and is located within different fields. This may leave migrants uncertain how to perform in particular social situations within the host country. Their altered social locations may also cause particular performances to be expected of them. Furthermore, migrants' capacities to negotiate social interactions are constrained or enabled by their capital. The relationship between the concepts of field, habitus and capital is described in the following paragraphs.

Field and habitus are described by Bourdieu as relational, meaning that they must always be considered together as they are mutually reinforcing. Thus, explorations of interactions, or performances, must go beyond the interactions themselves (i.e. what was said, what occurred) and consider the social space within which particular interactions take place (Thomson, 2008). This is especially important as fields, like places and occupations, are socio-historically located. Thomson (2008) described three metaphors used by Bourdieu to explain his conceptualization of field. The first is as a football field, highlighting the importance of boundaries, which limit what social agents acting within the field can accomplish. The second is a science fiction force-field, characterized by a semi-autonomous social space with a distinctive logic of practice. This means that socially constructed beliefs and rules guide behaviour within the field and are taken-for-granted. The third is as a force field, as understood within the field of physics, whereby different vectors exert a force on each other. In this sense, a

social field is viewed as comprising additional sub-fields. People can occupy more than one field simultaneously (e.g. the field of 'art' has sub-fields of painting, literature, sculpting, etc). Thus, daily occupations are located within particular places, which are contextualized by particular fields. However, fields on their own do not overtly dictate human action; rather, their influences can be addressed through their dialogical relation to habitus.

Habitus is shaped by the robust social structures that serve to produce, structure, and organize one's practices and representations without requiring one's conscious attempt to master the necessary operations to attain the ends one seeks. It is understood as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured objectively unified practices" (Bourdieu, 1979, p. vii). Habitus thereby contributes to the routine nature of daily life and the reproduction of social structures by tacitly organizing people's practices. Indeed, Bourdieu (1990) argued that people are located within "real activity" (p. 436), they are actively present within the world and have practical relation to it on an ongoing basis, which serves to manage their words and actions "without ever unfolding a spectacle" (p. 436) that is, in an innate manner. One's habitus thus influences one's actions "more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 438). According to Thibodaux (2005), habitus exists as part of the social structure in relation to which an individual defines oneself, and as a result, it cannot be changed at will. His interpretation of Bourdieu further suggests that habitus is a form of 'envelope' for one's identity, in which one's past, present, and future ways of being are embodied or held together. Such embodied knowledge remains uncontested because "it is generated by the actions and interactions of the person himself or herself within the space he or she occupies in the social world" (Thibodaux, 2005, p. 509). Similarly, Judith Lynam, Browne, Reimer Kirkham and Anderson (2007) described habitus as a 'comfort zone': "the physical places and social spaces in which we do not need to 'look for clues' to know how to participate." (p. 29). I surmise that this function of habitus (i.e. tacitly guiding one's practices) is altered as a result of migration because

people move from their familiar fields into fields with which they may be unfamiliar (Girard & Bauder, 2007). Things that people within the host society continue to take for granted, may not be part of the newcomers' habitus and may need to be explicitly learned by them. Performing according to newly learned social rules, rather than according to one's own habitus, may require conscious awareness and reflection on the part of newcomers. This can create challenges to their integration, as what people do and how they do it (i.e. how they perform their daily occupations within particular places) is not related solely to their social identities (e.g. how they are categorized by others), but also to how well their habitus 'fits' within Canadian fields of practice.

Habitus inherently serves to organize people's practices by shaping their tendencies, ways of being and habitual states (Bourdieu, 1977) and can thereby be linked to an occupational perspective based on processes of doing, being, becoming and belonging. Indeed, Maton (2008) argued that habitus "focuses on our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances [...]" (p. 52). Cutchin, Aldrich, Bailliard and Coppola (2008) also linked Bourdieu's notion of practice to occupation by arguing that regular actions occur "in social contexts; contexts which are themselves produced by a combination of habitus, capital and field" (p. 162). If we return to the metaphor of the 'football field' above to describe Bourdieu's concept of field, then his concept of habitus can be viewed as one's 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1994). Again, considerations of power are important as some can have a better feel for the game than others, people may have a better feel for some games than others, and/or people may have differential power to access the rules of the game.

The contextual nature of habitus further serves to influence the way people of the same group (e.g. social group or class) commonly perceive, conceive, and objectify things, and the way they act, which may be distinct from the habitus of a different social group or class (Bourdieu, 1977; Girard & Bauder, 2007). By

integrating a particular group of people through the production and reproduction of their ordering principles, rules and norms, habitus can serve as a mechanism of exclusion. If a person from outside the group (e.g. from a different social class with a different habitus) seeks entry and integration, that individual must first understand and then perform according to the group's habitus (Bourdieu, 1984; Girard & Bauder, 2007). Occupations are then influenced by the relationship between one's habitus and the fields within which one's practices unfold. This is important to consider when exploring processes of immigrant integration, as human action is conceived within this framework as being shaped by one's habitus, which has developed over time in relation to specific fields. When moving from one field to another, habitus is not immediately altered, potentially causing a lack of fit between migrants' ways of doing and being, and the different fields within which they find themselves following an international move.

The learning of, and performance according to, a different habitus is not an automatic process, nor is it equitably possible. It is implied within Goffman's work that people are aware of social norms and perform according to them to manage the impressions they seek to make. As stated above, Bourdieu's work is essential for highlighting the role of power in such processes of socialization. Blommaert et al. (2005) argued that "Goffman's original frame analysis presupposed homogeneity of an intra-group perspective" (p. 208), which suggests that those interacting are assumed to belong to the same social group. Bourdieu's theory enables more comprehensive explorations of interaction among and between people from different social groups. This is particularly useful in the modern globalized era characterized by increasingly diverse and multicultural societies. A reflection by Wahab (2005) upon his own experiences of migration portrays this,

I am an Indo-Trinidadian male who recently immigrated to North America, and who has suddenly been faced with a crisis of reinterpreting categories of race, place, nation, gender, and so forth in a complex form different from the ways I interpreted them in Trinidad. Having to subscribe to a "visible minority" and "people of color" politics, in a nation that naturalizes whiteness and otherness (non-whiteness) [...]. At the same time, racialized representations

have presented a chaotic stage on which I look south Asian, a term I never associated myself with in Trinidad, but perform as Caribbean. My body is a confusing marker of placelessness, yet, an embedded one in its racialized presence. At this early state of immigrancy, I am not sure where/which is my community (apparently all minorities are supposed to have a particular one). I am writing therefore from a sort of border/transitional zone, a raging delta of racialized transnationalized currents in which there is push and pull from many directions. Having said this, I share with minoritized communities a continuity of historical Othering of body, nation, place, and culture. (pp. 34-35)

In such a situation, it is likely the dominant group's habitus that will contextualize interactions, leaving those from outside groups restricted from performing as would be expected within the given field.

The simultaneously unifying and excluding character of habitus derives in part from its temporal nature. It is a product of individual and collective histories, thus integrating people who share or are a part of said histories, and excluding those who are not. To elaborate, one's daily experiences are encountered within a particular context. Past experiences influence people's actions within current ones and the normalizing character of fields serve to contextualize one's habitus over time. Marshall and Foster's (2002) research of the fishing communities in Grand Manan, New Brunswick emphasized this point. They explained that the significance of habitus is poignant during every day, taken-for-granted routines, and interpersonal relationships, as it represents the "*longue durée* of histories" (p. 67). People's embodiment of their history through their habitus links it to their identity, shaping their particular ways of being. Thus, social norms characteristic of particular fields serve to structure the habitus, in turn influencing people's perception of, and reaction to future experiences, and serving to promote a consistency of practices over time, within specific places, thereby reinforcing the habitus and its contextualizing structures. When a migrant arrives in a host community, their experiences may produce different meanings and understandings to those of residents because they come from different fields, have a different habitus, and thus have different ways of doing and being.

Habitus is situated within particular places and times and is contextualized by them, but neither habitus, nor the structures it reproduces are static (Bourdieu, 1974; Girard & Bauder, 2007). Interestingly then, international migrants who arrive in Canada with a habitus shaped in a different context are not necessarily incapable of integrating into Canadian fields of practice. Implicit within notions of integration is the assumption that migrants should, will, or must learn the norms guiding social action. Yet, the process of adapting one's performances or attempting to alter one's habitus would be affected by one's *capital*. Briefly, Bourdieu broadened the idea of capital beyond a solely economic understanding to also encompass forms of symbolic capital (e.g. cultural, linguistic). Thus, forms of capital can be understood as resources or assets that have different values depending upon the context (Moore, 2008; Suto, 2009). Given social power relations, the values, tastes and habitus of some groups in society may be arbitrarily considered as better than those of others, giving them a social advantage (e.g. those with post-secondary education). However, not all members of a given social group have the same capital. Therefore, those with a 'well formed' habitus tend to have more symbolic capital than those who do not. While it is also possible for people to acquire capital (e.g. attending university) opportunities to do so are not equitably distributed in society. Thus, inequalities in cultural capital between individuals are related to inequalities in people's capacities to acquire capital, which are also related to previously existing inequalities in people's possession of capital. Capital is ultimately described by Bourdieu as being related to both field and habitus. He argued that capital contributes to the development of fields by enacting their principles, in both objective (e.g. art) and embodied (e.g. predispositions) forms, and is expressed through habitus (Moore, 2008).

Maton (2008) presented the following equation for understanding the relationship between Bourdieu's key concepts: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice. He explained this equation by stating that "practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position within the field (capital), within the

current state of play of that social arena (field)” (p. 51). Processes of integration can be related to this equation, as immigrants may have to renegotiate the value of their capital according to the position of their habitus within the different fields of the host society. For example, they may need to learn another language to increase their linguistic capital. This process of transition, resulting largely from movement from one place to another, has direct implications for migrants’ occupations, and hence their identities as they seek to get a ‘feel for the game’ in Canada. Using Goffman and Bourdieu’s theories of performance and practice to frame research on immigrant integration highlights that the challenges newcomers face in engaging in occupations within particular places are related to their habitus within Canadian fields of practice and to how their dispositions and capital shape their possibilities and performances in social interaction.

3.3 Intersecting identities: contributions of anti-racism and postcolonial feminism

The integration process is also related to identity, as both Goffman and Bourdieu argued that processes of categorization according to markers of identity serve to shape performances and practices in a tacit manner. Theoretical understandings of these systems of classification have been further developed since the publication of their seminal works. As this thesis critically explores the experiences of French-speaking men and women from visible minority groups that have immigrated to Canada, the identity markers of race and gender are particularly pertinent to consider in relation to language. Thus, contemporary understandings of these categories drawn from anti-racism and postcolonial feminism are included within my theoretical framework.

Anti-racist research places those in a minority position at the centre of analysis and considers the simultaneity of the oppressions they face (e.g. according to race, gender, language, class, sexuality, age) by studying their experiences. While focusing primarily on race, anti-racism considers the intersections of people’s identities, and the forms of oppression they face. It views knowledge as

embodied and seeks to understand how social oppression works to both construct and constrain people's identities, in part through processes of inclusion and exclusion that create and reproduce difference. By addressing racial domination and social oppression, anti-racist research seeks to elucidate the various ways that racism is enacted within particular contexts (Dei, 2005). By emphasizing power relations, it enables individuals to "speak about their experiences within the broader contexts of structural and institutional forces of society" (Dei, 2005, p. 11). This connection of experience to the larger social structure is essential. The nature of this research also mandates that social constructed markers of identity (e.g. race, gender) be considered within the particular historical contexts in which they are embedded (Wahab, 2005).

Not only are immigrants from visible minority groups marked as 'other' due to their race, their spoken French may also differ from that of community residents, thereby creating another form of difference within the group. French spoken in Canada varies from the French of other former European colonies and can create a binary between the language of the 'native population' and the 'other' French of the immigrants marked by a different accent (Amin, 2005). Amin went on to link this dichotomy to gender, considering the "native speaker concept to be an interlocking oppression that works in concert with racism and sexism to oppress and marginalize non-white women" (p. 188). While the accent and race of 'native' white Canadians is made invisible by its dominance, those who differ are marked as 'other'. Thus, immigrants can become racialized not only due to their skin colour, but also because of the way they speak. Ng (1990) gave a similar example of how the term 'immigrant' is racialized by its usage to refer to members of society that are of a minority race, speak with a different accent, or cannot speak a country's official language. It is therefore important to consider race in relation to other social and political markers (e.g. legal status, immigrant class, gender). These insights taken from the anti-racism literature are an important contribution to my framework drawing on key concepts from Goffman and Bourdieu. Differences in the way newcomers may perform, given that their

habitus was formed within different fields of practice, may lead them to be marginalized within the host society. Yet, because habitus is shaped by an innate set of dispositions, differences in habitus may also be racialized, meaning that one is labelled as 'other' based on a more easily identifiable socially constructed marker of categorization (e.g. race). For instance, if a newcomer from a visible minority group says something in a social interaction that is deemed to be inappropriate given accepted norms of conduct within a particular Canadian field of practice, one may be more likely to attribute this to a visible marker of his or her identity (e.g. 'because he or she is Black'), rather than to differences in his or her ways of doing and being (e.g. habitus). Forms of discrimination based on identity may also be gendered, thus postcolonial feminism is drawn upon to consider gender.

Although different feminist theories may have similar emancipatory goals, many have been criticized for emphasizing gender at the expense of other forms of diversity, such as race, class, and sexual orientation (Mann & Huffman, 2005). Postcolonial discourses emerged toward the end of formal colonial rule when it became increasingly clear that processes of globalization, including contemporary international migration, would replace historical forms of dominance with new ones. Patke (2006) credited the academic assimilation of the 'postcolonial' to intellectuals' adoption of *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) during the 1980s. Discussing Said, Gregory (1995) emphasized that "colonial discourses were not simply airy European fantasies: they were, of necessity, grounded" (p. 454). The ways in which 'non-Western' countries are constructed and represented within 'Western' art, literature, discourses and the like become reified and by extension have material effects upon them. Postcolonial theory critiques representations from the West and challenges dominant stereotypes by offering a counter-discourse (Phillips & Potter, 2006). Postcolonialism therefore draws on postmodern discourses to explore both the impacts of European colonization and current neocolonial practices and is not restricted to particular places or times. Postcolonial theories explore colonial and migrant experiences

with the goal of highlighting the voices of people who were silenced by colonialism (Anderson, 2004; Johnson, Huggins, & Jacobs, 2000). This supports my research objective to critically examine the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC in order to challenge unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration, and to raise awareness of the structural barriers faced by these migrants in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, within specific socio-historic contexts.

Reflecting a notion of unnoticed diversity within groups, postcolonial feminism does not consider 'women' to be a unified category; rather, this lens emphasizes positionality, difference, power, and partiality among and between women and men. This stems from a critique of emancipatory theories that can be "blind to their own dominating, exclusive, and restrictive tendencies" (Mann & Huffman, 2005, p. 56). Its adoption enabled my research to consider the gendered, and other, influences of postcolonialism on the experiences of non-Western peoples, in this case French-speaking international immigrants. This approach also provided the benefits gained by examining individuals' subjective experiences, without removing these from the collective influences of social, political, and economic forces that shape identity (Racine, 2003). Diversifying traditional categories, by challenging the fixity of their stereotypes, required historical specificity and a consideration of their current context to help make unquestioned structures and processes more transparent (Anderson, 2000; Crotty, 2003; Mohanty, 2004; Phillips & Potter, 2006). For instance, understandings of the traditional categories of gender have changed over time in part because they were challenged throughout the various waves of the feminist movement. As particular advances were made over time, such as women gaining the right to vote, the movement continued to evolve to reflect contemporary gendered issues, such as those emphasized within postcolonial feminism. Thus, when exploring particular 'categories' these must be considered in relation to the

broader context within which they are embedded as they have been socially constructed in relation to that context.

The inclusion of insights from anti-racism and postcolonial feminism, which emphasize migrants' race and gender as two important identity markers that intersect with others, and that are embodied within the historical context of the London FMC, afforded an opportunity to explore the differential experiences of men and women who are socially bound together by language. Recognizing the diversity within the French-speaking immigrant population is essential to avoid categorizing them together based on a single marker of identity. For instance, Daniel (2005) argued that the particularities of African women's experience tend to be subsumed either by the struggle of black men (according to race) or white women (according to gender) thereby minimizing their particular situations. Moreover, the combination of these schools of thought created a space where research participants did not need to identify solely with one aspect of their identity at the expense of others, nor be socially situated as one or the other. Further, the participants were not subsumed within a single analytical category. Although they may share a language, race or gender, they were immigrants from a range of countries with varied histories influencing their experiences of migration and integration within Canada. Okolie (2005) emphasized that "we experience and interpret the world differently given our varying social locations, environments, lived experiences, and worldviews" (p. 242) and these locations shape identity by affecting how people relate to each other and how individuals interpret those relationships. Thus, recognizing the variety among the study participants was as important as highlighting what they had in common.

The issue of 'representation' throughout this study was essential to consider. As discussed in this chapter, people are subject to particular representations based upon the social groups they occupy (e.g. linguistic, racial), yet those with power in society have more control over the manner in which they are represented, while those from minoritized groups tend to have less control over the way they

are portrayed (Daniel, 2005). Anti-racism and postcolonial feminism attempt to overcome such discriminatory means of representation by creating a space for people of colour of both genders to challenge dominant discourses within a “historically imperial present and a neo-globalizing Western dominance” (Wahab, 2005, p. 49). The inclusion of these schools of thought within my theoretical framework afforded participants the opportunity to self-identify according to individual priorities. While my research emphasized race, gender, and language, these categories were not imposed upon participants who also identified according to other characteristics, such as religious affiliation.

3.4 Summary

This research critically explores the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC to raise awareness of structural barriers they face in regard to integration. It does so with the objective of considering, within specific socio-historic contexts, their challenges in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, in order to problematize unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of ‘successful’ integration. My theoretical framework draws upon concepts from Goffman and Bourdieu, whose theories address the agency and structure dualism by arguing that who people are (identity) and what they do (occupations) within different places are located in relation to particular structures, which both influence, and are reinforced by their reproduction on a daily basis.

Goffman’s work specifically addresses how people enact performances to manage the impressions they wish to make in social interactions. Bourdieu’s work enhances this understanding by illustrating how individual action is nonetheless conditioned by the fields in which it is embedded. Given its ultimately innate nature, habitus guides one’s everyday occupations because it becomes internalized and embodied over time. As a result, it is important to consider not only people’s occupations and practices, but also the generative

principles underlying them (Bourdieu, 1993). Within such a framework, explorations of identity, as related to occupation and place, must also consider contemporary understandings of the intersectionality of identity according to particular socially constructed markers. As a result, my theoretical framework adopts key insights from anti-racism and postcolonial feminism. This framework thus enables the exploration of people's experiences *and* the contexts in which these are embedded.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 Methodology and methods

4.1 Introduction

Conducting research that seeks to understand how individual migrants' integration experiences are shaped in relation to elements of the social structure requires an approach that addresses *both* agency and structure in mutual interaction, rather than one *or* the other in isolation. Congruent with my theoretical framework that challenges this dualism, is my selection of a critical ethnographic methodology that explores the relationship between agency and structure, and considers the material and historical nature of power relations (Cook, 2005; Jamal, 2005). This entailed selecting research methods that would enable me to explore relationships between structure and agency by drawing upon the theoretical concepts discussed in the previous chapter, such as how becoming embedded within different fields of practice following migration required newcomers to alter their performances. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe how applying this methodology to my study of the London FMC enabled me to address my primary research objectives, which were to:

- critically examine the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the London FMC in order to challenge unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration; and
- raise awareness of the structural barriers faced by these migrants in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, within specific socio-historic contexts.

First, the study's ontological and epistemological location within a critical theory paradigm is outlined. Second, the particular critical ethnographic methodology employed is detailed. This includes a description of the research field, the boundary setting and recruitment process and criteria; and methods of data management, generation, and analysis and interpretation. Finally, discussions of the study's quality criteria and ethical considerations are presented. In addressing these components of the selected methodology, this chapter not only outlines how the study was designed and conducted, but also illustrates how the methods selected supported the application of my theoretical framework. As detailed below, adopting a critical methodology not only enabled me to further explore the intersections of occupation, place and identity discussed within the literature review (chapter two), but also promoted a critical interpretation of their relationship within processes of integration according to the concepts discussed in chapter three.

4.2 Ontology and epistemology

This research is located within a critical theory paradigm. Ontologically, critical theory is characterized by 'historical realism', meaning that by adopting this position I view reality as being shaped over time by a myriad of factors (e.g. social, cultural, political, economic), that become crystallized and reified so that 'reality' is eventually taken as real, even though it is socially and historically constructed (Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 2003). In this research, the socially constructed identity markers of language, gender and race in particular are analyzed to identify their material effects and influences upon French-speaking immigrants' day-to-day lives. Understanding of the participants' 'realities' is developed in relation to their contexts, for instance how the everyday lives of participants in London are shaped in part by how immigration and integration into FMCs are framed, in policy and through practices, by the Canadian government. Harvey (1990) explained that critical social research "aims at an analysis of social processes, delving beneath ostensive and

dominant conceptual frames, in order to reveal the underlying practices, their historical specificity and structural manifestations” (p. 4). Thus, findings are not to be taken at ‘face value’ as a mirror reflection of a single reality; rather, the ethnographic data generated in regard to the participants’ experiences and occupations are located within the relevant current and historical social contexts and analyzed in relation to them.

Locating my research within a critical paradigm also influences my epistemological position, which views social knowledge generated through research as transactional, intersubjective, and value mediated. Thus, knowledge is understood as the product of interactions between me and the participants, and is thereby actively co-constructed (Lincoln & Guba, 2003). Viewing knowledge in this way leads critical theorists to adopt a dialogical and dialectical methodological approach in order to overcome misapprehensions and ignorance between investigators and participants, and to promote a more informed understanding. Critical epistemology and ontology are thus not entirely distinct, as “what can be known is inextricably intertwined with the interaction between a *particular* investigator and a *particular* object or group” (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 26). I did not attempt to bracket myself outside the research process; instead, I remained present and involved throughout the ethnography, and engaged in reflexivity in multiple ways. This form of dialogical data generation, which is further outlined below, aimed to help democratize the research process (Carspecken, 1996) by providing a space for participants to voice “dissenting opinion and discourses” (Tinggaard, 2009, p. 1499) that challenge assumptions made within more dominant social discourses (e.g. government documents on immigrant integration and FMCs).

Framed in this way, my approach to research recognized the existence of multiple realities, yet was not ontologically relativist, because it was also informed by critical theorists’ belief that constructed lived experiences are socially and historically situated, and are thus mediated by power relations. Rather than

accept 'objective truths', the *foundations* of truth were instead understood as being located within structures (e.g. social, historical, racial, gendered) that may be oppressive, unjust or marginalizing. My own values were, therefore, central to the research, which sought to produce knowledge that is practical within particular socio-cultural contexts and that can be used to enable action. I did not seek to bring participants out of a state of complete false consciousness, which implies a lack of awareness and agency on their part (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Ponterotto, 2005). Rather, I sought to learn from their experiences in order to raise awareness about the difficulties and barriers faced by French-speaking immigrants to Canada so that the injustices they face in society can be recognized and challenged. Such a transformation is a long-term process, as knowledge is produced over time through "a series of structural/historical insights" that slowly erode ignorance and enable continued dialectical interaction (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 31). As a result, my research is part of a larger goal striving to promote acceptance and reception of immigrants within Canadian society. Such a goal is not easily attained, given the processes of 'othering' that newcomers experience within a host society. Looking, sounding or acting differently than the majority population may cause newcomers to be viewed as a threat, and minority groups may thereby be faced with ignorance and suspicion, which works against progress in community reception and immigration integration. Engaging in the co-construction of knowledge with French-speaking newcomers from visible minority groups challenged the assumptions embedded within dominant discourses of successful integration by making their experiences central to this research.

4.3 Methodology

My ontological and epistemological positioning informed the choice of a critical ethnographic methodology for this research. Broadly speaking, an 'ethnography' is the examination of the culture a group of people shares, and provides a close study of that culture according to particular people, places, occupations and

times (Van Maanen, 2004). A focus on the particularities of a lived culture is taken up in ethnographic research to question received truths and to explore whether a perceived societal consensus actually exists, or whether dominant hegemonic discourses instead give the appearance of consensus. Despite the challenges of examining current cultures that are characterized by multiple and diverse layers and ethnicities, ethnography nonetheless provides the opportunity to study participants' historically and socially situated experiences (Lecompte, 2002). This methodology is therefore appropriate for examining how people construct their realities within particular social contexts, because it views communities as collections of individuals, rather than monoliths, whose "often contentious interactions constitute the fabric of a culture full of hitherto unnoticed diversity" (Lecompte, 2002, p. 292). This is particularly useful when examining FMCs, which are internally diverse but still situated within a minority context. As described within chapter one, French-speaking immigrants joining these communities may become a minority within a minority, which can have complex implications for their occupational engagement and identities within the places they occupy (Madibbo, 2006).

While ethnography asks, 'what is?', critical ethnography (CE) asks 'what is' and 'what can be done about it?' (Cook, 2005). CE is a particular ethnographic methodology where the group of interest is considered within a broader historical, political, economic, social and symbolic context than is believed to be fully recognized by the people within that group (Van Maanen, 2004). The explicit political purpose of CE is an expansion upon conventional ethnography, and was developed in response to the tensions existing between "the phenomenological concern with human agency and the Marxian conception of social structure" (Anderson, 1989, p. 255; Cook, 2005). Moreover, as it is guided by critical theory principles, CE furthers the understanding of relationships between groups and social structures that people are often unaware of as they carry out their daily lives, but that nonetheless influence how they act (Georgiou & Carspecken, 2002). It does so by making connections between social phenomena and

sociohistoric events to uncover dominant discourses, ideologies, and assumptions, and considers how people interpret their worlds (Jamal, 2005). CE complements the critical ontology, epistemology and theoretical framework of this research because the methodology aims for the “deconstruction of positionality” (Wahab, 2005, p. 47). The deconstruction of positionality refers to the critical ethnographer’s resistance to the objectivity and neutrality characteristics of post-positivism that distance the researcher. Instead, by attending to the researcher’s role the intersubjective and co-constructed nature of the study can be made explicit.

Critical ethnography further considers the power relations inherent in claims to ‘truth’ and views these as discursively situated (Hardcastle, Usher, & Holmes, 2006). As emphasized by Stacey (1988):

Critical ethnographers tear the veil from scientific pretensions of neutral observation or description. They attempt to bring to their research an awareness that ethnographic writing is not cultural reportage, but cultural construction, and always a construction of self as well as of the other. (p. 115)

The theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter guided the ‘construction’ of my CE. A modified version of Carspecken’s (1996) five-stage approach for implementing a CE was adopted to explore how individual experiences are shaped in relation to particular social structures. This approach enabled me to consider how newcomers’ integration into fields of practice within the host society is related to their particular habitus and their access to capital. It also highlighted how becoming embedded within different fields of practice required their performances of identity to be negotiated. The methods selected for the five stages of data generation and analysis are explained below, following a discussion of my immersion into the research field. To clarify, my use of the word ‘field’ in the description of my critical ethnographic fieldwork for this study within the following section (4.4) differs from my use of the word ‘field’ as conceptualized by Bourdieu throughout the thesis. This is given further attention below.

4.4 The research field

The research field is not simply an objective pre-existing space entered from the outside by researchers; it is instead defined by critical researchers in relation to their objectives (Nast, 1994). I selected the city of London not only because it is a designated FMC, but also because it is a second-tier city in Southwestern Ontario, providing the opportunity to explore an important geographical dimension of immigration and integration in Canada. First, there is a lack of research on FMCs in Southwestern Ontario due to foci on larger Francophone centers such as Toronto and Ottawa. Second, more research is needed that focuses on secondary cities, as immigrants are increasingly discouraged from settling in the larger gateway cities of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Canada, 2003a). Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban (2003) explained that regionalization of immigration to secondary cities is intended to encourage positive effects related to increasing cultural diversity throughout the country, globalizing smaller communities, developing local markets and rejuvenating regional economies, and reducing pressure on gateway cities. Encouraging immigration to these smaller and mid-sized urban centres is thus viewed as an asset for these cities, but there is a need for further research on the experiences of immigrants residing within them, as they likely face different challenges than in the gateway cities (Frideres, 2006).

Having selected the London FMC as the research field for this study, a more detailed description of how I entered and immersed myself into the research field throughout the course of this CE is required given the emphasis placed upon subjectivity and positionality within my critical work. I began my fieldwork by using the Internet to initially explore what was available within the city for Francophones in general, but also for French-speaking newcomers in particular. The city of London's website provides a link to an 'Immigration Portal' that promotes London and Middlesex county as an ideal destination for settlement

(<http://immigration.london.ca/>). The site provides limited information in a variety of languages, and the following is all that appears in French:

Bienvenue à London et au comté de Middlesex! Ce site Web vous renvoie à l'information dont vous aurez besoin pour déménager, vous installer et commencer une nouvelle vie ici. Pour obtenir des renseignements sur les services en français, veuillez communiquer avec le Cross Cultural Learner Centre par courrier électronique: cclc@lcclc.org ou téléphone: (519) 432-1133 ou avec l'ACFO de London-Sarnia, qui est un organisme qui dessert tous les immigrants francophones de la région, au (519) 675-3816 ou par courriel: cre@acfo-ls.org.

This paragraph welcomes newcomers and directs interested and potential migrants to the Cross Cultural Learner Centre or the office of the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario London-Sarnia (ACFO). The ACFO offers a number of programs and services including an employment resource centre, a skills development and Job Connect program, bilingual and translation services, services and support for survivors of catastrophic stress and war, and a newcomers settlement and integration program.

The London FMC also has a French community centre (Centre Desloges), hosts community services (e.g. Bureau de santé de Middlesex-London), member organizations (e.g. Canadian Parents for French), and cultural associations (e.g. Regroupement multicultural francophone de London). It has early childhood and preschool centres, elementary and secondary French and French immersion schools, a Collège Boréal campus, and a French department at The University of Western Ontario. A number of French private sector organizations and businesses are also located within the city (e.g. Desjardins Credit Union). Furthermore, regional networks exist between cities and organizations, for instance the Centre de santé communautaire (Hamilton-Niagara French Community Health Centre) has a French immigration support network (Réseau de soutien à l'immigration francophone du Centre-Sud-Ouest) that includes London.

Having obtained this brief and initial description of the London FMC, I then contacted a community member to schedule a preliminary meeting, with the purpose of introducing my research and seeking input into the study's focus. This first meeting took place in September, 2008 with an initial contact made through my mother, who works in the Welland, Ontario FMC within the Niagara region. While Welland and London are approximately two hours apart, the relatively small population sizes of FMCs inherently require them to come together over greater geographical distances than Anglophone communities to pool their resources and cover much broader areas for service provision. For instance, while an Anglophone organization may serve the population of London, and possibly the surrounding Middlesex county, a similar Francophone organization is likely to serve a much larger area (e.g. Windsor to Woodstock, or Owen Sound to Port Huron). Thus, the 'Central Southwestern' area of the province often works together to serve French-speakers. The French immigration support network mentioned above is one result of such a partnership. Following the introductory meeting, the contact invited me to attend the open house for the ACFO's new location, which hosted their services for newcomers. I attended the event and met more Francophone community members.

Following a subsequent meeting with an ACFO representative, which had the same twofold purpose as that with the initial contact, I was invited to attend the organization's Annual General Meeting (AGM). Given that this event coincided with their 25th anniversary, the AGM was well attended and provided me further opportunities for community networking. As I introduced myself to people, I was invited to the AGM of another community organization, the Carrefour des femmes du sud-ouest de l'Ontario (CFSOO), which I attended the following week. I had the opportunity to meet additional community members and, following these meetings, I became a volunteer for these two community organizations (i.e. ACFO and CFSOO). My initial involvement with the former was through their Host Program. As part of this, I was matched with a French-speaking newcomer, with whom I met approximately every two weeks over the

course of a year. Second, I helped to initiate and run an English Conversation Club that we continue to hold once a month. Third, I regularly attended, and continue to attend, the 'Cultural Coffee Break' sessions that are held monthly and was invited to give presentations at two of these. The first was on the topic of my research, and the second presented the London and Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership (LMLIP). My involvement with the CFSOO began as a volunteer to help with general office-related tasks (e.g. preparing for the public launch of the Café-Causette program), followed by an invitation to speak at their Regional Forum. These positive experiences led me to accept a part-time contract position as facilitator of the Café-Causette program from June to December, 2009. My continued presence within the community within and beyond the scope of my particular volunteering responsibilities led to additional opportunities for engagement. Examples include continued attendance of organizations' AGMs, volunteering for Notre Santé, Notre Priorité (Our Health, Our Priority), a provincially funded project exploring local French health service needs, and participation in regional forums, among others. Thus my immersion within the research field began prior to data generation, and has continued following its completion.

Within a critical theory paradigm, my immersion in the research field was not necessary solely to ensure the rigour of my research, but also for ethical purposes, which will be further addressed below. Briefly, continued attendance at community functions encouraged transparency as people became familiar with who I was, and what I was doing in the community. I frequently discussed my research with community members who often asked how the study was progressing. I informed people of my research so that they would be aware that while I was a sincerely engaged community member, I was also conducting a study with relevance to the community and wanted this to be clear to those with whom I came into contact. Furthermore, reciprocity with the community that enabled me to conduct this research was essential. People shared their time and insights with me and I wanted this to be mutual, extending beyond formal means

of knowledge translation following study completion. My involvement within the FMC prior to, throughout, and following the data generation process was also beneficial to my understanding of the community and enhanced my interpretation of the data generated through formal and systematic means.

4.5 Boundary setting and recruitment process and criteria

This section presents both the inclusion criteria outlined prior to beginning recruitment, and the sample of respondents that ultimately participated in the study. Recruitment methods and challenges faced in the purposeful selection of the participants are also detailed. In conducting this CE I sought to engage two groups: French-speaking immigrants who resided in London, and a separate group of representatives from governmental and community organizations serving the local FMC. It should be noted that data generation with both groups occurred concurrently. The rationale for this approach is outlined in section 4.7 on data gathering methods.

In recruiting the first group, I aimed to include both women and men to allow a gender-based analysis of collected data. The participants had to have immigrated to Canada from another country, be French-speakers (defined according to either mother tongue or first official language spoken), and be adults between 18 and 65 years of age. Further, although immigrants do not all self-identify as 'visible minorities', and participants were encouraged to identify themselves rather than be labelled by the researcher, Caucasians were excluded from the sample. As explained in chapters two and three, 'race' is a constructed marker of social identity. While excluding those typically socially deemed as 'white' normalizes the dominant population and isolates those with different skin pigmentation as 'other', one goal of this critical research is to problematize this hegemonic assumption by allowing those excluded from this group as a result of their 'race' to voice their opinions.

The potential pool of participants was limited by the small number of French-speaking immigrants residing within the city (outlined in chapter one). Consequently, the inclusion criteria were not restricted to a particular source country, or to a particular immigration class (e.g. skilled, business). The potential recruitment of members from a same family was also not excluded (e.g. married couples, extended family members). Migrants who were situated across the settlement-integration continuum were also sought for inclusion. While temporal restrictions are often placed on access to settlement services (e.g. arrived in Canada within five years) integration was conceptualized in this study as a long-term process that unfolds in diverse ways. Indeed, some immigrants may never feel 'completely' integrated within Canadian society. Further, given that this study is not longitudinal, including immigrants that have been in London for varying lengths of time provided insight into the varying dimensions of integration that occur over a number of years. As French-speaking immigrants do not all move directly to London from their home country, people that arrived in the city via onward migration from other intermediary destinations were not excluded. Additional inclusion criteria outlined on the letter of information (appendix A) indicated that participants had to be able to participate in an interview in either French or English, and have an interest in sharing their experiences of migrating and living in London, Ontario. Those who participated had the opportunity to share their experiences of migration, settlement and integration within the city and its FMC.

As will be further described in section 4.7 on data generation methods, the sample of immigrant participants was the primary group of focus within this study. However, my selected methodology also aimed to explore the inter-relationships between this particular group and the social locale and system within which they were embedded. Thus, representatives from governmental and community organizations within the local FMC were recruited to further address the locale and system within which individual immigrants' experiences were embedded. Sampling criteria for this part of the study sought participants who were

employees, members of the board or directors, or representatives of governmental and community organizations, and were able to participate in an interview in either French or English (letter of information included in appendix B). This group of respondents, who participated in the fourth stage of the study (further described in section 4.7.4), were recruited mainly through personal communication. However, one respondent was informed of the research via the email disseminated to recruit participants for the first portion of the study and contacted me on behalf of an organization for more information about the ethnography. He was invited to participate as part of this second sample with the other community representatives.

I initially expected the immigrant participants from the first sample to provide insight into their personal experiences, and recruited the second sample of organizational representatives to provide more detail in regard to the larger structural context within which the French-speaking newcomers were embedded. However, it should be noted that both groups of participants addressed individual experiences (e.g. difficulty obtaining employment) as well as broader structural issues (e.g. institutional racism), ultimately reinforcing the artificiality of the dualism I was seeking to challenge through the use of my theoretical framework and selected methodology. Indeed, speaking with both groups helped deepen my understanding of the issues raised by individual participants, as comments made by other respondents within both samples often offered both complementing and diverging perspectives.

Participants for both samples were recruited through a variety of means. As indicated in section 4.4, I had made contacts within the community prior to beginning formal data generation. Following approval of the research protocol by the Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) at The University of Western Ontario (appendix C), a gatekeeper in one of the community organizations forwarded a recruitment advertisement (appendix D) via email to the organization's contact list. I also left hard copies of the advertisement and letters

of information in the reception area of two community service providers. This initial strategy led to five responses within the month of April (2009) from four men and one woman, all of whom met the inclusion criteria and volunteered to participate in the study. Reflecting the iterative nature of this qualitative CE, additional recruitment was withheld to allow for preliminary data generation so that further recruitment could be purposefully informed by emerging insights. Once data generation with this initial group was nearing completion I sought to recruit the rest of the participant sample.

Given the higher number of male participants, I specifically aimed to recruit more women, resulting in a more targeted recruitment strategy, and the exclusion of a fifth male interested in participating. Recruitment of female participants proved difficult and took longer than anticipated given the limited time needed to recruit the five initial participants. The advertisement was again sent via email to the contact lists of two community organizations, yielding no responses. Over time, I became increasingly well known within the community and people inquired as to the development of my study. I shared my difficulty in finding female participants and learned from a community member that word-of-mouth is a more effective means of communicating information with particular newcomer groups than written means. I then began telling individuals about my research, and giving them copies of the advertisement and letter of information, asking them to contact me if they, or anyone they knew, might be interested in participating. One female indicated her interest and volunteered for participation. A community gatekeeper also introduced me to two women he thought might be interested in participating. Once again, I met with the women to explain the research and offered them the written information. One of these women chose to participate. The final participant was also recruited through direct contact as a result of my volunteer involvement in a community organization.

Shifting to a more 'direct' recruitment strategy was initially ethically challenging for me. Being in a position of power as a white, Canadian-born researcher, I did

not want anyone to feel coerced into participating, leading me to originally adopt impersonal means of recruitment (e.g. through email by a third party). However, as time went on, I began to realize that such an approach is inherently 'Western', reflecting mainstream practices of research conduct. Working with this particular migrant population required alternative methods, not to suit my preference, but instead to reflect those of the potential participants. Many newcomers in this community come from strong oral cultures and countries where bureaucracies are not always transparent or trusted by the general populace, thus requiring the building of rapport and trust over time. The women who ultimately participated would not have responded to an anonymous advertisement sent electronically, in part because such a form of dissemination privileges those with computer skills and Internet access, but also because it is a faceless form of communication. The additional gender-specific pressures faced by the women in this study, such as daily involvement in direct child care provision, also led to my difficulty in their recruitment. These gendered issues will be further outlined in the following chapter presenting the study findings (chapter five).

4.5.1 Description of the participant sample

The sample of immigrant participants who participated in the first three stages of the study (further described in section 4.7) consisted of four male and four female participants from countries in Northern and Central Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. While specific demographic details were obtained throughout the data generation sessions, the description of the participants remains purposely vague for ethical reasons. As indicated above, London's French-speaking population is quite small and participants may be highly recognizable due to particular features of their stories and lives, such as where they emigrated from, their particular reasons for migrating, or their experiences of domestic violence. This population was deemed by the NMREB as particularly vulnerable and data were required to be encrypted. Beyond these formal requirements by the NMREB, some participants also asked that particular identifying details (e.g.

home countries, educational institutions attended) not be named in the thesis. Some participants were less concerned with their anonymity than others. As further described below, particular data generation sessions entailed participation in respondents' routine occupations. Some chose to meet in public places, while others chose not to participate in these sessions. Also, one participant emphasized the importance of her identity as a veiled Muslim woman, recognizing that descriptions of her experiences would make her recognizable but assuring me that she was comfortable with this. The sample of participants is summarized below and each participant is introduced at the beginning of chapter five.

All respondents had at least one child. All male respondents were married, while female respondents were married, separated or divorced, or remarried. Five of the eight participants experienced familial separation as a result of migration, either upon their initial international migration, due to secondary migration, or both. As a result, not all married respondents lived with their spouses during the time of data generation, and reasons for this will be further addressed when presenting the study findings in chapter five. Six of the eight came to London via Quebec, while two moved directly to London. Participants had stayed in Quebec for varying lengths of time, and one of the participants had also lived in additional Canadian provinces and cities prior to settling in London.

All respondents spoke French prior to arriving in Canada. Some participants were born in countries where French was an official language. Some came from countries where it was not, but had nonetheless learned the language because of a colonial past when French was an official language, or because they had learned it within the school system. None of the respondents' mother tongues were French and all spoke additional languages, with some speaking multiple languages. For instance, in countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), French is the country's official language, but the country also recognizes four national languages (i.e. Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba, and Kikongo) among the

over 200 languages spoken within the country. As a result, immigrants from the DRC are likely to have an African language as mother tongue, yet also be fluent in French. None of the respondents was fluent in English prior to their migration. Some of them have since enrolled in, or completed English language learning classes. Others have been unable to do so for various reasons (e.g. conflict with employment schedule, lack of child care). Some have found their degree of English language knowledge sufficient for their needs. For instance, one participant's spouse is fluent in English and can translate when necessary. The majority of respondents were Catholic, but some were Muslim. The participants came to Canada under different categories, some as skilled migrants (as, or with, primary applicant), some as asylum seekers, and some via family reunification.

Detail of the sample of respondents from government or community organizations will be purposely vague as the London FMC has very few organizations and many of these have a small number of staff. In total, six participants (four male, two female) were recruited for this stage of the study, four of whom were immigrants from visible minority groups themselves. The participants were affiliated with the following organizations: Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario London-Sarnia (ACFO), Centre communautaire régional de London (CCRL), Carrefour des femmes du sud-ouest de l'Ontario (CFSOO), Collège Boréal, Centre d'acquisition des compétences et des talents des immigrants francophone du sud-ouest de l'Ontario (CACTIFO), and the Ontario Trillium Foundation. This participant sample provided additional insight about the locale and system within which the immigrant participants from the first sample were embedded (further detailed in section 4.7). However, particular quotations will not be tied to the organizational membership of participants within the discussion of findings from interviews with this group. It should also be noted that interviews addressed participants' personal views in addition to questions about the particular organization with which they were affiliated. Thus their responses did not always represent the official positions of the organizations listed above.

4.6 Data management

I conducted all the sessions, each of which took place in French. The sessions were audio-recorded and I transcribed the recordings verbatim. All identifying information was removed and codes (e.g. M1 for first male respondent) were used to protect the participants' identities. I then selected pseudonyms to use in the presentation of findings from sessions conducted with the sample of immigrant participants. However, the small sample size and lack of gender balance among the sample of representatives from governmental and community organizations made them more easily recognizable, given that I list the particular organizations from which they were recruited. Rather than use specific pseudonyms for this sample, to further protect their confidentiality I refer to them as 'respondents' or 'participants' and do not link quotations to specific speakers.

All audio and written data were stored in a locked office, and as noted above all electronic data were both password-protected and encrypted. Copies of all participants' transcripts from both samples were sent to them for review so that they could add or remove information or offer further insight. I then translated all verbatim transcripts into English myself to ensure internal consistencies in translation (Lopez, Figueroa, Connor, & Maliski, 2008). I also had my translation reviewed by someone fluent in French and English. When particular words were difficult to translate, either because an equivalent word did not exist in the other language or because the meaning of the word differed in the other language, I used an approximate word but further included a description of the original word's meaning in square brackets within the transcript. As explained by Halai (2007) exact equivalence of all words and meanings is impossible to attain. Hence, my translation aimed to convey the essential meaning of the participants' responses and to fulfil the following requirements outlined by Halai (2007, p. 351): "(a) making sense, (b) conveying the spirit and manner of the original, and (c) have a natural and easy form of expression [...]." Translation was necessary to allow for peer-debriefing and consultation with my thesis supervisory

committee members who are not fluent in French. Further, as this thesis is written in English, readers need to be able to access the data; however, direct quotations were included in both French and English so that the research participants and other Francophones can read them (Nikander, 2008). It should be noted that coding and analysis was conducted using the French transcripts to ensure that no data were lost in translation.

4.7 Data generation methods

While my selection of critical ethnography as a methodology congruent with my ontological, epistemological and theoretical position was outlined above, the particular design of a CE can vary markedly. I chose to adapt Carspecken's (1996) approach for data generation and analysis, which he explained is intended to study social action occurring within social sites and to understand that action by exploring the locales and social systems within which those sites are embedded. He further explained that this approach is "designed to assess the subjective experiences common to actors on the site and to determine the significance of the activities" (p. 40) *in relation* to the larger social system. Carspecken described 'sites' as areas where social interactions and routine activities take place (e.g. workplace). Data generation with participants from both samples, therefore, took place within particular sites. These sites are described by Carspecken as being specific to a time and place and as being influenced by their 'setting'. Settings are tacit (i.e. not directly observable), as they are characterized by shared understandings that set the expected boundaries of particular social interactions. Commensurate with Goffman and Bourdieu, Carspecken explained that such interactive settings serve as a form of normative infrastructure that coordinates social activities, because participating parties tacitly consent to the conventions characterizing the setting. Thus, people's performances (i.e. social activities) in an interactive setting can be understood as being guided by their habitus (i.e. tacit conventions), which is developed over time within particular fields of practice (i.e. normative infrastructure).

Sites are further viewed by Carspecken (1996) as being situated within larger 'locales' that comprise several sites in close proximity, such as the neighbourhoods surrounding a particular site. A locale, therefore, refers to a "geographically wider area of related sites forming a minisocial system" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 35). What the researcher observes within a particular site is therefore also informed by the larger social system. Widely distributed conditions (e.g. the economic structure, federal policies) of a system influence the locales, settings, and sites located within it. While the social system does not determine individuals' acts, it serves to condition them in particular ways. For instance, governmental policies may limit people's possibilities to engage in particular occupations. When people act in accordance with such conditions set by the social system they reproduce it. Carspecken defined 'social systems' as "the result of external and internal influences on action that are very broadly distributed throughout a society. They are reproduced through patterned activity stretching across wide reaches of space and time" (p. 38). Hence, the social system is not understood as existing separately from human activity; rather it is described as being comprised by patterned human activity, meaning that its existence depends upon its continual reproduction. Further congruent with Bourdieu's concept of 'field', Carspecken lists the 'economic system' and 'political system' as examples of social systems. I argue that these systems, taken together, serve to make up elements of a larger social structure. The definition of structure used within this thesis thus, encompasses Carspecken's concept of social system. While sites and locales are described as physical places where people's occupations occur, these are understood as being shaped by the predominant setting and as being embedded within a larger system. This methodological approach is consistent with my aim to use non-dualistic thinking with regard to structure and agency by addressing the reciprocal relationship between the two.

Carspecken's (1996) work is located within educational research but his approach has also been used in research with migrants (Naidoo, 2008) and

within health research (Cook, 2005; Hardcastle et al., 2006). While I altered the specific methods used for data generation (further detailed below), also requiring an adaptation of the types of analysis adopted, my CE nonetheless reflects Carspecken's approach. For example, it aligns with his emphasis on a process of dialogical data generation through interviews and observations, as well as the inclusion of secondary data to enable an examination of the relationship between the sites where data generation takes place and their location within the broader social structure. The stages of data generation that I adapted from Carspecken are presented in Table 4.1 and each is further detailed below.

Table 4.1: The five stages of my critical ethnography (adapted from Carspecken, 1996)

Stage	Data generation, analysis and interpretation
1	Narrative interviews (one session)
2	Mapping exercise and participatory occupations (two sessions)
3	In-depth interviews (two sessions)
4	Document analysis and in-depth interviews with representatives from governmental and community organizations (one session)
5	Data analysis and interpretation

Carspecken (1996) described an initial process of dialogical data generation and interpretation that focuses on a particular group. He also outlined a process that explores the relationship between this group and the broader social system and further relates the study findings to existing theory. I designed the first three stages of this critical ethnography to address this initial process. These stages were conducted with the eight French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups who took part in three to five sessions each. The first stage involved a narrative interview (one session). The second stage included an initial session consisting of a mapping exercise (i.e. the creation of a 'mental map' of place) and

participation in one of the respondents' routine and meaningful occupations. The second session in this stage entailed participation in additional routine and meaningful occupations. The third stage also included two sessions, each of which consisted of a semi-structured interview, addressing occupation and integration respectively. These three stages are further outlined in the remainder of this section and the findings from them are presented in chapter five.

Data generation for these first three stages began on April 1, 2009 and continued until January 22, 2010 (Table 4.2). The length of recordings ranged between 36 and 121 minutes for the first session (avg. 57 mins.), 7 and 100 minutes for the second (avg. 39 mins), 27 and 85 minutes for the fourth (avg. 54 mins.), and 26 and 68 minutes for the fifth (avg. 53 mins). As the second and third sessions were participatory in nature, not all engagement in occupation was audio-recorded (e.g. problematic to record while riding bicycles). Instead, audio-recording took place during the second session when the mapping exercise was completed. This entailed respondents drawing and explaining their spatial utilization of the city. No audio-recordings were taken during the third session, which was solely a participatory meeting. Depending upon the location and occupation chosen for these participatory sessions, the length of recordings for session two does not reflect the full length of the meetings themselves. Meetings were scheduled at participants' convenience and in a location of their choice, which included a range of places. Most interviews (20 of the 37 meetings) took place within the participants' homes, seven of the thirty-seven meetings were held on The University of Western Ontario campus, and the other ten occurred in various locations throughout the city (e.g. workplace, community service provider). Two participants chose not to engage in the participatory occupations, one instead choosing to participate in an additional interview and outline his daily routine in writing, and the other choosing to forego the second and third sessions completely. Thus, across the eight participants, 37 individual data generation sessions were held as part of these stages of the study.

Table 4.2: Data generation sessions for stages one to three with the sample of eight French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups

	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3	Session 4	Session 5
Paul	April, 2009	May, 2009	July, 2009	August, 2009	September, 2009
Halima	April, 2009	May, 2009	May, 2009	July, 2009	August, 2009
Makane	April, 2009	May, 2009	July, 2009	August, 2009	October, 2009
Khalil	April, 2009	June, 2009	<i>Did not participate</i>	July, 2009	July, 2009
Gilberto	April, 2009	June, 2009	July, 2009	August, 2009	September, 2009
Danielle	August, 2009	<i>Did not participate</i>	<i>Did not participate</i>	October, 2009	November, 2009
Marie	September, 2009	November, 2009	November, 2009	January, 2010	January, 2010
Rose	December, 2009	December, 2009	January, 2010	January, 2010	January, 2010

I then designed the fourth and fifth stages to address Carspecken's process for exploring the relationship between this group and the larger surrounding context and to further relate the study findings to existing theory. Stage four consisted of a critical review of government documents and in-depth interviews with the six representatives from local governmental and community organizations. The first

interview took place on June 24, 2009 and the last on October 28, 2009. The length of the sessions ranged between 30 and 84 minutes (avg. 57 mins.). Meetings were scheduled at participants' convenience and in a location of their choice, with most occurring in their offices, and one taking place on the campus of The University of Western Ontario. The fifth stage entailed the analysis and interpretation of data generated throughout the preceding four stages. The fourth and fifth stages are further outlined in the remainder of this section and the findings from stage four are presented in chapter six. The relationship between these findings and those from stages one to three are interpreted in the final chapter of this thesis.

Although the five stages are presented linearly, Carspecken (1996) and Hardcastle et al. (2006) indicated data generation and analysis should be implemented in a cyclical manner, and such an iterative process was used in this study. I also altered the sequence of the methods as originally outlined by Carspecken to reflect the purpose of this particular study. The alterations made and the rationale supporting them are outlined below in the description of each stage of data generation. By engaging in all five stages I was able to explore the dialogical relationship between agential and structural aspects of the participants' experiences by applying insights drawn from my theoretical framework and review of the literature. As further elaborated in the description of stages below, I was also able to examine the intersecting nature of occupation, place and identity within processes of international migration and integration, and to address quality criteria associated with this type of research, such as prolonged engagement (further discussed in section 4.10).

4.7.1 Stage one: narrative interview

While Carspecken (1996) suggested beginning with a process of passive observation and description of a site prior to interviewing participants, he acknowledged that this is not likely possible if no prior relationship is established. As I had not met all the participants prior to the study, and did not know those

whom I had met very well, I chose instead to begin this research with a narrative-style interview. The initial discussion in the first session involved reviewing the letter of information and obtaining informed consent to allow those taking part to acquaint themselves with me and with the nature of the study. As people from a range of different countries were recruited to participate, I was not familiar with the context of their migration. This conversation helped sensitize me to the participants' experiences as migrants and began the process of co-constructing the data.

The following narrative prompt, based on Wengraf's (2001) approach to lightly structured narrative interviewing, was used to collect their story:

Pouvez-vous me raconter l'histoire de votre expérience de migration internationale, et comment votre expérience de venir et d'habiter à London s'est passée? Vous pouvez inclure autant de détails que vous le souhaitez. Vous pouvez commencer où vous le souhaitez.

Can you tell me the story of your experience of international migration, and what your experience of coming to, and living in London has been like? Please include as much or as little detail as you like. You may begin wherever you like.

Once the prompt was read, participants responded and I took notes while they shared their story. When they completed their narratives, we paused briefly while I reviewed my notes and then resumed the discussion. During this time I asked follow-up questions, either to clarify particular issues or to obtain further detail related to the story. Respondents were reminded that they could choose not to answer questions if they did not want to.

In addition, two semi-structured interviews followed the narrative interview and mapping and participatory occupation sessions to further supplement and clarify information collected during the first two stages. This process of dialogical data generation served to democratize the research process from its outset.

Participants began by sharing their story of migration, settlement and integration, in as much or as little detail as they wished, to emphasize the issues that were

important to them. This enabled me to explore themes identified by the respondents throughout the research, rather than impose my assumptions upon the participants during the participatory sessions of the research, or solely investigate issues identified during the development of my research proposal. The resulting iterative and inductive nature of this research is thus reflective of the ontological and epistemological values guiding my study.

4.7.2 Stage two: mapping and participatory occupations

Carspecken's (1996) description of social activities as occurring within particular sites fit with my interest in exploring the relationship between immigrants' occupations and the places where those occurred. As his work was located within educational research, the observation process he described took place within one particular site (i.e. classroom). Data generation for my study occurred in multiple sites so I altered the participatory observation process to reflect this. In addition to describing the sites within which each session took place, I added a mapping exercise to highlight the varying places and sites of importance to the participants. This section further describes this stage of data generation.

Process consent was obtained prior to beginning stage two. As noted above, in addition to better understanding what the participants did on a daily basis, I was also interested in the places where their occupations occurred. This stage thus began by engaging in a mapping exercise with the participants (example maps are included in appendix E). They were asked to draw their map of London and to tell me about the places they went in the city, and what they did in them. These maps detailed local spatial use and served as a way of identifying routine occupations that participants' may not have thought important enough to highlight explicitly. My interest in the tacit or 'mundane' nature of occupation and its contribution to identity made the identification of such forms of doing relevant to the study. After drawing their maps and explaining them, which gave me a sense of what participants routinely did, and where they did it, participants were asked to select an occupation we could engage in together. Some had specific places

or particular occupations they wanted to show me; while others were unsure of what types of occupations might interest me. I participated in all occupations the respondents selected, and if they asked me what I wanted to do, I suggested a series of occupations they had mentioned as part of their narratives or during the mapping exercise, leaving the final decision up to them.

I then spent additional time with six of the participants during the second and third sessions to engage in their routine and meaningful occupations with them. The purpose of this stage of data generation was discussed with participants at the time of the first interview. The use of an occupational perspective to explore theoretical concepts (e.g. habitus) as affected by migration was addressed in layperson's terms: that is, the importance of doing for one's sense of being, becoming and belonging following an international migration. By participating in routine and meaningful occupations with the respondents, I was able to gain additional insight into the nature of their routine occupational engagement as well as their places.

Descriptions of these observation sessions are not detailed in full in order to protect the respondents' confidentiality and anonymity. Examples include preparing meals, running errands, visiting service providers, having tea and chatting, and participating in leisure activities. When necessary, individuals within a setting where observations were taking place (e.g. family members) were informed about the research and could choose not to take part (letter of information for those in private areas where observations took place is included in appendix F). In order to protect the participants' anonymity when participatory sessions occurred in public settings passersby were not informed; moreover, specific details related to others in the vicinity (e.g. people in line at a grocery store) were not included in the observation record.

This stage entailed not only engaging in occupation with the participants, but also the compilation of a 'record' consisting of descriptions and additional field notes when audio-recording was not possible. Descriptions included observations

relating to elements such as the setting and details of the occupation engaged in. For instance, I examined what was occurring in the site and considered what roles the participants were fulfilling (e.g. employee, friend, parent, spouse). Field notes captured comments taken from memory following the period of observation, and my reflections throughout the process. The record was thus a dense and focussed account of the participants' occupations, social interactions, places and activities (Carspecken, 1996). Daily routines were further addressed in follow-up interviews as I did not spend entire days with participants.

In addition to the narrative interview, the mapping and participatory occupation stage allowed me to familiarize myself with the context of the participants' lives, as the socio-cultural 'norms' familiar to me differed from those of the participants. For instance, my upbringing within a Canadian nuclear family household led me make assumptions about the living arrangements of some participants. When meeting one respondent who I knew to be married and have children, I hoped to be able to meet his family. Upon arrival to his home however, I learned that they lived in another province. He moved to Ontario to pursue English language learning and was temporarily separated from his family. While familial separation may not be a 'norm' for his family, it differed from my expectation that married couples generally live together. Carspecken (1996) explained that,

[W]hile we need prior understandings of norms to get any impression of meaning, once we have an impression of meaning we can bring out the norms constituting it for explicit examination. We can then modify them if the actors we study seem to deviate in some way from our initial expectations, and we come closer to an insider's view in the process. (p. 101)

The purpose of this stage was, therefore, to become better acquainted with the participants' contexts and to raise my awareness of the occupations embedded within their daily lives.

4.7.3 Stage three: in-depth interviews

While observations are an important component of any ethnography, Carspecken (1996) noted that interviews should also be conducted, in order to further 'democratize' research. During interviews, participants can "engage in discourses so as to demonstrate their disagreement with particular discourses about their own situation" (Tinggaard, 2009, p. 1505) and challenge the assumptions of the researcher. Two semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of stage three. The guides for each interview (appendices G and H) were initially developed to address the research objectives and were loosely separated into the broad categories of 'occupation' and 'integration' focused questions. However, additional follow-up questions were generated for each interview with each participant based on prior sessions conducted with them. As each participant discussed issues that were specific to their experiences, I developed questions to explore these further and the interviews were semi-structured to allow for considerations of each participant's individual context and positioning. This enabled the ongoing co-construction of knowledge throughout the study. For instance, the Muslim female respondent emphasized how wearing a veil led some people to assume that she could not do particular things (e.g. obtain a driver's license). To explore this occupational issue further, I asked questions such as: How does being veiled create obstacles to your participation in activities? Given the iterative nature of this research, issues that were raised by multiple participants also served to inform the development of follow-up interview questions in order to gain additional perspectives in regard to particular issues and to enable a better depth of understanding.

4.7.4 Stage four: Document analysis and in-depth interviews with governmental and community organization representatives

The purpose of stage four as described by Carspecken (1996) is to examine the "relationship between the social site of focussed interest and other specific social sites bearing some relation to it" (p. 42). He explained that the additional sites did

not refer solely to specific 'places', but also to the related locales and systems. To further consider the experiences of the eight French-speaking immigrants in relation to the broader structure within which they were embedded I conducted additional interviews with the six representatives from local governmental and community organizations and critically reviewed government documents.

The six respondents from local organizations each took part in a single audio-recorded semi-structured interview (interview guide in appendix I). Initially, questions mainly addressed their organizations' mandates and principal activities, and their relationship with Francophone immigrants. However, additional questions were asked throughout the interview, either following on comments they had previously made, or to address issues that arose in earlier interviews with other representatives. For instance, whether participants felt the community was united or divided was addressed, as comments related to this issue were made during interviews with the representatives.

To explore how immigration and integration into FMCs is framed by the government, federal and provincial policy documents relevant to this study were also examined to better understand the socio-historic context within which the migrants were embedded. These documents were located through the Internet with keyword searches using particular engines (e.g. Google search for 'Francophone minority communities'), and through targeted searches on the websites of particular government agencies (e.g. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages), as well as searching the bibliographies of relevant documents. For instance, many of the government documents reviewed included chronologies of key developments related to FMCs (e.g. publication of reports by particular Ministries), which helped me to identify more documents. Additional hard-copy documentation was obtained at conferences and forums, such as the 2008-2009 Annual Report for the Office of the French Language Services Commissioner (provincial). Thus, while the first three stages focussed upon local sites frequented by the participants, the two final stages of my research

addressed the relationship between those social sites and others at larger socio-spatial scales, and helped to further link the research findings to the sociological theories informing the study. The findings from stage four are presented in chapter six. The stage five process of data analysis and interpretation that links findings to existing theory is embedded throughout both chapters five and six.

4.7.5 Stage five: data analysis and interpretation

Given the range of methods employed in this CE, various means of analysis were also necessary to interpret the breadth of data generated. As I adapted Carspecken's (1996) outlined process of data generation, I also adapted the approach to analyzing and interpreting the textual, visual, and observational data generated in stages one through four outlined above. This reflects Creswell's (1998) assertion that data analysis is not "off-the-shelf; rather, it is custom-built, revised, and choreographed" and "learned by doing" (p. 142).

Analysis of all the textual data co-constructed during sessions with both groups of participants was conducted using the same approach. These data included the verbatim transcripts of audio-recordings from the narrative interviews conducted in stage one, the mapping exercise and participatory occupations conducted in stage two, and the semi-structured interviews conducted in stages three and four. The analysis and interpretation process began with my immersion in the data. By transcribing and reading the transcripts individually, I began the process of 'whole-text analysis' (Ryan & Russell Bernard, 2003). Sandelowski (1995) suggested that this process enables the researcher to get "a sense of each interview before attempting any comparisons across interviews" (p. 373). This process enabled me to identify key threads emphasized by each of the participants, but I did not use these initial insights to create a specific coding scheme. Instead, the French verbatim transcripts were then entered into NVivo 7 and coded with both low-level (open) and high-level (theoretical) codes (Carspecken, 1996). These two levels of coding were conducted separately.

The low-level coding described by Carspecken (1996) refers to a line-by-line approach that remains close to the transcript and is not highly abstracted. As whole-text analysis had begun prior to this process, the line-by-line coding enabled the analysis and interpretation process to continue, rather than “become an end in itself” or to become coding “just for the sake of coding” (p. 374) as emphasized by Sandelowski (1995). These initial codes were ‘raw’ as they were not immediately organized into themes (Carspecken, 1996), and were used to include the participants’ opinions as they were voiced. Although the transcripts were in French, I used English for the codes to enable my writing of the findings chapters, and my engagement in peer debriefing (the thesis supervisory committee members had completely translated versions of all transcripts). Engaging in this level of analysis for the complete transcripts of all textual data, rather than selecting specific sections for analysis, also further contributed to my immersion in the data and served to deepen my understanding of the participants’ experiences. The analysis and interpretation process throughout this level of coding remained iterative and inductive. As initial analysis was conducted concurrently with ongoing data generation, insights developed over the course of the study served to inform further data generation and analysis (e.g. through purposeful sampling and adding questions to the interview guide).

Following the line-by-line coding of all textual data, the transcripts were analyzed using high-level, or theoretical, codes that required more abstraction and interpretation. Once again, all transcripts were analyzed in full. As explained by Carspecken (1996), in this stage of analysis the code is based on more than the transcript alone. It is within this level of coding that I directly applied concepts from my theoretical framework. As argued by Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003), researchers may inform analysis with general themes drawn from the literature and add further themes as the analysis process unfolds. Thus, interpretations relevant to concepts including occupation, race, gender, language, performance, and habitus, among others, while not necessarily always explicitly addressed by participants, were nonetheless investigated throughout this analysis process.

Once the coding of transcripts was complete, the individual codes were reorganized into categories. Each category was then explored by examining its component codes and associated 'node reports', and findings were further elaborated following this analysis process. Node reports are generated within NVivo 7 and bring together all text coded using the same code. For example, the category of 'field' drawn from my understanding of Bourdieu's theory of practice comprised the following codes related to different types of fields addressed by participants: economic, education, politics, religion, services, and socio-cultural. A node report for each code (e.g. economic field) was included within the category.

The findings presented in the following chapters stem not only from the data themselves (i.e. 'pure' induction), but also from my critically informed analysis and interpretation process. As noted by Bulmer (1979; cited in Ryan & Russell Bernard, 2003) the themes researchers find are influenced by "the investigators' general theoretical orientations, the richness of the existing literature, and the characteristics of the phenomena being studied" (p. 276). Further, as discussed by Lather (1986), "openly ideological research" (p. 63) is value based and rejects notions of research neutrality and objectivity. Thus, I sought not only to explore how the participants understood and constructed their own experiences, but also how interpreting those experiences through the lens of my theoretical framework could serve to critically challenge embedded assumptions within dominant frameworks of successful integration. The process of theoretical analysis enabled this more critical understanding of the data.

While participants' descriptions of their maps were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and the resulting textual data was analyzed as described above, the maps themselves became an important form of visual data further informing the research. Each map was initially analyzed on its own. Its content was identified and described (e.g. types of places, presence of roads). In addition to exploring what was included on the maps and how things were presented (e.g. specifically,

such as 'Masonville mall', or more abstractly, such as 'shopping centre'), I also considered what was absent (e.g. presence of large blank spaces on the map in general, or absence of specific places such as grocery stores). I then compared and contrasted the maps to each other. Exploring the content within and between the maps enabled me to further explore the interactions of occupation, place and identity as the participants drew where they went, and explained what they did there and why it was important to them. As explained by Powell (2010), maps offer insight into:

how people [...] see their world, what is important to them, what their lived social relations are, and where they spend their time. More than providing a sense of the physical spaces that we traverse through, maps can shed light on the ways in which we traverse, encounter, and construct racial, ethnic, gendered, and political boundaries. (p. 553)

The maps were not considered in isolation from the rest of the data. The insights drawn from the analysis of textual and observational data informed my understanding of the maps. Likewise, my analysis of the maps contributed to my interpretation of the textual and observational data. This was possible because the different types of data collected enabled participants to address their experiences in a variety of ways. In telling their stories, drawing their maps, engaging in their meaningful and routine occupations, and answering my questions over the course of the sessions, the participants both 'told me' and 'showed me' how their occupations, the places where those occur, and their connections to identity were affected by the experience of international migration.

The observational data were generated throughout the participatory sessions. When possible, the participatory sessions were audio-recorded and analyzed as textual data (described above). When audio-recording was not possible, detailed field notes were taken and these formed the observation 'record'. The record included thick descriptions of what took place during the sessions, as well as my reflections about the participatory sessions. The record was read and re-read throughout the course of data generation, and served to inform and further

develop the interview guides that were used in the following stages. It also served to highlight themes, issues, and areas of inquiry that were addressed in subsequent interviews and emphasized in further analyses of the textual data. Data generated throughout the sessions were also used to help interpret the potential meanings of interactions observed during the participatory occupation sessions, as well as the responses shared during the interviews.

As the dialogical data gathered throughout the sessions offered insight into how the participants understood and situated their experiences within the larger community and social systems in which they lived, the analysis process was also dialogical in nature. Participants were asked to comment on the verbatim transcripts that were returned to them in order to further inform the analysis. This enabled them to offer additional insights and elaborations. Consistent with my epistemological location, this form of 'member-check' was used to further deepen my understanding, rather than to confirm my interpretations. This was essential given the emphasis placed upon historical specificity within this study. The factors influencing migrants' experiences, such as the political context of the source countries, the legal status of participants, the existence of transnational families, among a number of issues faced by migrants on a daily basis, were thus considered throughout the study in order to better understand the opportunities and challenges they faced during processes of integration within London specifically, and within Canada more broadly.

The government documents addressing official language minority communities, collected as part of stage four formed another set of textual data. As these were not dialogically generated, they were analyzed differently than the data co-constructed with the participants. These documents were initially read in their entirety to obtain a sense of the whole. As many dealt with a range of issues relevant to these communities (e.g. education, health care), I then isolated the sections of the documents that specifically addressed immigration. These portions of the documents were then analyzed to identify recurrent themes. A

Careful reading, informed by my review of the literature and theoretical framework, enabled my description and interpretation of not only what was stressed within the documents (e.g. how was 'integration' defined within them?), but also what was absent (e.g. what did definitions of integration fail to consider?). Thus the documents were not merely summarized, they were also interrogated and critiqued. The purpose of this stage of data analysis was to further my understanding of the dominant discourses present within government documents that serve to frame policies, services, local institutions and the like within FMCs, and thus further shape the experiences of immigrants attempting to integrate into these communities. Given the breadth and depth of data generated and analyzed, specific criteria ensuring the quality and rigour of the study are necessary. These are outlined in the following section.

4.8 Quality Criteria

A number of techniques were employed to ensure rigorous research. Jamal (2005) stated that a critical ethnography must meet three conditions:

1. It must employ an organizing problematic that defines the data and analytical procedures in a way consistent with the project.

The design outlined above highlights a clear connection between the ontological and epistemological positions guiding the work, and the methodology and methods used to carry out the study. My position within a critical paradigm led me to select a critical methodology. Adapting Carspecken's (1996) methods for a CE in order to reflect my particular research objectives led to a design that addressed particular 'sites' in relation to broader 'systems' to challenge the conceptual divide of structure and agency. The methods of data generation, analysis and interpretation were inductive, theoretically informed, and dialogical to reflect my belief in the co-construction of knowledge. Further, given my stance that reality is constructed over time (i.e. historical realism) and that people experience reality differently according to their social locations, the theoretical

framework informing this study also served to ensure that the research was conducted in a way that is consistent with the research objectives of this work.

2. The work must be conceived as a starting point for changing the conditions of oppressive and unfair regulations.

In using CE, I sought to do more than better understand the participants' experiences. Gaining insight into what they have experienced was, however, vital to my longer-term goal of encouraging a climate within Canadian society that is receptive to a diverse immigrant population. While critical ontology strives to improve the lives of those within vulnerable positions in society, this is done by recognizing that vulnerability is not an individual problem. Instead, people are made powerless by dominant social forces (e.g. people with more social capital, government policies). As immigrant integration was described above as requiring reciprocal efforts on the parts of newcomers and the host communities, changing oppressive and unfair social conditions must also be a reciprocal process. This work therefore did not seek to 'change' the participants by making them more amenable to existing Canadian society, but instead sought to learn from their experiences to better understand the challenges and barriers newcomers may face, and to convey that understanding to a wider audience. This will be done in part by using the findings to highlight the non-linear nature of integration and the importance of socio-historical contexts in shaping migratory trends. These findings can thereby serve to create awareness and to advocate for change.

3. The work must acknowledge and discuss the limits of its own claims.

In line with my paradigmatic location, I did not seek to explain a singular reality experienced by international immigrants to Canada. Thus I do not attempt to generalize findings from this study. However, insights drawn from this study of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups residing with the London FMC may be transferable to other FMCs because they highlight the

challenges and opportunities faced by a particular group of people. Nonetheless, the dialogical nature of the data generation procedures is emphasized throughout so that people can locate the research within the particular socio-geographic and historical context in which it was conducted.

Carspecken (1996) also recommended particular steps that can be undertaken to ensure quality within all stages of the study. These include:

- *Using a flexible observation schedule.*

The schedule was adapted to include participants' routine and meaningful occupations. This flexibility also allowed me to note differences between seasons, weekdays and weekends, and occupations taking place at different times of day, and on different days.

- *Practicing prolonged engagement with the participants.*

Each respondent participating in the first part of the study engaged in a minimum of three sessions, taking place approximately one month apart. Data generation took place over a period of ten months, with up to five respondents participating in the study concurrently.

- *Interviewing the same subjects repeatedly.*

This allowed a stronger rapport to develop between the participants and myself, giving them more ownership of the study and making the process more dialogical. The participants had opportunities to clarify things they shared in earlier meetings and to offer insights informing the analysis and interpretation process.

- *Encouraging subjects to use and explain the terms they employ in naturalistic contexts.*

The participants were encouraged to discuss their experiences in the official language of their choice (all chose French), using vocabulary they were familiar with. I asked for further elaboration and explanation when I was unfamiliar with particular terms or issues they were describing, which occurred given our varying social locations and personal histories.

- *Using a low inference vocabulary and later adding interpretations.*

The observation record described what was happening within a particular site and included verbatim transcription as often as possible. Analysis and interpretation took place following, rather than during, the observation period. This allowed me to reflect on what was observed over a longer period of time.

- *Conducting consistency checks between observed activity and what is said in interviews.*

This also addressed the dialogical nature of my critical research. While my interpretation was vital to making connections between the migrants' experiences and the larger social structures contextualizing these, my insights were not simply imposed upon the participants. Rather, they were encouraged to offer their interpretation and feedback. This was further promoted throughout the sessions by using non-leading interview techniques and engaging in peer debriefing.

Engaging in reflexivity was crucial to this research, as in any critical ethnographic work. Carspecken (1996) described how,

Researchers have to be able to enter into the typifications of their subjects of study and understand the normative-evaluative claims made there through the recognition process. This can be an existentially threatening experience if the researcher studies people whose cultural world is fundamentally different from the worlds in which the researcher normally constructs herself [...]. (p. 167)

Throughout the research I considered how my thoughts and beliefs regarding various issues changed and I remained aware of the study's historical

situatedness. More specifically, I engaged in a form of reflexivity referred to as 'social critique' (Finlay, 2002). This reflexive practice is cognizant of the power imbalances between researcher and participants. As described in section 1.5, I had some things in common with some participants, such as being a French-speaker and being a woman. However, these characteristics did not make me an 'insider' among the participants. I was born in Canada and have never had to contend with the challenges of international migration. I am Caucasian and have never felt that I have been racially discriminated against. I was raised in the Catholic faith and though I no longer practice, my religious affiliation is never treated with suspicion and fear within Western society. I have the privilege of attending a premier university where my research interests are supported and I was able to pursue this study. Yet, from my privileged social location I strive to ameliorate the situation of those from varying social locations whose experiences have been marginalized within society, by providing an opportunity through this research for immigrants to share their voices. Learning from their experiences, which vary according to gender, race, class, legal status, country of origin, among other categories, not only enabled them to engage in social critique, but will also enable those hearing their voices and learning from their experiences to engage in social critique. The goal was not to objectify the participants; rather it was to learn from them in order to promote a more equitable society. Thus, as I conducted this research and learned from the process, I reflected on how my thinking changed over the course of the study and how my assumptions were situated by my personal social location. Not only did I include some of my initial reflections within the field notes I made following each data generation session, I also kept a reflexive journal over the course of the study to note thoughts, reactions and insights I had in regard to the research. When I was particularly struck by certain issues that arose I engaged in peer debriefing with my supervisory committee members in order to help challenge things I had taken for granted and to further deepen my reflection. Consciously engaging in this form of

reflexivity addressed the characteristics of 'reflexivity as social critique' described by Finlay (2002):

Reflexivity as social critique offers the opportunity to utilize experiential accounts while situating these within a strong theoretical framework about the social construction of power. A particular strength within this account is the recognition of multiple, shifting researcher-participant positions. (p. 222)

This form of reflexivity fit well with my theoretical framework and research design as outlined above. It also required that attention be paid to the ethical implications of the research, and it is to these considerations that I now turn.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Prior to beginning this CE, ethics approval was granted for the protocol by the Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) of The University of Western Ontario. Informed consent was obtained from all participants at the beginning of the first session and process consent was obtained at the beginning of subsequent sessions with the eight French-speaking immigrant participants who participated in additional meetings. The critical nature of this research also gave rise to additional ethical considerations. For instance, as noted in the discussion of reflexivity above, I had to remain aware of the real and perceived power differentials between myself and the study participants, particularly in regard to race. As all participants were members of visible minority groups, I had to be sensitive to the racial connotations of the research. For instance, Wahab (2005) explained that "White researchers will have to deal with this racial imaginary to disturb the place of safety they occupy in traditional and alternative discourses" (p. 36). Applying insights from anti-racism worked to address this in part by openly critiquing "the racialization of experience, interpretation, positioning, authorial control, [and] researcher-participant relationship" (Wahab, 2005, p. 48). Issues of representation were also essential to consider. Research itself can be a colonizing force as people have been inaccurately represented by outsiders throughout history. Allowing participants to self-identify within this study and

enabling them to co-construct the data promoted a form of shared ownership that respected their contribution. Reciprocity was emphasized throughout this research, to ensure that the immigrants and the FMC also benefited from the time they donated to participate in the study. This process began through my involvement in various community functions prior to data generation, continued with opportunities for collaboration throughout the ethnographic study, and moves forward with knowledge mobilization strategies that followed its conclusion.

4.10 Summary

This chapter outlined the research methodology for my CE conducted with French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups residing with the London FMC. It began by presenting my critical ontological and epistemological location. The design of my particular CE was then described. My immersion within the research field was then addressed, and was followed by a description of the boundary setting and recruitment process used. Next, the particular methods of data management, generation, and analysis and interpretation adopted within this CE were presented. Finally, a discussion of the study's quality criteria and ethical considerations was included. The particular critical ethnographic methodology described throughout this chapter, adapted from that developed by Carspecken (1996), was purposefully selected because it was consistent with the critical theoretical paradigmatic location of my research. This paradigm location, and my associated ontological and epistemological position, influenced the decision-making processes I engaged in throughout this research. The way I framed my research objectives, the particular theoretical framework I adopted, and my selected methodology were all informed by critical theory. The specific approach I selected for data generation, analysis and interpretation enabled me to use a variety of methods that attended to individual experiences and to the ways that these were embedded within the broader social structure.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Starting over: Negotiating performance and habitus within new fields

5.1 Introduction

My critical ethnography addressed individual experiences of migration and integration as embedded within a particular socio-historic context. Individual experiences were forefronted throughout the first three stages of the CE (described in chapter four) involving different types of dialogical data generation, including narrative and in-depth interviews, engagement in participatory occupation sessions, and map making with eight French-speaking newcomers. This chapter presents and discusses the findings from the analyses of these data.

The following section introduces the participants by highlighting the dominant threads they emphasized throughout our data generation sessions, as well as a description of their maps, insights into their routines, and an outline of the participatory occupations we engaged in together. An interpretation of the maps is also included here. This opening section provides some background for the subsequent presentation and discussion of findings. The third section addresses the notion of 'starting over', which was a predominant issue that characterized the experiences of all participants in varying ways. This key notion of beginning again sets the tone for the remainder of the chapter, which examines how the participants negotiated the multitude of transitions entailed in 'starting over' within their new contexts following their international migration. As the participants started over within London, they became aware of differences in the fields and habitus between their home and host societies as well as within their host society. Exploring the ways in which this awareness developed is the focus of the fourth section, which also addresses how the participants not only recognized, but also began to voice the unspoken and taken-for-granted

assumptions characterizing fields and habitus. The fifth section describes how the participants began to negotiate the transitions they experienced by learning 'how things work' within the host society. This includes their negotiation of performances within their current contexts. The sixth section addresses how such negotiations are intricately connected to the participants' capital. Sub-sections on economic capital, symbolic capital, and linguistic capital address their experiences of capital loss and acquisition resulting from, and following migration.

Within these sections, data interpretation is largely informed by concepts drawn from Bourdieu and Goffman's theories of practice and performance, as well as from occupational science. These enabled a critical exploration of the more implicit aspects of integration, such as learning the unspoken rules of the host society. Finally, the section on 'doing identity in place' addresses how processes of integration are further complicated by the intersections of the participants' identity markers. Here, insights drawn from the anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature are embedded within my presentation and interpretation of the findings. Ultimately, my theoretically informed data analysis highlights how integration is characterized by reciprocal relationships amongst occupation, place and identity. This chapter also demonstrates ways in which various aspects of socio-historic context (further explored in the following chapter) are inseparable from individual experience, reinforcing the importance of attending to their dialectical interactions.

Given that data generation occurred in French, and that the French verbatim transcripts were coded during analysis, it should be noted that all direct paragraph quotations are presented in both the original French, and the translated English versions. When quotations are embedded within a sentence, the French quotation appears in quotation marks and English translation follows within square brackets. There are also places within the chapter where I paraphrase participants using an English translation without including the direct

quotation in French. When this occurs, I place the paraphrased translation in single quotation marks. The purpose of this is to convey the sense of what they said without including bilingual data in full quotation form. Past-tense is also used when describing the participants as many of their situations have changed since the time of data generation.

5.2 Introducing the participants

As discussed within the methodology chapter, descriptions of the participants cannot be detailed at length in order to protect their confidentiality. A brief outline is necessary, however, to provide some background for the presentation and discussion of findings. The participant descriptions below highlight some of the key threads that emerged through my interactions with them. While their experiences were more complex than can be summarized within this section, comments integrated here point to important considerations that are revisited in the subsequent presentation and discussion of findings.

Further, while the maps they drew prior to engaging in participatory occupations cannot be reproduced in full detail within this thesis, again because they may make the participants identifiable, these are described to give a sense of their spatial integration within the city. During the mapping exercise, the participants described their routines, highlighting where they went, and what they did in those places on a regular basis. As discussed in chapter three, people form their daily habits and routines in part by regularly engaging in occupation – doing similar things, at similar times, in similar places, day after day. It was also noted that this process is reciprocally related to one's identity. Thus, to a certain extent the process of integration entails the establishment or recreation of a routine embedded within place, as newcomers begin to reengage in occupation, or take on new occupations within the host country. Obstacles to occupation, related to both place and identity, may restrict one's development of a routine and thereby pose challenges to integration. For instance, the need to speak English (identity according to the marker of language) within Ontario (place) may restrict the

opportunities for civic engagement (occupation) among French-speaking newcomers. To convey respondents' differential embeddedness in place, and to help contextualize the overall findings, a brief description of the respondents' maps and their routines is also presented. Since many of the participatory occupation sessions reflected the dominant threads the respondents emphasized, and related to their maps and outlined routines, these sessions are also described here.

The study participants, four males and four females, came from a variety of countries in Central and Northern Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. All of the participants had children. At the time of interview, most children were of elementary school age. Two participants had newborns, two had toddlers, and two had teenagers. Only one participant had a child who was a young adult. Three of the participants came directly to London from their point of entry into Canada (e.g. landed elsewhere but have only lived in London), while the others first lived in Quebec. In terms of their length of time in Canada, the participants who arrived earliest immigrated in 1999, while those most recently arrived immigrated in 2008. The participant who had been in London the longest arrived in 2000, while the participant who had most recently arrived to the city came in 2009, only four months prior to her first interview with me.

Paul moved to Canada from a country in Central Africa in 2005. He was married with elementary school aged children and an infant, all of whom were born in Canada. He and his spouse migrated separately. He had lived in Quebec but was residing in London while his wife and children remained in another province. While 'language' was addressed with all participants given my research focus on FMCs, language was an especially dominant theme throughout the meetings with Paul. He moved to London for the purpose of learning English, in part to enable him to access more highly skilled employment afterward. He had established a fairly structured routine. When drawing his map, he outlined this routine and indicated the places he regularly visited. The map highlighted the

school where his English language learning classes took place and focused primarily on the city's downtown core, where most community organizations and service providers (e.g. ACFO, public library) were located. Paul visited most of these daily, not solely to access services (e.g. Internet use), but also to volunteer and to network with people in the community. When I asked why he volunteered he cited two reasons:

[U]n pour acquérir l'expérience Canadienne. Je n'ai pas l'expérience, pour avoir de l'expérience. Et puis pour créé un réseau, réseau de contact à travers ça, je suis connu, une façon aussi de m'intégrer aussi dans la communauté francophone. [Organisation communautaire] est une, grande organisation dans la communauté francophone de London, donc c'est une façon pour moi de m'intégrer dans cette communauté.

[O]ne to obtain Canadian experience. I don't have the experience, to get some experience. And also to create a network, network of contacts through that, I am known, a way also to integrate myself too in the Francophone community. [Community organization] is a, large organization in the Francophone community of London, so it's a way for me to integrate myself in that community.

Paul was the only participant who was not living with his immediate family at the time of data generation. This affected his routine and accompanying map, as he did not engage in occupations with his family in London as the other participants did. While others' maps included places frequented by their children (e.g. schools, parks), Paul's map was focussed solely on his routine and the places he frequented. Participatory occupations with Paul reflected his map and routine. Focussing on the downtown core, we went to the community organizations and public places he regularly frequented so that I could see where he spent most of his time and what he did there. We also participated in an English conversation club and later went to a local festival in a downtown park and he practiced his English by interacting with some of the vendors.

Halima came to Canada from a country in Northern Africa in 2008. She was married with elementary school aged children. Her family migrated together and although they landed in Quebec, they had only lived in Ontario. She was no

longer seeking employment. In addition to her difficulty in finding a job, she felt in part because she wore a niqab, she also had an infant at home (born in Canada). She prioritized her responsibility for the family's reproductive occupations. This was reflected in the map she drew, which included only grocery stores, shopping centres, places frequented by, and with, her children (e.g. school, parks), a hospital, her home, and a friend's home. The dominant theme in all meetings with Halima was her experience as a veiled Muslim woman. She discussed at length how wearing a niqab influenced aspects of her migration and integration (e.g. job interviews, daily social interactions). Her routine differed from Paul's in the sense that she did not regularly have to be at a particular place at a particular time (e.g. language classes). At several points she noted that her lack of regular occupational engagement, beyond her reproductive occupations, led to a sense of boredom:

[M]aintenant il n'y a pas grand choses aux weekends. Je me sens un peu, ennuyant. C'est boring. Il n'y a pas quelque chose, si tu n'as pas de plans à faire avec des amis [...] Mais il n'y a pas quelque chose um, qui est régulièrement que je fais, excepte ah, aller faire les courses seulement pour la maison, acheter des choses.

[N]ow there isn't much on weekends. I feel a bit, bored. It's boring. There isn't anything, if you don't have plans with friends [...] But there isn't something um, that is regular that I do, except ah, going to run errands only for the house, buying things.

Her routine was largely influenced by her religious practice of prayer five times daily. Beyond this, her daily occupations were flexible and related to caring for the family (e.g. preparing meals) and keeping in touch with family members back home (e.g. using the Internet-based Skype program for daily conversation). Her lack of structured routine made it difficult for her to select a specific participatory occupation to engage in with me. She expressed uncertainty about what we could do, but she made tea and we stayed at her home chatting, realizing after a few hours of interesting conversation that we were indeed engaged in occupation. Nonetheless, wanting to select a more 'concrete' occupation for the following session, Halima decided to show me how to make rice stuffed grape

leaves and we went to the grocery store together and then returned to her kitchen to cook.

Makane was born in Western Africa but was raised in Eastern Europe and moved alone to Canada from there in 1999. He stayed less than a year and went back to Eastern Europe. He then returned to Canada in 2001. The second time he and his spouse came together. They had toddlers who were born in Canada. He had lived in Quebec, Alberta and Ontario. He had full-time employment, which contributed to his very structured routine. While Paul organized the time following his scheduled language courses by regularly visiting particular places throughout the week to create a routine for himself, Makane's routine was far more 'micro-managed' to help him balance his work and family life. He described his daily routine in great detail, for instance:

[J]e me réveille à 5h00. Je me lave, avant de me laver je mets au feu le gruau, à petit feu, pour que ça ne boue pas, au moins quand je reviens l'eau déjà boue, je mets du gruau, je m'habille. Donc, avant de s'habiller, cette fin de semaine, j'ai l'habillement tout complet pour toute la semaine. [...] j'arrive généralement 7h00. 7h00 je mange, parce que je mets le gruau chaud dans le bol, le temps de conduire 15 minutes, il est prêt à manger. Je mange mon gruau, je prends mon thé et c'est le temps idéal de faire les photocopies [...].

I wake up at 5:00. I wash myself, before I wash I put the heat on for oatmeal, a little fire, so it doesn't boil over, at least when I come back the water is already boiling, I add the oatmeal, I get dressed. So, before getting dressed, the weekend, I have my wardrobe all complete for the week. [...] I generally arrive at 7:00. 7:00 I eat, because I put the hot oatmeal in the bowl, the time to drive 15 minutes, it's ready to eat. I eat my oatmeal, I have my tea and it's the ideal time to do the photocopies [...].

The dominant thread in meetings with Makane was work. Not only did he describe the different types of jobs he had held while living in Canada, he also explained things such as the process of obtaining them (e.g. what additional education was necessary) and addressed the complexity involved in obtaining and keeping secure full-time employment in Canada. For instance, he

emphasized the necessity of learning the unwritten rules of a particular workplace (e.g. what behaviour is appropriate or not). While his workplace certainly appeared on his map, given that he had lived in Southwestern Ontario for approximately four years, Makane's map was also one of the most detailed. He began by drawing his neighbourhood and worked his way outward to include a number of roads, some leading outside of the city to neighbouring towns. The places included also varied widely, including multiple shopping centres, a farmer's market and grocery store, hospital, places for his children (e.g. Storybook Gardens – a theme park with paid admission), the downtown, and the university. The participatory occupations he selected reflected both his home and work life. First, I was invited to his workplace to observe the demands of his job. Then, I was invited to his home where we engaged in occupation with the family, such as bicycling with the children, visiting the community garden and grocery store, preparing food and having dinner, as well as playing with the children in the yard.

Khalil had moved to Canada from a country in Northern Africa within the past year. He moved to London with his wife and teenage children. They had only lived in Ontario. He was seeking full-time employment but, to date, had only obtained part-time shift work. The dominant thread in meetings with him was one of transition. He used different metaphors to emphasize this point, such as describing himself as still 'at sea', no longer in his home country, but not yet in his host country. This example highlights the processual nature of integration, as while he was physically in London, he did not yet feel he belonged. He also used the example of being in a tunnel and waiting to see the light at the end of it. The type of liminal existence these examples illustrate was related in part to employment. Khalil emphasized that his family lacked stability because neither he nor his wife had yet been able to secure full-time work. This was especially challenging for him as he had left his career and extended family behind in his home country and had not yet regained his 'position' in society. He chose not to engage in the participatory sessions, in part because he felt my observing his life

at the current time would not adequately represent him. He did however, engage in the mapping exercise and described the process of becoming familiar with place as he began drawing his map:

[O]n commence par le centre, le centre du monde, qui est la maison. C'est toujours par là qu'on commence. [...] Et alors, tu sais les premiers temps lorsqu'on arrive dans un endroit on commence toujours par prospecter, à droite, à gauche, en haut, en bas, par centaines de mètres, on revient. Le deuxième jour on fait un peu plus, etcetera.

[W]e begin by the centre, the centre of the world, which is the home. It's always there that we start. [...] And so, you know at first when we arrive to a place we always start by prospecting, to the right, to the left, above, below, by hundreds of metres, we return. The second day we do a bit more, etcetera.

He thus began by drawing his home and added eight places (most of which were public) but no roads. These included a school, two community organizations, a library, a park, a shopping centre, a store, and an extended family member's home. While being concentrated to a smaller geographic area, and being more sparsely filled than other maps, it also lacked the level of specificity of many others. Most participants indicated the names of particular places (e.g. Springbank for a park, Food Basics for a grocery store), whereas Khalil simply indicated the type of place (e.g. park, store, school). While he had a routine established, he indicated that it was not the one he wanted. Balancing two part-time shifts a day with language classes and family life made daily life challenging for him.

Gilberto came to Canada with his spouse from a country in Latin America in 1999. They first lived in Quebec, and then moved to Ontario. Their elementary school aged children and toddler were born in Canada. He had a part-time job and viewed it as a 'foot in the door' with hopes of securing additional employment opportunities. A central thread in meetings with Gilberto was his emphasis on doing what one loves and the need for a positive attitude. He had faced a number of challenges throughout his ongoing integration process (e.g.

difficulty securing a full-time job despite having obtained additional education in Canada), yet repeatedly emphasized what he had learned from these experiences and focussed on how they could help him in the future. For instance, Gilberto was an artist who had difficulty obtaining arts-related employment (e.g. interior design) yet created other ways to engage in this occupation. In addition to working on his pieces at home, he volunteered in schools to organize art projects for youth. His routine was variable over the course of the data generation sessions. His spouse was employed and he transitioned from participating in a program offered by a community organization to part-time employment. As a result, there was an ongoing negotiation within his household in regard to who did what:

[O]n s'habitue à se faire des routines tout au long de notre vie ici. [...] On se fait des routines, on s'habitue à faire des routines, donc, tout les deux on partage les tâches ici, on met les snacks ou les lunches pour les enfants et on essaye de préparer les choses, par exemple, maintenant je pars le matin avec mes deux enfants, [...], puis après ma femme arrive avec la petite, donc, on a trouvé une manière de partager les tâches.

[W]e get used to making ourselves routines all throughout our lives here. We make ourselves routines, we get used to making ourselves routines so, both of us share the tasks here, we put the snacks or the lunches for the children and we try to prepare things, for example, now I leave in the morning with my two children, [...] and after my wife arrives with the youngest, so, we found a way to share the tasks.

While Gilberto had been in London since 2005, his map did not extend very far from his home, in part because he did not have a car. He emphasized that they strategically selected housing that was near his spouse's workplace and within a reasonable distance to places such as grocery stores so that they could more easily walk or rely on public transit. In addition to his home, he included many places he went with his children (e.g. school, parks, public libraries, church). He also included a shopping centre, a few stores and community organizations. Gilberto's interest in art and his shared responsibility for reproductive occupations formed the basis of our participatory occupation sessions. First, he

showed me how he sculpted stone, describing the different types of tools and materials that can be used, and then let me try. I used the tools to continue work on one of his sculptures in progress. During our second meeting, we prepared a meal characteristic of the cuisine from his home country and then ate lunch with his two older children.

Danielle migrated directly to London from a country in Central Africa. Her spouse had migrated ahead of the family, and she came with her children in 2000, who by the time of data generation were teenagers. She was pursuing additional studies and seeking to obtain full-time employment. A key thread in meetings with her was inequality. While many participants addressed challenges they faced, Danielle focussed much more strongly on how the challenges she and her family faced were related to forms of inequality or discrimination they experienced within Canadian society. While she shared specific examples of racism and discrimination her family had dealt with (e.g. her son being called a 'nigger'), she also described the more implicit and institutional forms of injustice that affected them. Despite having had such negative experiences, she did not think the issues of inequality she discussed were specific to London. Danielle enjoyed living in London and hoped to remain here, but this ultimately depended upon her and her husband's success in obtaining employment. Danielle was the only participant enrolled in post-secondary education at the time of data generation. This had an influence on her routine, which was more variable depending upon class times and assignments:

[C]haque journée a ses activités. Par exemple aujourd'hui, si aujourd'hui je fais, je suis ici, je vais réviser mes cours après je vais à mes classes, après la classe j'irais voir mon médecin. Après le médecin j'irai à la maison. [...] préparer le repas du soir. Je crois que mardi, mardi j'aime suivre des émissions sur mon pays aussi, il y a des émissions très intéressantes.

[E]ach day has its activities. For example today, if today I do, I am here, I will review my courses after I go to my classes, after the class I will go see my doctor. After the doctor I will go home. [...] prepare the evening meal. I believe that Tuesday, Tuesday I like to

follow some shows on my country too, there are very interesting shows.

Danielle chose not to engage in the participatory occupation sessions, yet she had been in London five years longer than any of the other participants, and her map was the most detailed. She drew a number of streets and covered a broad geographical area, which having a car enabled. She included a number of diverse stores (e.g. Fabricland, Home Hardware); several food stores (e.g. markets, grocery stores, African products); four parks; four shopping centres; educational institutions (schools, college, university); community organizations, service providers, and government offices. Like many other participants, she included places frequented by her children (e.g. aquatic centre). She spent the most time drawing her map and included many places not listed by other participants (e.g. doctor's office, restaurant, hair dresser and car dealership). She also included the neighbourhoods where she and some of her friends lived.

Marie moved to Canada in 2004 from a country in Central Africa to join her husband who had previously migrated here, but she was no longer with him. She had lived in both Quebec and Ontario and all of her children were born in Canada, with the youngest being born in London. She had an infant and elementary school aged children. She planned to complete English courses prior to seeking employment. A dominant thread in meetings with Marie was that of starting over. While all the participants addressed the need to begin again in Canada following their migration, this issue was especially emphasized by Marie who had started over in Quebec, and was once again starting over in London as a single mother. She was also dealing with a family health issue that consumed most of her time, and at the time of data generation she had remained unable to engage in some of the integration-focussed occupations she had hoped to (e.g. language lessons). Like Khalil, Marie was very early in the transition period. While she had been in Canada longer than him, she had only recently arrived to London and mentioned that she did not have a regular daily routine. During a follow-up interview I asked her if that had since changed:

[Ç]a n'a pas changé puisque j'ai tellement de rendez-vous donc, ma vie ou ma routine quotidienne change à chaque instant. Je n'ai pas des routines stables là que je me réveille, fait tel chose, non, ça dépend d'un jour à l'autre. C'est très variable.

[I]t hasn't changed since I have so many appointments so, my life or my daily routine changes at each instant. I don't have stable routines that I wake up, do a particular thing, no, it depends from one day to the next. It's very variable.

She participated in the mapping exercise, but was unable to draw the map herself. She explained that she had not yet developed a sense of direction within the city. This was related in part to her use of public transit, which did not travel directly between points she visited making it more difficult to mentally locate where the places were geographically situated in relation to each other. As a result, I asked her to describe her daily routine and tell me about the places she frequented in London and drew the map for her. In addition to her home, she included two grocery stores, two schools (one was her children's and the other was for the English-language lessons she was briefly enrolled in), a community organization, a government office, a park, a hospital, and her church. I did not include streets as she did not specify any of these when explaining where she went in the city. Running errands was described as an inconvenience by Marie, who had to spend more time doing this than she would have liked due to the inefficient public transit routes in her neighbourhood (e.g. bus ran infrequently and was uni-directional so she could not return directly home but had to complete the route to get back to where she started). Our first participatory occupation entailed going to the grocery store so I could see the distance from her home, and the amount of food she regularly had to purchase to provide daily snacks and lunches for her school aged children (this was a financial challenge she emphasized). In our second participatory session, I accompanied her to the hospital for one of her regular visits.

Rose moved to Canada from a country in Central Africa in 2004 with her child who was elementary school aged at the time of interview. She had lived in

Quebec and Ontario. Her husband did not migrate, in part due to the long delay for family reunification, and her marriage consequently ended. She and her child had moved to London within the past two years. Rose had since remarried but was not yet living with her spouse who remained overseas. While she was employed part-time, like many other participants she was seeking a full-time job. The predominant thread in meetings with Rose was one of becoming autonomous. She explained that being a single mother in Canada forced her to become independent and self-sufficient. It also influenced her routine as she had to balance her job and community involvement with the responsibilities of single parenthood. For instance, she had not completed the English-language courses she had started because she found a job and was unable to do both concurrently:

Donc je veux donner le meilleur de moi-même, donc, allé aux cours, faire le travail, l'enfant qui est là encore. Donc c'est dur de, de mettre toutes ces trois choses qui sont importantes pour moi, de les mettre ensemble.

So I want to give the best of myself, so, going to the courses, doing the work, the child that is there still. So it's hard to, to put all those three things that are important for me, to put them together.

Although she had a fairly structured daily routine (e.g. waking up and getting her child ready for school), her employment entailed meetings in other cities and led to a variable work schedule that complicated her routine and posed challenges in securing child care. Her routine occupations were represented on her map. In addition to her home, Rose's map included her workplace, her church, a community organization, two shopping centres and a plaza, a grocery store, a hospital, a public pool, and her child's school. She had also recently moved within the city and was less familiar with her new neighbourhood than with her previous one, which she explained as she drew her map, stating that places she used to visit she no longer went to because they were further away, and also indicated that she planned to seek out particular types of places within her new neighbourhood (e.g. park). Similar to my first participatory occupation with Halima, the first participatory session with Rose mainly entailed 'hanging out'.

She made tea and we spent time in her home talking and wrapping Christmas presents. We then went to the nearby mall to purchase an additional gift. Also like Halima, Rose emphasized the importance of her faith in her life. We went to mass together for the second participatory session. Her child came with us and afterward we returned to her home to have lunch.

It should be noted that the maps created by the participants are specific to the particular time in which they were drawn, as are the routines they described when drawing and explaining their maps. As highlighted above by Rose, the maps could easily change over time according to a variety of factors (e.g. moving from one neighbourhood to another, getting a new job, buying a car, having a child). Key observations can nonetheless be made when interpreting them. In part, they highlight the temporal nature of spatial aspects of integration, as those who had lived in London the longest had the most detailed maps. For instance, they drew a larger number of roads; their maps covered a larger geographical area, and included more places (e.g. specialty shops). Conversely, those that had been in London for the shortest length of time had the least densely drawn maps (e.g. did not include any roads, more spatially restricted, smaller number of places, did not attach names to places). However, integration is not solely related to time as other differentiating factors were also noticeable when comparing the maps. For instance, the maps of participants with vehicles differed from those who relied on public transportation. It was not necessarily that those without a car went to fewer places, but that the places they did include on their maps tended to be more geographically concentrated, whereas those with vehicles covered a larger area of the city. Interestingly, participants with cars were also more likely to include roads on their maps.

The importance of public places was also notable. For instance, every map included a public park, library or pool with some including more than one of these. All but one of the maps had at least one shopping centre. Participants noted the importance of having places to go where they did not have to spend

money. Community organizations and service providers were also included on all maps (e.g. ACFO, CFSOO, Boys and Girls Club, YMCA). Five of the eight maps included a hospital, in part because these participants had young children. For instance, some of the women had given birth in London while others had used the emergency room with their children. Other places that appeared on more than one map include children's schools, grocery stores, and places of worship. Many also included places of employment or study (e.g. English-language course, university).

In addition to the maps themselves, the participants' descriptions of their maps also helped to elucidate the connection between occupations and the places where these occur. While particular types of places are noted above, and some of these have clearly associated occupations (e.g. productive occupation occurring in a workplace), the connection between occupation and place was often not singular or explicit. Some of the places that appeared across the maps were used for different purposes by different people. For instance, the London FMC has some mixed-use spaces, such as the Centre Desloges (a community school centre), which at the time of data generation comprised the Centre communautaire regional de London (CCRL), the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO), the Ste-Marguerite d'Youville Catholic chapel, the Gabriel Dumont elementary and secondary public school, and the Monseigneur-Bruyère elementary and secondary Catholic school. As a result, this centre appeared on several participant maps for a number of reasons, such as having children enrolled in the schools there, attending church services, or accessing community services. While this larger centre served a number of purposes and was a site where different occupations occurred, particular organizations also enabled varied occupations. For instance, the ACFO specifically appeared on four maps, while on others it was embedded within the larger community centre (it should be noted that at the time of data generation the ACFO had two offices at different areas within the city). Yet, the people who highlighted it did so for different occupations, such as volunteering, attending meetings, engaging in

community activities, or using their services. Conversely, some occupations also occurred in a number of places. For instance, the religious practice of some participants and their families not only occurred in a place of worship, but also in their children's schools and in their homes. Additionally, the productive occupations of some participants entailed them being in different places (e.g. supply teaching in a variety of schools), and some participants engaged in particular occupations in different places (e.g. working on art at home, in children's school).

The absence of particular places was also notable. While some places that appeared on the maps were the sites of diverse occupations as noted above, there are also occupations described by participants that were not located in any particular site. For instance, one participant mentioned her engagement in a number of social activities that were organized by a community service provider. However, each of these took place in a different area, thus her engagement in these occupations did not appear on her map. The 'transient' nature of such occupations was also difficult to capture in the participants' description of their routines, perhaps because they happen irregularly, but perhaps also because they lack a spatial specificity. Furthermore, the absence of some occupations within the lives of participants also contributed to the absence of particular types of places on the maps. For example, while employment was raised in many of the sessions as a vital, if not primary, marker of integration, only one participant had a full time job at the time of data generation, and three others had part-time work. As a result, workplaces were included on a limited number of maps, despite the stated importance of productive occupation by participants. Ultimately, the maps enabled thoughtful consideration of the different ways in which occupational engagement is spatially embedded. How these occupations and places are further reciprocally related to the participants' identities as they experience transitions associated with processes of international migration and integration is addressed below in the presentation and discussion of findings.

5.3 Starting over

The notion of transition was emphasized as a key consideration within the literature on migration and occupation discussed in chapter two (specifically subsections 2.2.2, 2.3.2). As people move from one country to another, they may anticipate particular types of transitions, many of which are noted within government documents addressing migration and integration (discussed further in chapter six). For instance, newcomers have to find a place to live once they arrive in Canada, and may also have to find a new job or learn a new language. However, what was particularly striking among the participants' responses was the number and the extent of the transitions they experienced, many of which they had not anticipated prior to their immigration. When referring to the multiplicity of these transitions, they poignantly framed the overall experience as one of 'starting over', the immensity of which they had not anticipated.

'Starting over' within a new place and learning the subtleties and unwritten rules of the new society were repeatedly described as important challenges in moving toward integration. Khalil discussed how he had anticipated some change, but had not recognized the number of difficulties he would face,

Le changement, oui, les difficultés surtout, les difficultés sont beaucoup plus qu'on s'y attendait. Moi je m'y attendais un petit peu, mais la femme et les enfants moins. Je les avertis que ça allait être difficile, mais même moi je ne pensais pas que c'était aussi difficile que ça. Donc c'est vrai que c'était, un choc.

The change, yes, the difficulties especially, there are a lot more difficulties than we were expecting. I was expecting it a bit, but the wife and the children less. I warned them that it was going to be difficult, but even me I didn't think that it was as difficult as this. So it's true that it was, a shock.

Marie also addressed the difficulty of starting over: "Donc, quitter son pays et venir à l'étranger, même si on est torturé, mais il y a des racines, et toute la famille [...]. Puisqu'on perd presque tout qu'on avait, recommencer à zéro c'est vraiment ce qui est difficile" [So, leaving one's country and coming abroad, even

if we are tortured, but there are roots, and the whole family [...]. Since you lose almost everything you had, starting over at zero is really what is difficult.]

Transitions characterize not only international migration, as participants also discussed having to deal with the variety of changes they experienced as they moved between places in Canada. As will be discussed further in the next chapter, this is important to recognize given the increasing emphasis upon the regionalization of migration. Paul described how coming to Canada had long been a dream of his. He went on to explain that having satisfied that dream by immigrating, he was then left with big challenges related to language, finding a job to satisfy his needs and the needs of his family, building a social network and making friends, and learning new things. For example, the type of employment Paul sought in Montreal required him to be bilingual, but he felt learning English in Quebec would be challenging and moved to London to immerse himself in an Anglophone environment. This led to his feeling of ‘starting over’:

L'expérience de venir c'était, ce n'était pas facile parce que là j'ai une famille à Montréal. Je me suis fait un couple d'amis. Je me suis fait un couple d'habitudes, alors briser ses habitudes, briser ah, mon environnement là ce n'est pas aussi facile. L'expérience de venir à London c'est vraiment une expérience, c'est, c'est vraiment un défi, un grand défi. [...] Comme ça, c'est une expérience, ah, parfois, ah exceptionnel par rapport aussi, il y a la séparation avec cet environnement où je suis habitué, au Québec. Où c'est facile pour moi parce que le Québec est francophone, je suis francophone. C'est facile pour moi de, de, de faire des échanges de communiquer de faire pas mal des trucs au Québec, quand Ontario où je devais prendre, c'est comme si je dois commencer à zéro. C'est une expérience nouvelle. Je dois recommencer à zéro. Et la langue je dois apprendre ABC, et la communauté je dois affronter une nouvelle communauté, francophone qui est minoritaire et puis Anglophone qui est la majorité. C'est une nouvelle vie. Du nouveau comportement, beaucoup de trucs à apprendre, tout apprendre, la langue à apprendre, le comportement des gens à apprendre, les habitudes des gens à apprendre. En tout cas, un autre mode de vie à apprendre.

The experience of coming was, was not easy because, now, I have a family in Montreal. I made myself a few friends. I made myself a couple of habits, so breaking those habits, breaking ah, my

environment there was not very easy. The experience of coming to London was really an experience, it, it was really a challenge, a big challenge. [...] In that way, it's an experience, ah, somewhat, ah exceptional in relation also, there is the separation with this environment that I was used to, in Quebec. Where it's easy for me because Quebec is Francophone, I am Francophone. It's easy for me to, to, to do make exchanges, to communicate, do a lot of things in Quebec, when Ontario where I had to take, it's like as if I have to start over at zero. It's a new experience. And the language I have to learn ABC, and the community I have to confront a new community, Francophone which is minority and Anglophone which is the majority. It's a new life. Some new behaviours, a lot of things to learn, learning everything, the language to learn, people's behaviours to learn, people's habits to learn. In any case, another lifestyle to learn.

He went on to explain how he felt his migration and settlement experience would have been much more difficult had he come directly to Ontario. While acknowledging that he nonetheless had to start over in Montreal, this was facilitated by his ability to communicate, which made him more autonomous. He gave the example of being able to go to offices he needed to visit without an interpreter, as was initially necessary for him in Ontario. Gilberto also argued that whether he moved from one country to another, or one city to another within the same country, there would always be an impact because there would be things he would not know that were specific to that place. In moving to Canada he said there were a lot of factors to contend with, especially "la langue, la culture, la manière de vivre des gens" [the language, the culture, people's way of life].

Khalil described how starting over when he moved to London led him to experience a form of 'renaissance' because the language he used to speak he no longer used regularly, he was in the process of learning a new language, he was looking for a new job, he thought he might have to obtain further post-secondary education, and generally had the impression he was beginning from scratch. He said: "Il faut avoir du courage pour vouloir changer toute sa, toute sa vie, au moment où elle était relativement stable. Arriver au truc stationnaire et poof! Tout change, vient redescendre à zéro, et essayer de remonter vers un autre état

stationnaire” [You have to have courage to want to change your whole, your whole life, at the moment when it was relatively stable. Arriving at a stationary position and poof! Everything changes, re-descend to zero, and try to return toward another stationary position.]. He argued that after migrating, one has to ‘penetrate’ a new society where everything is new. I asked him to elaborate on the difference between penetrating society and integrating into it:

[L]a pénétration c’est mettre les pieds sur un sol où on n’est pas habituer. Qui n’est pas le notre. Qui est un sol étranger. Tout est nouveau, les odeurs, l’air, les gens, l’habillement, les voitures, tout est nouveau. Et, l’intégration, l’intégration c’est (pause) c’est, c’est devenir, c’est faire parti du paysage après. C’est de faire parti de la foule, faire parti de, des gens, connaitre mieux leur habitudes, leur ah, comment ils mangent, comment ils s’habillent. Intégrer par le travail aussi parce que, quand on n’a pas un travail etcetera, on n’est pas intégré. C’est ça une société, ça défini, c’est que il faut avoir sa maison, il faut avoir son travail, ses habitudes, des amis, tout ça c’est l’intégration. Et je ne crois pas qu’on s’intègre au bout de cinq ans, c’est vraiment à long terme qu’on peut dire qu’on est intégré. Et on [est] jamais, jamais intégré à 100%. Je pense qu’on est jamais intégré à 100%, puisqu’il y a toujours le petit accent [...] qui vas il y a la couleur de notre peau qui, qui est là. Il y a, il y a aussi nos habitudes qu’on ne veut pas abandonner totalement. Il y a pas à dire, c’est un petit peu aussi um, nous-mêmes on ne veut pas abandonner ça. On veut pas abandonner ça, c’est un petit peu renier sa famille, renier ses ancêtres, renier d’où on vient.

[P]enetration is putting one’s feet on the ground where we are not familiar. That is not ours. That is a foreign soil. Everything is new, the odours, the air, the people, the dress, the cars, all is new. And, integration, integration is (pause) it’s, it’s becoming, it’s becoming part of the landscape afterwards. It’s to belong to the crowd, belong to, to the people, better understanding their habits, their ah, how they eat, how they dress. Integrated through work too because, when we don’t have work etcetera, we are not integrated. That’s a society, it defines, it’s that one must have his house, one must have his work, his habits, some friends, all that is integration. And I don’t believe that we integrate at the end of five years, it is really long term that we can say we are integrated. And we never, never integrate to 100%. I think that we are never integrated to 100%, because there is always the little accent [...], there is the color of our skin that, that is there. There are, there are also our habits that we don’t want to totally abandon. There is not to say,

it's a bit also um, ourselves we don't want to abandon that. We don't want to abandon that, it's a little bit denying our family, denying our ancestors, denying where we're from.

This quotation highlights that a negotiation takes place throughout the process of integration, which entails adapting to one's new surroundings, without necessarily entirely abandoning one's identity or the habits essential to it.

Processes of migration and integration were however, acknowledged to have at least some impact upon identity, as participants' occupations were affected by changes to place. As summarized by Makane, "l'intégration c'est quelque chose qui passe obligatoirement par, par l'emploi. L'acceptation de la culture d'autrui. Et puis, peut-être même une certaine perte de sa propre identité." [integration is something that by obligation passes through, through employment. The acceptance of the others' culture. And, maybe even a certain loss of your own identity.]. The participants addressed the ways they negotiated such transitions to their places, occupations and identities and these will be further explored throughout this chapter. To cite a few examples, Halima and Marie described wanting to adopt characteristics of the host society they deemed positive, while forgoing those they felt were negative. For instance, Marie discussed changing her family's eating habits:

Pour la santé bon, chez nous [...] on ne fait pas attention à ce qu'on mange. On mange n'importe quoi, il suffit que ça est un bon goût mais, ici avec le guide alimentaire Canadien j'essai vraiment de faire de mon mieux, même pour les enfants ou pour moi-même.

For health so, back home [...] we don't watch what we eat. We eat anything, it suffices that it has a good taste but, here with the Canadian food guide I really try to do my best, even for the children or for myself.

While Halima also acknowledged positive aspects of Canadian society, she critiqued the degree of 'materialism' she noticed here: "[...] les gens deviennent matérialistes un peu tu sais. [...] il n'y a pas de sentiment, il n'y a pas de, ça c'est, je n'aime pas ça beaucoup. Et je ne veux pas que mes enfants [deviennent] matérialistes comme ça." [...] people become materialistic a bit you

know. [...] there is no sentiment, there is no, that is, I don't really like that. And I don't want my children to [become] materialistic like that.]. Integration thereby entailed a number of transitions that were negotiated as participants 'started over'.

As discussed within the literature review, identity has been explored in relation to both occupational engagement and the places where it occurs. Using concepts developed by Goffman and Bourdieu (described in chapter three), I argue that the occupations and places that are dialectically related to one's identity are embedded within particular fields of practice in relation to which one's habitus is formed over time. Thus, within particular places, people engage in occupations on a daily basis and perform their identities within fields of practice according to their habitus; that is, in a tacit and routine manner. When people migrate they experience transitions to their familiar places and occupations as they encounter different fields of practice within the host society. This does not occur solely when they move between countries, but can also occur as a result of secondary migration between provinces or cities. Moving from one place, characterized by particular fields, to another entails a series of transitions, challenges, and obstacles to overcome, all of which are intertwined aspects of 'starting over'.

Given that migrants' habitus have been developed outside the new context within which they find themselves following migration, identity performances that were once innate may have to be altered as newcomers come to learn the taken-for-granted social norms of the host society. As described above, many transitions were unanticipated by the participants (e.g. learning new behaviours). Starting from zero following migration thus entailed more than renting an apartment and finding a new job. It brought to light innate aspects of the participants' daily lives that they had taken for granted (i.e. their habitus) and led to a negotiation of their identities, largely through engagement in occupation within particular places. The theories of Bourdieu and Goffman are useful for highlighting the extent to which such taken-for-granted aspects of life are affected by migration. How immigrants'

habitus, or dispositions, fit (or do not fit) within their new context will influence their experiences within the host society. The following section explores how newcomers come to recognize the subtle differences between fields of practice in their home and host societies and how characteristics of their habitus begin to come to consciousness as they negotiate a series of transitions following migration.

5.4 Becoming aware of differences in field and habitus

Fields of practice, as discussed in chapter three, are social spaces that contextualize interactions. Multiple fields exist, and these differ according to the types of interactions that occur within them. Moreover, as described by Thomson (2008), fields each have their own rules and “social agents who occupy particular positions understand how to behave in the field, and this understanding not only feels ‘natural’ but can be explained using the truths [...] that are common parlance within the field” (p. 70). The notion that people inherently know how to perform within particular fields depends in part on their habitus having been formed in relation to them. Interestingly, when newcomers attempt to integrate into fields within the host country, their expected behaviour, or the behaviour expected of them, may no longer feel natural to them as their habitus was formed elsewhere. My analysis and interpretation identified six broad fields of practice addressed by the eight participants. The purpose of outlining these here is not to provide a detailed description of each, but rather to highlight that the experiences of participants discussed below were embedded within these particular fields of practice. Noting the diversity of fields identified by participants is important for illustrating that newcomers need not simply learn a single performance in Canada. As appropriate performances differ between fields, newcomers are continually engaged in a learning and reflective process as they become aware of differences in the fields and habitus of their home and host societies, and work toward integration within and across fields in Canada. This point will be further elaborated throughout this section.

Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of field, I categorized the various types of occupations and places participants discussed according to particular fields. The *economic* field addressed participant comments related to finances and productive occupations, particularly work and volunteering. The *education* field encompassed all things related to education such as the degrees participants acquired in their home countries, the educational institutions they have attended in Canada, and their children's schools, among others. The *political* field referred to government bodies, policies, procedures and legislation such as those involved with immigration (e.g. interview, health examination, legal status). The field of *services* related to issues such as availability and access to services (e.g. settlement, health) through community organizations, government service providers and the like. The *socio-cultural* field encompassed occupations related to the participants' home and social lives, such as spending time with their friends. Finally, the *religious* field referred to aspects of the participants' religious practice (e.g. prayer, involvement with their church). Essentially, these categorizations refer to fields where there are particular characterizing practices (e.g. ways to behave at work, ways to observe a religion, etc).

In addressing these fields of practice, participants often discussed how they differed here in comparison to 'back home'. Their migration led to a change in field, so that even if one participated in an economic field back home (e.g. particular profession), and now participated in an economic field in Canada, a shift nevertheless occurred because each economic field was located within a different place (e.g. one may still work, but perhaps in a different job, and may have to perform differently within their new workplace). Thus, while engaging in productive occupation is viewed as a key aspect of integration, as described by some of the participants, and emphasized within government documents (further discussed in the following chapter), this entails more than simply getting a job, as newcomers adapt to the particularities of the economic field within the host society, which may conflict with the characteristics of their acquired habitus. While productive occupations are often emphasized within the literature on

migration and integration, the identification of additional fields of practice highlights that a variety of occupations are affected by one's international move. The ways in which newcomers began to identify the subtleties of life in Canada forms the basis of this section.

One of the most striking differences many participants noted across fields was between what they described as the 'collectivism' characterizing their home communities and the 'individualism' of the communities they have lived in within Canada. Their former collectivist 'way of life' had shaped their habitus and implicitly informed their social interactions within their home countries. Their migration to a more individualistic society and their social interactions with those whose habitus was formed within a different context highlighted this especially noteworthy difference in place, largely because it affected a number of occupations the participants needed and wanted to engage in. The shift from collectivism to individualism was not viewed as altogether positive or negative, with many participants citing the advantages and disadvantages of each, largely in relation to what each enabled or restricted them from doing. Either way, the transition to a more independent or autonomous way of life was one of the most emphasized within data generation sessions, especially by the female participants. Marie, who was raising her children on her own, emphasized the difficulties she faced in accomplishing her daily occupations as a result of a lack of child care assistance. In her country, she could leave her children with a neighbour for an entire day free of charge in order to go to work. Like other places where many of the participants lived prior to migration, the entire community was responsible for the children. In London on the other hand, they could not leave their children behind for those in the neighbourhood to watch over:

Même si tu es juste ma voisine là, je peux te confier mes enfants, sans que tu me demande des sous, je peux les laisser toute la journée, aller travailler. Donc on vit en communauté, c'est ça. Qui est vraiment appréciable qu'ici, ça manque beaucoup. Donc tu peux te retrouver là, tu as un enfant mais quoi faire avec l'enfant. Donc parfois il t'arrive de manquer la garderie où la laisser pour

aller travailler ou étudier, c'est très difficile. Parfois tu es trop fatigué, trop stressé, mais il n'y a personne là qui peut t'aider [...].

Even if you are just my neighbour, I can entrust you with my children, without you asking me for money, I can leave them the entire day, go to work. So we live as a community, exactly. Which is really appreciable that here, is really missing. So you can find yourself, you have a child but what to do with the child. So sometimes it happens that you miss the daycare well where to leave her so that you can go work or study, it's very difficult. Sometimes you are too tired, too stressed, but there is no one that can help [...].

This example helps to highlight the ways that fields are interrelated. While child care may be categorized as relating to the socio-cultural field if a friend were to help watch over the child, it may be categorized within the services field if more formal child care services were used. Furthermore, the availability of child care options, or lack thereof can also affect one's opportunities to engage within the economic or education field. Rose also emphasized the burden placed upon people resulting from a lack of child care options. She stated that while newcomers could get assistance in a variety of forms (e.g. food banks), accessible child care was particularly difficult to obtain, especially for those who worked in the evenings. The need for more formal child care arrangements had consequences for some of the participants' occupational engagement. For instance, Marie was unable to continue her language lessons because she too often had to miss them in order to stay home with her children when she was unable to find available or affordable child care. This example highlights how attempting to engage in occupation can contribute to one's recognition of differences in habitus. Having difficulty in obtaining assistance with reproductive occupations, and not being able to engage in other occupations as a result, led to Marie's recognition of an unwritten rule characterizing her host society. She could no longer assume her neighbours would care for her children.

Rose further elaborated on the transitions she experienced when moving from a more collectivist to a more individually-based society, and how dealing with this

difference in habitus had implications not only for her occupations, but also for her identity. While she said it was initially very difficult for her to overcome her sense of isolation and become accustomed to such a lifestyle, she explained how she had since adapted to it. For instance, while she would originally save money to send back home or to call her family, she had since minimized her overseas communication and begun to save money for her child's education and to purchase a home. She explained that immigration did not leave her a choice but to become independent:

Donc, l'immigration m'a dit non, non, ici tu dois te lever et faire tout, toute seule. Il n'y a personne à côté de toi, pour t'aider, donc ça, j'ai dit que ça m'a vraiment fait quelque chose de bien, ça m'a forgé mon caractère. Oui. Parce que à la maison, au pays on pouvait être là, tu as un problème tu t'enferme, tu pleure, tu pleure et ça au début, avec l'isolement je m'enfermais, je pleurais, je pleurais. Mais à la fin quand je me dis, je pleure pourquoi? Je dois me prendre en charge.

So, immigration told me no, no, here you have to get up and do everything, all alone. There is no one beside you, to help you, so it, I said that it really did something good for me, it forged my character. Yes. Because at home, in my country we could be there, you have a problem you close yourself in, you cry, you cry and that in the beginning, with the isolation I closed myself in, I cried, I cried. But in the end when I asked myself, why am I crying? I have to take charge of myself.

The transition from a collective to an individually-focussed society also strongly influenced Danielle's identity, who went as far as to say that she is no longer who she once was. Over the course of the meetings, to help me understand what it was like to live in a collectivist society, she explained in great detail how her occupations and identity were affected by her migration. She said that in her country people helped each other out and did not follow their own dreams because they were always thinking of family, friends and community. She gave the following example to emphasize the difference:

[U]n gros changement, c'est-à-dire que le monde, la façon de penser et d'agir, d'agir dans le but commun, donc je ne sais pas si tu comprends bien le but commun. Par exemple chez nous, si tu travaille et que tu reçois un salaire, ce n'est pas pour toi. Tu va

partager avec tout le monde. Mais ici, tu dis 'ma', 'mon' argent, 'mes' enfants, mais chez nous se sont les enfants de la famille. C'est l'argent, on dit, voila il me manque de l'argent, quelqu'un vient, même le voisin, mon enfant est malade j'ai besoin d'argent, tu lui donne de l'argent. Pas parce qu'il va te rembourser, mais parce qu'il a un enfant malade et que tu as l'obligation de contribuer. Voila. C'est ce qui est changé.

[A] big change, that is to say that people, the way of thinking and acting, acting toward the common good, so I don't know if you understand the common good. For example back home, if you work and you receive a salary, it's not for you. You will share with everyone. But here, you say 'my', 'my' money, 'my' children, but back home they are the children of the family. It's the money, we say, ok I need money, someone comes, even the neighbour, my child is sick I need money, you give him money. Not because he will pay you back, but because he has a sick child and you have the obligation to contribute. There. That's what has changed.

Not only had her transition from a collective to an individual society influenced how Danielle saw herself, it had also influenced her outlook on life. She emphasized that part of what made integration "trop difficile" [too difficult] was the effect it could have on how one saw things. She explained that even if people felt rich, upon arriving in a new country, they became the poorest in the world because they had to start all over. She said she felt alienated from society as a result, and had given up on the idea that the 'grass may be greener' elsewhere. She said that she had originally thought other places might be better than her home country, but that after migrating she had realized that all places have their problems.

These examples highlight not only how moving from one place to another, each characterized by differences in fields of practice and habitus, can influence one's occupational engagement, and by extension one's identity; they also serve to highlight how, reciprocally, a change to one's identity also influences one's occupations. As suggested above, participants recognized differences between their home and host societies through occupation. Ultimately, as participants became aware of formerly taken-for-granted aspects of habitus and its lack of fit

within their new context, their performance of daily occupations was altered. The following sub-section addresses this further by exploring how participants negotiated the transitions they experienced and worked toward integration within various fields of practice.

5.4.1 Voicing the unspoken and taken-for-granted

Recognizing differences in habitus, including different ways of doing within Canadian fields of practice, was described by the participants as mainly occurring in two different ways. The first was through their observation of, and interaction with others within the host society. As they noticed people engaging in occupation differently than they themselves would, this led to their increased awareness of their own habitus and the different habitus of others. The second was through their own engagement in occupation, which embedded within a different context, led them to do things in a different way, or to do different things. These two together, both seeing others do differently, and not being able to engage in all occupations as they once had, challenged the participants' own ways of doing.

In relation to the participants' observation of, and interaction with others, they gave examples of peoples' different ways of doing in Canada. Khalil explained that in his society, and in places where he had travelled, people tended to be more concerned with their public appearance than in Canada. He described the 'laissez faire' attitude of people in London who were not overly concerned with their dress or the way they walked. This differed from his home country where people were more likely to be "tirer à quatres épingles" [fashionable]. He also noticed that people ate in public and described his shock upon seeing a women eat a cucumber while riding public transit. This would be unacceptable in his home country where it was considered indecent to eat in front of others unless one was able to share because those in the vicinity could be hungry:

Donc c'est un peu différent. Donc ça nous avait, ça nous a marqué, ça nous marque encore. Ça nous marque encore de voir ce genre

de comportement. Nous on mange rarement comme ça dans le bus. Déjà dans notre société avant de venir, il est un peu indécent de manger en publique, pourquoi, parce que, il y a des gens qui peut-être ne possède pas la chose que tu as.

So it's a bit different. So that had, it struck us, it still strikes us. It still strikes us to see that type of behaviour. We rarely eat like that on the bus. Already in our society before coming, it is a bit indecent to eat in public, why, because, there are people that maybe don't possess the thing that you have.

While Khalil still does not eat in public, these observations led to his realization that others do things differently here. Such observations may cause newcomers to be unsure of what is considered an appropriate performance within a particular context, and may also lead them to alter how they perform as they recognize such differences. Gilberto also described how he began to reflect upon his habitus as a result of his experiences with others.

Gilberto was born and raised in a country where 'machismo' was a social norm and this became a characteristic of his habitus. He explained that from the time he was a young boy he was taught to respect women, which included offering them his seat on a bus, or holding doors open for them. Yet, this type of gendered behaviour received a different reaction from some of the women in Canada than he was used to back home. Once upon offering his seat on a bus he said that a woman shouted at him that she was not old and could remain standing. He also told me about his female classmates explaining to him that he did not always have to hold the door open for them and that they were capable of doing it themselves. He replied that his action was one of respect and was not based on an assumption that they were incapable. However, he used these examples to explain that it is through such 'simple' occupations that migrants begin to learn the more complex social rules of the host country: "[...] c'est des choses qu'on apprend. C'est des choses simples, mais par la simplicité qu'on apprend de les autres règles plus complexe que ça." "[...] these are things that we learn. They are simple things, but by their simplicity that we learn about the other rules that are more complex like that.]

In relation to the participants' altered occupations, they described a number of examples highlighting differences in the way in which they engaged in occupations here as compared to other places they have lived. This included things they used to take for granted that had since changed. Halima described many examples of shifts in the way she engaged in particular occupations. For instance, while she continued to engage in many of the same reproductive occupations she did in her home country, such as cooking, differences in the availability of particular ingredients impacted how she shopped for food and prepared it. While she still cooked traditional meals, she also purchased more frozen foods (e.g. pizza) that required far less preparation. One of the biggest differences she cited was the stores' shorter hours of operation. Coming from a capital city where things were open into the night, she emphasized how bored she was in London where stores closed much sooner, especially on weekends:

Au début c'était vraiment ennuyant pour moi parce que c'est totalement différent de, de la société que je suis, que j'ai venue. Parce que, c'est, je viens du capital, c'est la lumière, c'est la vie, tout ça. Mais ici c'est tout, c'est calme, c'est ah, tout finit à 6h00 et, alors c'est vraiment différent.

In the beginning it was really boring for me because it's totally different from, from the society that I am, that I came from. Because, it's, I come from the capital, it's light, it's life, all that. But here it's all, it's calm, it's ah, everything finishes at 6:00, and so it's really different.

Some of the changes her family experienced were also related to their religious practice of Islam. For instance, she explained that prayers are scheduled in relation to the sun, and that the longer summer days and winter nights impacted when she prayed. Coming from a place where daylight hours did not differ markedly throughout the year, she found it difficult to stay up later during Canadian summers for the last daily prayer. This also affected her practice of fasting from sunrise to sunset during Ramadan, which became increasingly difficult when occurring in the summer. In having to change the way she did things in Canada as compared to her home country, Halima began to realize implicit characteristics of her habitus. While she continued to engage in similar

occupations (e.g. prayer), due to the shift she experienced in where the occupation takes place as a result of migration, the taken-for-granted nature of when and how particular occupations are engaged in had to be altered within her changed setting.

Like Halima, Danielle felt that time was especially valuable in winter when the days were short as compared to the nights. Yet, while Halima addressed differences in the physical nature of time (e.g. shifting daylight hours), Danielle highlighted its more symbolic nature, explaining how time is accorded a different value in different places. She described time as being 'elastic' in her home country, whereas she deemed it to be "trop cher" [too valuable] here. She noted that all things in Canada seem to follow a particular rhythm and stated that if people did not follow it they became lost. Marie echoed the sentiment that time is prioritized in Canada. When I asked her how her lifestyle had changed as compared to her home country, she stated: "ici tout est chronométré. C'est tout à la montre. C'est ça qui est plus stressant. C'est ça. C'est trop stressant. Tu te réveille tu sais qu'à 7h00 je fais ceci je fais cela. Donc une fois raté là, c'est fini." [Everything here is timed. It's all by the watch. That's what is the most stressful. That's it. It's too stressful. You wake up you know that at 7:00 I will do this I will do that. So once you fall behind, it's over.]. Again, while participants likely did not reflect on the nature of time within their home countries, their experiences of migration and integration led to their awareness that a once taken-for-granted aspect of daily life differed between places and ultimately affected their engagement in occupation.

While participants continued to engage in similar occupations, albeit in different ways, they also engaged in different occupations as a result of migration. For instance, both Danielle and Rose had staff in their home countries that assisted with 'domestic' responsibilities. While they remained responsible for managing this staff, their engagement in reproductive occupations was limited. However, upon moving to Canada, these women no longer had assistance. While Danielle

said she and her husband divided household tasks according to their particular strengths and interests, Rose now lived alone with her child and became responsible for all:

[...] on était comme des boss. Tu vois? Tu as ta maison, tu as des gens qui vivent avec toi, et tu as des gens qui travaillent pour toi. Tandis qu'ici à London je ne sais pas si je peux appeler quelqu'un pour venir travailler chez moi. Oui. Donc, je fais tout. Je fais tout, toute seule. Je fais la vaisselle, j'arrange la maison, je balaie, je passe l'aspirateur, alors que à [ville] je, ce sont des choses que, je ne fessais pas la vaisselle, je ne passais pas l'aspirateur, donc ce sont des choses que les gens qu'on payait, les domestiques pouvait faire ça.

[...] we were like bosses. You see? You have your house, you have people that live with you, and you have people that work for you. Whereas here in London I don't know if I can call someone to come work at my house. Yes. So, I do everything. I do everything, all alone. I do the dishes, I arrange the house, I sweep, I vacuum, whereas in [city] I, those were things that, I didn't do the dishes, I didn't vacuum, so those are things that the people we paid, the staff could do that.

Participants became increasingly aware of differences in fields and habitus and began to voice the unspoken and taken-for-granted characteristics of these by highlighting their observations and experiences within Canada. They further described a process of first having to learn how things work in the host society so that they could eventually perform according to the rules characterizing the fields of practice within the places where their occupations occurred.

5.5 Learning 'how things work'

Given the variety of transitions immigrants experience, the participants discussed how negotiating these entailed having to learn 'how things work' within their host communities in order to move toward integration. Makane had been in Canada approximately ten years and discussed this process at length citing a number of examples. He explained that initially within his workplace he had to learn how to "marcher sur des œufs sans les briser" [walk on eggs without breaking them], and that while he was now more used to the situation, he continued to find his job

frustrating and stressful. He said that the most simple and mundane things were the most difficult here, and that taking things lightly and making assumptions about what seemed perfectly natural to him could end up causing him problems. He argued that learning the subtleties of Canadian life, including everyday occupation, was essential to integration:

Tu ne peux pas réussir ici si tu ne veux pas, c'est un langage universel, un langage commun que tout le monde parle, tu dois parler ça, c'est des façons de faire, [...]. Le Canada c'est, les gens sont tellement, ils sont ouverts, ils acceptent tout le monde mais, [...] il faut que tu fasses une rétroaction dans tout ce que tu fais. Dans ton inconscient il faut dire oh, peut-être il y a d'autres façon de faire, [...] si tu ne commence pas, ils vont jamais te le dire. Ils vont te laisser dans ton petit monde.

You can't succeed here if you don't want to, it's a universal language, a common language that everyone speaks, you have to speak it, there are ways of doing, [...]. Canada is, the people are so, they are open, they accept everyone but, [...] you have to reflect on everything that you do. In your unconscious you have to say oh, maybe there are other ways of doing, [...] if you don't start, they will never tell you. They will leave you in your little world.

Makane argued that while people come to Canada with knowledge and skills, and that their credentials should be recognized, newcomers still have much to learn in terms of the unwritten social rules of their fields of practice. He also emphasized that newcomers had to take it upon themselves to learn, and described the process as related to “reflexes naturels de survie” [natural instincts of survival] based on learning from one's mistakes. Using stronger language, he described integration as a form of ‘jihad’ upon oneself, whereby rather than make excuses for why he would not be able to succeed, he sacrificed himself to do what was necessary in order to find a job that provided stability for his family. While Makane had to perform accordingly within particular fields (e.g. workplace), this was not a simple process of learning to act Canadian. As occupation is reciprocally related to identity, shifting one's occupational performance to suit a given context also entails a more fundamental alteration of one's habitus. A negotiation occurs as newcomers may no longer innately know how to perform,

and therefore have to reflect upon their naturalized dispositions prior to engaging in occupation.

Gilberto explained that learning the 'rules' in Canada helped him to marry his 'habits and culture' to those of people here. He gave the example of social visits between friends, stating that here friends may invite people over, but may tell them that they can only stay until a certain time because they have something else planned for afterwards. He said that he was not used to this in his country, but it was something that he was becoming accustomed to. He explained that learning these rules was a continual process, that newcomers could not predict what would happen and that they learned every day. He also referred to how changes in his identity related to this learning process:

On veut changer, on peut ne pas changer le monde, on peut ne pas changer la pensée des autres, mais on peut faire un changement dans nous même puis, avec l'exemple, on peut aider les autres aussi. Bon, j'ai fait ça, et, je veux pas dire, bon je suis un exemple pour toi, pour faire suite, mais quand même, on peut montrer les autres les changements on peut les faire, et que c'est pas quelque chose qui est, qu'on est interdit de faire.

We want to change, we can't change people, we can't change the thoughts of others, but we can make a change in ourselves and, with the example, we can help others too. So, I did that, and, I don't mean, well I am an example for you, to follow, but still, we can show others that we can make changes, and that it's not something that is, that we're restricted from doing.

Marie's example further illustrates how learning social rules occurs in part through engagement in occupation. While she had worked in the health sector in her home country, prior to obtaining credential recognition within Canada she worked in a retail job while living in Montreal. She had to become familiar with Canadian currency as she worked the cash register, and quickly learned that even if the store was not busy she had to remain occupied. This differed from what she was used to back home:

[C]'était difficile travailler huit heures d'affiler, rester debout longtemps, puisque dans mon pays ce n'est pas comme ça. Ici le travail c'est rester debout du début à la fin, [...] j'ai trouvé ça trop

difficile, donc tu ne peux pas t'asseoir même si il n'y a pas de clients. Ça ça là été aussi une nouvelle expérience pour moi.

[I]t was difficult to work eight hours straight, staying on your feet for a long time, since in my country it's not like that. Here the work staying on your feet from the beginning to the end, [...] I found that too difficult, so you can't sit down even if there aren't any customers. That was also a new experience for me.

While the examples cited by Makane, Gilberto and Marie indicate that learning social norms is in part experienced as an individual process that takes place over time, Danielle felt this process could be made easier if the unspoken rules were made more explicit to immigrants upon their arrival. She described the experience of 'not knowing what she did not know' and of simply doing what the group who welcomed her did, or by extension, did not do. This came to the forefront when I asked her if she had used settlement services upon her arrival. Given that her husband's migration had preceded her own and that he already had a social network established, she joined this group and ultimately bypassed available settlement services that newcomers without such connections may access. She said that newcomers could "se perdre dans la masse" [become lost in the crowd] this way, just living life without fully being aware of all that is available. It took her years to realize that there were different services she could have used throughout her integration process. As a result, she felt that there should be a system in place to initiate newcomers to all 'forms of life' in Canada:

[O]n devrait donner des cours, sur tout ce qui est en relation avec la vie Canadienne. Voilà comment on vie, les hommes vivent comme ça, chez nous, si chez nous si j'avais l'habitude, si j'étais un homme par exemple. Si j'avais l'habitude de taper ma femme et que j'arrive ici, si elle va parler je la tape. Et puis je vais voir la police chez moi se présenter [...]. Voilà, on devrait avoir des cours sur la vie, de n'importe lequel champ. Voilà. Quand on est marié, c'est ça. Quand on a des enfants, c'est ça. Les enfants doivent faire ça. [...] Des cours sur la vie de chaque jour.

[W]e should give courses, on everything that is in relation to Canadian life. This is how we live, the men live like this, back home, if back home if I had the habit, if I was a man for example. If I had the habit of hitting my wife and I arrive here, if she talks I hit her.

And I will see the police present themselves at my house [...]. There, we should have courses on life, in no matter what field. There. When we are married, it's this. When we have children, it's that. The children must do this. [...] Courses on daily life.

While this may not necessarily be an ideal solution given that it may emphasize dominant ways of doing and being and further marginalize alternative ways of engaging in occupation, Danielle's comment highlights the frustration faced by newcomers in deciphering what may already be self-evident or taken-for-granted to many Canadians as a result of their habitus. As implicit social rules are not made explicit to newcomers upon arrival, their integration is a complex process that entails becoming aware of differences in fields and habitus following migration, in part through engaging in occupation, and beginning to learn how things work as they start over in their new contexts. The following section explores how this learning process informs the negotiation of their performances of occupation and identity within particular places.

5.5.1 Negotiating performance

As newcomers navigate the transitions they experience following migration and work toward integration, what was particularly striking about the participants' description of this process was their sense of insecurity or uncertainty in regard to the way they performed their occupations, and by extension, their identities within particular settings. Many were uncertain not only about how to act within particular situations (e.g. how to 'be'), but were also unsure of how others would behave, or how others would perceive them. Thus, as they moved and were located within different fields of practice, they lost the stability and predictability associated with habitus that had guided their performances back home. This is essential to consider when drawing on both Goffman and Bourdieu. One's habitus, while individual in nature, is not synonymous with 'agency'. Rather, it is one's embodiment of structure (field) that becomes enacted through one's dispositions. Because it is developed over time, habitus is not immediately alterable when people change contexts. Thus, people must alter their

performances in order to manage the impressions they seek to make until the taken-for-granted aspects of the host society are learned and begin to feel natural to them, if ever. Ultimately, the performance of one's identity may no longer be innate as it was prior to migration, given the resulting transition to new fields of practice.

Makane's experience provided an ideal example for illustrating this point. Despite having been in Canada longer than any of the other participants, and who by some standards might be considered successfully integrated (e.g. owned a home, had a full time job, owned a car, was functionally bilingual in both official languages), Makane still did not fully feel he belonged here. Having moved to Canada from Eastern Europe, he described how much more comfortable he felt with people from that area who shared his same habitus:

[F]ranchement, je comprends, l'homme de l'Europe de l'est, après un mot, deux ou trois, je peux deviner la suite ou je vais en venir. Je peux extrapoler avec un certain degré de, une probabilité très élevé qu'est ce qu'il veut dire. Tu sais, mais, les gens d'ici, d'ici, ah, je ne suis pas très sûr sur mes façons d'agir, de faire, de parler. Si c'est la façon de faire à leur façon, je ne suis pas sûr. À 90, plus que 90% je ne suis pas sûr.

[F]rankly, I understand, the man from Eastern Europe, after a word, two or three, I can guess the rest or I will come to it. I can extrapolate with a certain degree of, a very high probability what he means. You know, but, the people from here, from here, ah, I'm not very sure of my way of acting, of doing, of talking. If it's the way of doing in their way, I'm not sure. At 90, more than 90% I'm not sure.

He gave the example of a potluck barbeque dinner organized by co-workers, in which everyone was to bring their own meat to grill and beverages to drink. He described this practice as 'culturally incomprehensible' from his point of view, whereby the host should either provide the food and drink, or as a collective, those attending could contribute money to purchase food and drink for the festivity. The idea of bringing his own food to someone else's home was not a part of his habitus. As a result of feeling out of place and not always being certain of how to appropriately perform, he did not attend all work functions. Yet, unable

to avoid all social situations where he may be uncomfortable, he did emphasize the need to learn to perform appropriately within particular contexts (e.g. workplace) and to a certain extent did so by “agir comme ils agissent et non comment tu perçois les choses.” [acting how they act and not how you perceive things.]. By trying to function in this way, he explained that he was always looking back to evaluate his actions and questioning his way of doing. As a result, he argued that he did not see a situation in which he could not adapt himself. Placing the onus on himself to adapt reflected his argument that people can act on themselves but not on others and that it is easier to change one’s own behaviour than to change that of others’.

Like Makane, Paul viewed himself as adaptable to different situations. He felt this was advantageous to his integration because he described himself as being able to live in a variety of situations: “je m’adapte, je ne suis pas exigeant, je m’adapte selon le lieu, même au [pays], parce que, j’ai des amis, de très bonnes positions, et puis je n’ai pas oublié aussi la petite communauté là, donc, de temps en temps, je sais m’accorder.” [I adapt, I am not exacting, I adapt according to the place, even in [country], because, I have friends, in very good positions, and I didn’t forget also the little community there, from time to time, I will get along.]. He felt that his past experiences of having performed within varied fields of practice to a certain extent enabled his ability to adapt his performances within Canada. These examples reflect Goffman’s argument that people tend to perform according to social norms and dominant discourses in order to manage other people’s impressions of them. As suggested by Makane’s example of the potluck, however, impression management becomes increasingly difficult when one is unfamiliar with the host society’s norms and discourses (i.e. ‘scripts’) for expected and appropriate performances.

While some participants, such as Makane and Paul, took it upon themselves to alter their performances in order to reflect the expectations of others, Halima seemed to approach the idea of impression management differently. She hoped

the way she performed her identity would change the impressions that others had of her. She emphasized this point in relation to her practice of veiling. For instance, while she insisted that most people were very polite toward her, she did feel that her niqab was a primary obstacle to her labour force integration:

Tu ne vas pas trouver un travail. Parce que tu sais, quand j'ai fait une entrevue au [employeur possible], je n'étais pas seul, il y a beaucoup de candidats avec moi. J'ai vue, quand tu compare, pourquoi il va choisir une femme avec tout noir comme ça, et c'était la position de secrétaire, réceptionniste. Pourquoi il va choisir ah, il y a d'autre avec des cheveux, du make-up et tout ça, pourquoi ils vont choisir ça.

You won't find a job. Because you know, when I had an interview at [potential employer], I wasn't alone, there were a lot of candidates with me. I saw, when you compare, why will they choose a woman with all black like that, and it was the position of secretary, receptionist. Why would they choose ah, there are others with hair, makeup and all that, why would they choose this.

Yet, rather than removing her niqab to fit the dominant characteristics of a model employee, she sought to challenge how veiled women are categorized. She told me she insisted on setting a good example on a daily basis in order to help change people's perceptions of Muslims. For instance, she described being in a store when someone's child pointed at her and called her a ninja, saying that people are often initially shocked by her appearance. She went on to explain that once she began communicating with people and showed them that she was 'normal' just like everyone else, it 'opened doors' with people. She further stressed that this was an especially important role for her, given that she was in the minority as a fully veiled woman.

While the participants performed in particular ways to manage the impressions they made in Canadian society, they also had to contend with changes to the way they were perceived by those they left behind. For instance, some of their family members abroad had made comments about the change in jobs the participants experienced in Canada, as many were still struggling to secure full-time employment despite having had successful careers back home. Marie

explained that the experience of migration can create a distance, not just geographically, but also personally between people:

Même avec des amis aussi, tu les appelle, tu sens qu'il y a un grand écart, un grand changement. [...] donc tes ambitions ou ton mode de fonctionnement, tu vois qu'il y a vraiment un grand changement [...], surtout par rapport à mes amis qui sont resté là. Ou même aux amis qui sont ici, ça dépend vraiment des endroits que tu fréquente. Donc l'influence du milieu ça joue beaucoup.

Even with friends too, you call them, you feel that there is a big divide, a big change. [...] so your ambitions or your mode of functioning, you see there is really a big change [...], especially in regard to my friends that stayed there. Or even my friends that are here, it really depends on the places that you frequent. So the influence of place is really important.

Some also performed in particular ways during their interactions with family members or friends abroad in order to manage such shifting impressions.

Gilberto mentioned that he did not tell his family the 'whole truth' about his experiences in Canada. For instance, he might tell them he was employed, but would not specify whether it was a full-time or part-time job. He explained that it was difficult for people abroad to understand the challenges newcomers faced and that if he discussed these, they might simply encourage him to return home where his life had been more stable. However, were he ever to return home, he did not want this upheaval of his life resulting from migration to be in vain:

[J]e déménage au Canada, puis là, je suis au Canada, je ne peux pas dire, ok là j'étais ici un an, je vais retourner dans mon pays. J'ai dit non, j'ai laissé mon travail, j'ai vendu toute mes choses, j'ai laissé beaucoup de choses là-bas, et je ne peux pas dire, ok, ça me convient pas le pays, ça me convient pas la langue, ça me convient pas rien ici, je retourne dans mon pays. [...] J'ai dit, je ne peux pas faire ça. Au moins je veux retourner avec ah, des études ou au moins avec l'argent.

I am moving to Canada, and now, I am in Canada, I cannot say, ok now I've been here a year, I will return to my country. I said no, I left my work, I sold all my things, I left a lot of things there, and I cannot say, ok, this country doesn't suit me, the language doesn't suit me, nothing here is for me, I'm going back to my country. [...] I

said, I cannot do that. I want to return with at least ah, some education or at least with money.

As will be discussed in the following sections, the way people are categorized during social interactions is not fully within their control, despite their efforts to manage the impressions they make through their performances. As Gilberto's comment suggests, people's social and personal identities are also connected to their various forms of capital.

5.6 Capital loss and acquisition

To a certain extent migration entails a loss of capital as one moves from one country to another, and working toward integration entails reacquiring capital. As will be further explained below, Bourdieu differentiates between two primary types of capital, economic and symbolic. While economic capital, as its name suggests, refers to monetary exchange, symbolic capital refers to a broader range of non-monetary asset types, such as cultural and social capital (Moore, 2008; Thomson, 2008). What frustrated some participants following their migration was that they still retained their previously acquired capital; yet that capital had lost its value within Canada. For instance, if newcomers' previous university education is unrecognized in Canada, though they still have the degree and associated knowledge and skills, their educational capital resulting from that degree is lost. This was the experience of Makane who held a doctoral degree and was told he would require four years of university education in Canada to enter the teaching profession, despite having already taught in his home country. Thus, the process of integration entailed replacing what capital was lost as a result of migration (e.g. one's credentials). While I categorize my discussion of capital according to three main forms - economic, symbolic, and linguistic (a form of symbolic capital) - it should be noted that these are interrelated. For instance, enacting symbolic capital (e.g. credentials) in order to acquire economic capital (e.g. income) may require linguistic capital (e.g. fluency in a particular language). Thus, participants seeking to learn English (i.e.

acquiring linguistic capital) often did so to enable additional capital acquisition, such as securing paid employment. Further, participants described how the process of capital acquisition, like that of integration, occurred within and across different fields, so that the capital required to integrate into the economic field may differ from that necessary to integrate into the socio-cultural field.

5.6.1 Economic capital

Some participants explained that part of the stress associated with integration related to the insecure financial situation many experienced during this process. Among other factors, some participants underestimated the cost of living, or took longer to find employment than expected. Halima described the financial stress faced by her family. They came with their savings and knew her husband would have to be re-accredited to work in his regulated profession. However, based on the advice of a friend, they moved into an apartment where the rent was higher than what they ultimately wished to be paying. Finding a job to sustain the family while he worked to rebuild his career also proved more difficult than her husband expected and their money was beginning to run short. She further emphasized that moving from a 'developing' to a 'developed' country was challenging, in part due to the currency exchange rate. While her extended family had sent money to help them through their transitional period, she gave the example that if they saved a substantial sum of \$4,000 back home, once exchanged in Canada it only left them with approximately \$800, which did not even cover their monthly rent.

Another participant also described the financial difficulty she was experiencing related to a number of factors. After leaving an abusive relationship she was left without adequate financial support, which caused her much stress. She received approximately \$300 on social assistance but paid \$600 in rent with additional expenses for electricity, transportation, child care, and food, among others: "c'était trop, c'était trop et je n'ai pas reçu d'aide là, c'est révoltant." [it was too much, it was too much and I didn't receive help there, it's revolting.]. These

examples indicate how a shortage of economic capital can limit one's possibilities for acquiring additional forms of capital, and in turn pose challenges to engaging in the occupations that such capital enables.

5.6.2 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital was described above as encompassing assets that are not financial in form. Despite this, Bourdieu explains how various types of symbolic capital (e.g. competencies, qualifications) can nonetheless be accumulated and exchanged within particular fields enabling the realization of specific forms of power. Moore (2008) elaborates on Bourdieu's connection between power, and capital possession and acquisition:

The inequalities associated with cultural capital reflect inequalities in capacities to acquire capital which themselves reflect prior inequalities in the possession of cultural capital. There are two distinctive features that affect the manner in which forms of symbolic capital can be acquired. The first, from the point of view of acquisition, is that they cannot be divorced from the person (they presuppose embodiment), and the second is that they can only be acquired over time (they presuppose duration). (p. 109-110)

The notion that capital is embodied suggests that similar forms of capital do not necessarily have similar 'currency' in that the bearer of capital influences its value. This is important to consider in relation to identity markers, as both Goffman and Bourdieu argue that people are categorized during social interactions according to these markers. As the relationship between varying markers of identity, particularly those of language, race, and gender is discussed in the following section, it is important to recognize that newcomers may face particular challenges to acquiring and enacting capital given their minority status according to a variety of markers within the host society (e.g. language, race).

The participants addressed various forms of symbolic capital, including linguistic, which will be specifically addressed in the following sub-section due to its particular importance for this research on FMCs. In addition to language however, the issue of credential recognition, or lack thereof, was raised by most

participants. All participants arrived in Canada with post-secondary education but none were working within their field of training. While some acknowledged the need to learn the particularities of specific jobs within Canada, many argued that beginning their education 'from scratch' was a waste of their time, money and energy. Marie, who worked in the health field within her home country, had broad ranging responsibilities and a diversity of experience. She was negatively impacted by an error in her credential assessment that limited her opportunities for employment. She explained her frustration that a mistake in paper work restricted her from doing what she was capable of, and given that her profession was regulated, she could not be hired without being accredited in order to demonstrate her capabilities on the job:

[C]'est difficile puisque on n'a pas le même system d'éducation [...]. Par rapport à vos études, alors je ne sais pas exactement où me situer, mais moi je déplore puisque ils ne prennent pas le temps. On peut être compétente, mais on ne sait donc on ne veut pas te mettre sur le terrain pour voir tes capacités, tes compétences, et par rapport aux cours que tu as fais.

[I]t's difficult since we don't have the same education system [...]. Compared to your studies, so I don't know exactly where to situate myself, but I deplore since they don't take the time. You can be competent, but they don't know so they won't put you in the field to see your capacities, your competencies, and as compared to the courses that you took.

The experience of deskilling, especially for those who entered Canada under the skilled worker category, seemed contradictory to the emphasis placed on successful integration (e.g. focus on productive occupation and contribution). Danielle was particularly critical of the lack of recognition of foreign credentials and work experience within Canada. Using the often cited example of 'doctors driving taxis', she argued that migrants themselves, and society in general, cannot benefit from migrants' skills if these go unrecognized. She went on to critique the vicious cycle experienced by migrants attempting to enter the labour market:

Il y a un problème ici qui est contradictoire, qui contredit ce qu'il devrait ce faire. L'expérience, d'abord tu dis avoir l'expérience, et

puis avoir un emploi. Et puis l'emploi, alors que pour avoir cet expérience et pour avoir cet emploi il faut que tu aies des recommandations. Des recommandations des employeurs. Quel employeurs si personne ne veut t'engager comme travailleur? Il devrait y avoir des emplois pour les, the beginners.

There is a problem here that is contradictory, that contradicts what should be done. The experience, first you say to have experience, and then have a job. And the job, while to get that experience and to get that job you have to have references. References from employers. What employers if no one wants to hire you as a worker? There should be jobs for the, the beginners.

Rose also addressed this issue, explaining that once she learned she would have to begin her education over again, she chose instead to seek employment. Yet this proved difficult for her as she was often asked if she had any 'Canadian experience' and this 'requirement' of many employers was an important barrier to her labour force integration. For some, volunteering became a means of attempting to work toward capital acquisition and a bridge to employment. Rose described how she began volunteering for community organizations upon her arrival in London and this helped her to become better known within the community, which she felt was easier here than in Montreal where the Francophone community was much larger. This also highlights the temporal characteristic of capital acquisition noted above.

Most participants further expressed frustration at not being able to find employment similar to what they had in their home countries, nor congruent with their skills and education even if in a different field. In addition to the need for economic capital acquired primarily through engagement in productive employment, which was emphasized by all participants, was the contribution of meaningful work to one's identity. The effect of losing this particular form of occupation upon one's social and personal identity was especially stressed by two of the male respondents, Khalil and Makane. Khalil discussed his transition from a successful career back home, to a part-time job unrelated to his profession in Canada. While initially holding out hope that he might secure

employment similar to what he held prior to migration, he had since altered his expectations. He explained that there were not a lot of available opportunities within his profession and while he never imagined himself doing anything else, he had since had to 'lower the bar' and settle for less. This was further impacted by his language skills, again highlighting the connection between varying forms of capital, as the number of opportunities to work within his field in French was especially limited in Canada, and non-existent within London. When I asked whether he expected to regain the same status he had back home he replied:

J'aurai aimé mais maintenant, tu sais, quand, quand, t'arrive, tu as des idées, il y a une réalité en face de toi, tu es obligé d'adapter tes idées à cette réalité, parce que cette réalité tu ne peux pas la changer. Je ne peux pas changer le Canada pour qu'on m'offre le même poste. S'il n'y en a pas ici, j'aurai voulu rester dans la spécialité, dans mon domaine. Mais bon là, il faut un petit peu baisser la barre. Et se dire bon, essayons de trouver quelque chose de respectable.

I would have liked. I would have liked but now, you know, when, when, you arrive, you have ideas, there is a reality before you, you are obligated to adapt your ideas to that reality, because you cannot change that reality. I can't change Canada so that I will be offered the same position. If there aren't any here, I would have wanted to stay in the specialty, in my field. But well, you have to lower the bar a bit. And tell yourself well, let's try to find something respectable.

He stressed that this shift in his approach to employment was not easy for him and occurred over time as his attempts to obtain opportunities in his field were continually unsuccessful. He described how experiencing an abrupt end to a successful 20 year career impacted him, in part because of the loss of 'status' this shift entailed. This highlights the connection between occupation and social identity. However it was not only the change from his past that bothered him, it was also the uncertainty a lack of meaningful occupation posed for his future. He stated that 'idleness is the mother of all vices' because it could lead to problems such as alcohol use, and that having nothing to do caused his morale to 'fall to zero'. Despite not being able to recreate his past career in Canada, as illustrated

in the quotation above, he nevertheless sought meaningful and routine occupational engagement to address this transition.

Makane further situated the connection of employment to identity within a Canadian context. He explained that in an ideal world it would be nice to do what one likes, but that because the world is not ideal, people have to do what is necessary to achieve their goals. Using his own life as an example, he stated that having a mortgage, having children, having brothers and friends, led him to work toward achieving a certain social image and personal financial security. These were described as more important to him than “just doing what you like” (stated in English during the interview and not translated). This also reflected his belief that people are defined in Canada by their jobs:

Qui êtes-vous, quel travail, c'est des petites, des petites questions, ça mets toute la lumière de qui tu es, ça passe par ça. Si tu veux dire je suis un chômeur ou, je suis un sans-abri, tout de suite, je pense pas que il y a quelqu'un qui va te prendre à la même hauteur si tu dis, oh je suis un docteur, un infirmier ou je suis un balayeur, tu n'es pas perçu de la même manière. So l'intégration c'est quelque chose qui passe obligatoirement par, par l'emploi.

Who are you, what job, they're little, little questions, it puts all the light of who you are, it passes through that. If you want to say you are on welfare or, I am homeless, right away, I don't think there is someone that will take you at the same level if you say, oh I am a doctor, a nurse or I am a cleaner, you are not perceived in the same way. So integration is something that necessarily happens through, through employment.

Makane's comments help illustrate that capital is related to one's identity, especially according to particular markers. He also gave the example that a university degree in business will do more for a man that is Caucasian than for a man who is not because he argued that the labour market is different for visible minorities. Thus, simply acquiring capital may not be enough to ensure successful integration for newcomers from visible minority groups. Conversely however, he did feel that while visible minorities may not have equal opportunities in all fields, if one did acquire skills strategically (e.g. in professions

where there was a labour shortage) they would be able to find jobs. Indeed, such an approach entails the acquisition of particular forms of capital that are believed to promote integration. Further discussion of race and gender is included in the following section (5.7). Given that the participants were all French-speakers living within an FMC, they all discussed the importance of language. For many, acquiring linguistic capital (i.e. English language skills) was viewed as essential for their integration because it enabled occupations within a number of places where French language skills did not.

5.6.3 Linguistic capital

As the term 'Francophone *minority* community' suggests, French and English communities are not evenly weighted and distributed throughout Canada. Considering language as a specific form of symbolic capital within such a context highlights the importance of spatial considerations. It may be assumed for instance, that French would be a more powerful form of linguistic capital in particular places (e.g. Quebec), while that capital may be lost in other places (e.g. Ontario). However, considering particular occupations and fields of practice within these places is also important. For instance, while English language skills are necessary to engage in most daily occupations and social interactions within London, French language skills may also serve as an additional form of capital for particular occupations within the city. Also, as addressed in the introductory chapter, issues such as the proportion of Francophones within a particular region may further influence the experience of French-speakers within specific places. Ultimately, linguistic capital is not uniform throughout the country. The 'value' of one's skills in either official language is influenced by the specific spatial context within which one is embedded, as well as the occupations they seek to engage in within particular places and fields of practice.

The transitions experienced when moving from one place and its fields to another is thereby affected by the dominant language within those places. For instance, some participants moved from a country where French was not the

official language, and while they spoke French, they more often used their mother tongue prior to migrating. Some of these participants then initially settled in Quebec where the dominant language is French, and then later moved to London where the dominant language is English. The need to use a particular language to engage in occupation within particular places added to the challenges of integration for many participants. While Marie was fluent in French and French was the official language in her home country, she nonetheless faced challenges related to language upon working in a retail position in Quebec. She explained that she had difficulty understanding the local accent and knew that the clientele also had difficulty understanding her. She described being polite and smiling despite not always knowing what was said during an interaction. The difference in spoken French was also an obstacle for Gilberto who came from a Spanish-speaking country and had learned French in school but did not use it on a regular basis back home. He described how learning French in a classroom differed from speaking it with people on the street. He struggled with how quickly people spoke in Quebec, and with their use of colloquial words that were unfamiliar to him.

Gilberto also learned that despite being a French-speaker in a Francophone province, he would have to be able to speak English to work within his desired profession in Montreal. This seemed contradictory to him given his settlement experiences within Quebec:

[A]u début quand on a, est arrivé ici, au Canada, on sentait comme poussé à parler le français comme, je ne veux pas dire obligé, mais c'était ce que on était comme bombardé par, à les écoles au, comme nouveaux arrivants, ici tu dois apprendre, le français c'est la langue maternelle ici, c'est la première langue ici au Québec, tu dois parler le français. Et puis, quand je me suis trouvé dans ce moment là, dans cette entrevue qu'ils me disaient que je devrais parler l'anglais, j'ai dit bon ah, c'est une nouvelle, ce n'est pas une nouvelle barrière, mais c'est une nouvelle chose à franchir.

[I]n the beginning when we, arrived here, in Canada, we felt like pushed to speak French like, I don't want to say obligated, but it was that we were bombarded by, in the schools too, as

newcomers, here you have to learn, French is the mother tongue here, it's the first language here in Quebec, you have to speak French. And then, when I found myself in that moment, in that interview where they were telling me that I should speak English, I said well ah, it's a new, it's not a new barrier, but it's a new thing to overcome.

He explained that language was the most important challenge to integration he had to surmount. Marie cited similar experiences, explaining that she had failed to obtain several jobs in Montreal due to her lack of English skills. She said she realized that in North America if she did not speak English she would always face difficulties. She argued that while Quebec upheld itself as a Francophone province, when one sought employment, even if in a Francophone environment, Anglophones were privileged. Ultimately, she decided that "il est temps que je me sacrifie d'apprendre la langue et puis, repartir" [it is time that I sacrifice myself to learn the language and, leave again], influencing in part her decision to move to an English environment. I asked her why she viewed this as a sacrifice and she explained that because learning another language would take time, she felt that she was always falling behind rather than progressing. Once again she would have to "recommencer à zero" [start over at zero] in acquiring this particular form of capital.

Danielle's discussion of the spatiality of language also seemed to suggest a lack of choice in regard to learning English, using the example of service provision to illustrate her point. She noted that outside of French service providers (e.g. ACFO), additional government services that were supposed to be offered in French by bilingual staff (e.g. government offices) were often difficult to access within FMCs, and further contributed to language transfer: "On essaye de s'adapter en anglais. Quand, voila, quand nous ne recevons pas de bons services en français, tu essaye de parler en anglais, même si tu as le droit de parler en français. Voila le problème qui est là." [We try to adapt ourselves in English. When, there, when we don't receive good services in French, you try to speak in English, even if you have the right to speak in French. That's the

problem that exists.]. She was aware of her right to access particular services in French and was shocked that most of the time she remained unable to find these. Marie also described what accessing services in a minority setting was like for her. She said that it is as though ‘you are always the last one served, that one always has to push and put forth a lot of effort to obtain the necessary services’. She also stated that even though ‘it is your right and you are entitled, it is as if someone has forgotten about you’. She emphasized that “en Amérique si t’es pas au moins bilingue là, surtout avec l’anglais donc, tu es comme colonisé ou, tu te vois tout le temps en dessous de tout le monde.” [in America if you are not at least bilingual, especially with English so, you are like colonized or, you see yourself always beneath everyone else.]. Thus in negotiating occupational engagement within particular fields, the necessary linguistic capital may vary depending upon the spatial context. For instance, the examples above that refer to Quebec were specific to Montreal, where the emphasis upon English is likely stronger given the larger concentration of Anglophones there than in other cities within the province (Jedwab, 2004).

Given the varying ‘value’ of the official languages throughout Canada, many participants described not feeling they had an accurate perception of Canada’s linguistic duality prior to immigrating. Many thought that living in a bilingual country meant that most Canadians were bilingual and that they could function in either French or English across the country. For many of the participants, especially those who first moved to Quebec, the need to learn English within a bilingual country was described as a form of ‘deception’. For instance, Danielle had met French-speaking Canadians in her home country prior to migrating and assumed that other Canadians also spoke French. She explained that when she migrated she thought she would find herself in a country where she could thrive in French, only to learn that she would indeed need to learn English: “comme si c’est une obligation, si tu arrive là où on fait quelque chose, absolument que tu dois t’intégrer dans cette chose” [as if it’s an obligation, if you arrive there where they do something, you absolutely have to integrate yourself into that thing]. I

asked Paul when he thought about coming to Canada if he assumed the entire country was bilingual and he emphatically said yes. He said he thought it was at '50%' (meaning that both languages had equal 'weight' within the country), but soon understood that it was principally in Quebec that French predominated. Gilberto also thought that with both French and English being official languages across Canada, this implied that all Canadians spoke both, rather than having one official language dominate in some places and the other dominate in others. Yet, he explained that when facing 'reality' that it was really 'on paper' that both languages are official and it remained up to individuals whether they learned both or not. He further noted that very few people in London had chosen to learn French.

Rose also emphasized the need for English language skills to integrate into the broader community beyond the FMC:

Parce que pour aller, pour affronter l'autre groupe, les anglophones par exemple, il faut que tu aies quand même un petit bagage, comment tu vas parler avec eux? Comment tu vas dire que tu es intégré si tu ne parle pas avec, donc, il faut que tu sois à l'aise de participer aussi à leurs activités. Mais si tu n'es pas encore, donc tu n'es pas encore intégré à leur groupe donc, je dirais dans ce, dans ce sens là, c'est un peu difficile de, pour les francophones d'être impliqué ici. À moins que tu sois bilingue.

Because to go, to confront the other group, the Anglophones for example, you still have to have a little baggage, how will you talk with them? How will you say you are integrated if you don't speak with, so, you have to be at ease to participate also in their activities. But if you are not yet, so you aren't yet integrated in their group so, I would say in that, in that sense, it's a bit difficult to, for the Francophones to be involved here. Unless you are bilingual.

This quotation highlights that engagement in nearly all social occupations is mediated through language. While English language skills enable many occupations within FMCs, in part due to the minority status of French-speakers, participants most emphasized the need for English in order to find work, especially for obtaining a skilled position in Canada. For instance, Paul felt that whether immigrants learned English or not would depend in part on their

priorities, as some might be able to 'get by' with jobs that do not require reading and writing, but he sought a career that would enable him to use his skills, and thus he prioritized his language courses. Yet enrolling in English courses can limit one's opportunities to engage in occupation, as most run during weekdays (approximately 9:30-2:30, Monday to Friday). This had led some participants to either enrol at the expense of finding work until after they completed their course, or to forego the course in order to obtain employment in French. It was not possible for one participant to enrol due to the demands associated with the occupation of mothering. One participant temporarily separated from his family in Quebec to take language classes in Ontario, and another opted for a night course in hopes of finding daytime employment. However, the night course was only offered twice a week and was deemed by the respondent to be unsatisfactory for his needs.

The examples provided above clearly indicate that language serves as an important form of capital in the process of integration. To be able to engage in most occupations within London, participants felt the need to acquire additional language skills. Yet, if English is arguably the most valuable form of linguistic capital within London, despite the presence of the FMC, it begs the question of why French-speakers would continue to insist upon their rights as Francophones. This leads to the following section, which explores the French language as an important marker of identity, and not solely as a form of capital. Furthermore, the proceeding section considers how language intersects with other markers of personal and social identity and can never be fully situated apart from these.

5.7 Doing identity in place

The notion of 'doing identity in place' (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010) was developed to conceptualize the relationship between occupation, identity and place by emphasizing the importance for identity of everyday doing, in interaction with others, located within particular places. It signals that the ways in which

people 'do' their identities both influence, and are influenced by, people's occupations, and by the places where these occur. Within this relationship, it is also essential to consider the intersectionality of people's identity markers. This is not simply because people identify and are identified according to multiple markers, but also because they may face challenges and even discrimination in relation to these, resulting in a simultaneity of oppressions (Dei, 2005). Thus, one objective of this research was to consider migrants' negotiations of identity according to the markers of language, race, and gender as they became embedded within different socio-historic contexts following an international move. The way these markers intersect for individual migrants influences their particular experiences of migration and integration. Because habitus and capital are embodied, it is important to consider identity within context, as discussed within the literature on anti-racism and postcolonial feminism; that is, as constructed and constrained through processes of inclusion and exclusion that create and reproduce difference (Dei, 2005). As discussed in chapter three, newcomers may be 'racialized' due to differences in the way they perform, given that their habitus was formed in relation to different fields of practice, and their capital may be devalued following migration. In this sense, newcomers are viewed as 'other' not solely because they may be from visible minority groups, but also because visual markers of difference become associated with a different way of doing and being.

Reading anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature enabled multiple aspects of identity to be considered within this research. For instance, while being bilingual in the country's official languages may be deemed an asset for obtaining employment, this characteristic in and of itself does not guarantee labour market integration. Consider the following two quotations to illustrate this point. Rose felt that being bilingual in an FMC was an asset:

Déjà, elle parle français, elle parle anglais, donc, on a l'impression que tu ne manqueras de rien. Donc si par exemple tu ne trouve pas de travail, c'est parce que tu ne veux pas, mais avec les deux langues, tu dois absolument. Oui. Donc, avec les deux langues,

rester encore à l'aide social, c'est qu'il y a quelque chose qui ne va pas chez toi. Mais, parce que là tu es vraiment, tu as tout les atouts pour avoir un bon travail.

Already, she speaks French, she speaks English, so, we have the impression that you will miss nothing. So if for example you don't find work, it's because you don't want to, but with the two languages, you must absolutely. Yes. So, with the two languages, remaining on social assistance, it's that there is something that's wrong with you. But, because then you are really, you have all the advantages to have a good job.

Yet, Halima's experience illustrated that the issue may be more complex: "Tout le monde a dit, puisque tu es bilingue tu vas trouver du travail très facilement, mais c'est pas vraiment le cas parce que l'obstacle c'était le voile." [Everyone said, since you are bilingual you will find work very easily, but that's really not the case because the obstacle is the veil.]. One's experiences cannot simply be related to a single aspect of one's identity, especially since the ways people are categorized according to such markers do not always reflect the way that people see themselves. For instance, while Makane may be categorized as 'African' according to his appearance, his upbringing in Eastern Europe led him to identify more strongly with people from that area, since, even though he may not be of the same race as the majority population there, he shared their same habitus:

[J]e n'ai pas beaucoup de compatriotes. Quand j'étais à Montréal, c'est des gens, si je rencontre quelqu'un, un Ivoirien, un Malien ou quelqu'un d'autre, on ne peut se communiquer, on a rien de commun. Parce que mon parcours n'est pas sont parcours. Je suis beaucoup plus à l'aise avec le monde qui on vécu en l'Europe de l'est et l'Union Soviétique des choses comme ça. C'est ça ma communauté, ma famille. C'est plus facile, on a, tu sais, du point de vue culturel je ne peux pas me définir.

Apart from that, I don't have a lot of compatriots. When I was in Montreal, there are people, if I meet someone, an Ivorian, a Malian or someone else, we cannot communicate, we have nothing in common. Because my journey is not his journey. I am a lot more comfortable with people that have lived in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, things like that. That's my community, my family. It's easier, we have, you know, from a cultural point of view I cannot define myself.

The perceived lack of fit between people's personal and social identities, and between their social identity and habitus resulting from this categorization process, can further complicate the integration process. While this research focuses on French-speakers and FMCs, the growing diversity within these communities necessitates a discussion of additional identity markers. This section thereby begins with a brief discussion of language as related to identity, but then layers this discussion by addressing racial and gendered issues encountered by the French-speaking participants. It should be noted that while the sub-titles of language, race, and gender are used within this section, these were not discussed in isolation of each other. Indeed, many of the examples listed highlight the intersection of these categories. Further, while other markers such as sexual orientation or age could also have been included, the purpose is not to be exhaustive. Rather, this section aims to enhance my interpretation of the data, which drew on concepts developed by Goffman and Bourdieu, by further including insights drawn from the anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature. Ultimately, I argue that the way people's habitus influences their performances within particular fields of practice throughout the process of integration is related to their identities according to a variety of markers.

5.7.1 Language

Language is more than a form of symbolic capital; it is also a marker of identity. Yet symbolic capital (linguistic capital specifically) and identity remain connected. The value attributed to a particular language may influence the way its speakers are categorized in social interactions. This occurs not only between language groups (e.g. Anglophones discriminating against Francophones), but also within language groups. The way a particular language group is defined is an exercise in power that can marginalize the group's potential members. Danielle emphasized this point by explaining the discrimination inherent in the way Francophones were once defined within Canada (i.e. according to mother tongue, rather than first official language spoken). This issue arose when I asked

her if the Francophone community's small size within London resulted in a limitation of available job opportunities in French. She disagreed, citing the example of positions that were posted, and for which she applied, but that were left unfilled. She went on to explain the fundamental challenge to integration posed by a restricted definition of 'Francophone' (this is further addressed in chapter six):

Nous avons appris que avant, on ne nous considérait pas comme francophone. On disait que nous sommes, nous étions des allophones, disant que comme prétexte, notre langue maternelle, votre langue maternelle n'est pas français, n'est pas anglais, vous êtes des allophones. Et les francophones était seulement les personnes qui on le français comme langue maternelle. Ce qui est faux. Puisque, combien de gens qui on, qui parlent le français mieux que ceux qui l'ont appris après la naissance. Et puis, peut-être que il y en a, c'est comme ça que nous avons, selon moi, j'ai vu que, que ce soit une petite communauté, que ce soit une grande communauté, aussi longtemps qu'on fait la sélection des francophones, il y a des francophones et les gens d'ailleurs. Aussi longtemps qu'il y aura des gens d'ailleurs qui parlent le français, entre guillemets, 'des immigrants', si nous ne sommes pas considérés comme francophones, même il sera toujours difficile de s'intégrer dans cette communauté francophone en matière d'emploi. Ce sera toujours une lourde charge de les accueillir et puis il sera toujours, une grande tâche de se battre toujours pour se faire entendre, en disant nous sommes francophones. Pourquoi est-ce qu'on doit continuer à crier nous sommes francophones? Je crois qu'il faudrait accepter tout les immigrants qui parlent français comme francophone, et accepter de partager le peu qu'ils ont.

We have learned that before, we weren't considered as Francophones. They said that we are, we were allophones, saying that as a pretext, our mother tongue, your mother tongue isn't French, isn't English, you are allophones. And the Francophones were only those people that had French as their mother tongue. Which is false. Since, how many people that have, that speak French better than those who learned it after birth. And, maybe there are some, that's why we have, according to me, I saw that, whether it is a small community, whether it is a large community, as long as we make the selection of Francophones, there are Francophones and the people from elsewhere. As long as there will be people from elsewhere that speak French, in quotes, 'immigrants', if we are not considered as Francophones, then it will

always be difficult to integrate into this community in terms of employment. It will always be a heavy burden to welcome them and it will always be, a large task to always fight to be heard, saying we are Francophone. Why do we have to continue to scream that we are Francophones? I believe that we have to accept all the immigrants that speak French as Francophones, and accept to share the little they have.

While the way Francophones are officially defined by the provincial government has since been amended to be more inclusive, it remains to be seen whether this shift has had a material impact in the daily lives those it previously excluded. Regardless, this comment raises the issue that the way people are categorized according to identity markers can result in differential opportunities for occupational engagement. If French-speaking newcomers with a mother tongue other than French are viewed by the host community as not being 'real' Francophones, irrespective of the official government definition, their sense of belonging to the community, and their potential for integration are threatened.

The way that language is related to identity, and is not solely viewed as a form of capital, is also highlighted in the participants' discussion of their children. For instance, most participants wanted their children to learn English, not only to assist their children's integration, but because some also thought their own integration would be facilitated if their children were fluent in English. Yet many participants raised the issue of language transfer and their concern that their children were losing, or might eventually lose, their mother tongue or French-language skills. Danielle highlighted the predominance of English by citing that often within their home they speak three languages (mother tongue, French and English), but that for her children, English became the language used most 'intensively' because it was around them at all times (e.g. friends, television). As a result, she attempted to maintain a Francophone household in order to "stabiliser la langue française dans la communauté anglophone" [stabilize the French language within the Anglophone community] so that they would maintain their French language skills.

Makane further explained the importance of organizations, such as service providers, not only in meeting newcomers' immediate needs, but also for their more 'symbolic' role in uniting the community within a minority setting, which could benefit their children and subsequent generations:

[J]e pense que les écoles, les services en français c'est primordial. Quand tu as des gens qui sont là comme l'ACFO, juste des gens qui sont là pour t'aider à trouver un logement [...]. Quand tu viens il y a des gens qui sont là pour t'écouter, les premiers jours, c'est très important dans la vie d'un immigrant. Les premiers mois. C'est très difficile. [...] Et le rayonnement de tout ceci, je trouve que les écoles contribuent beaucoup au rayonnement parce que, je suis francophone je décide d'arriver à London que je veux garder mes enfants, qu'ils parlent ma langue, que un jour si jamais ils vont aller dans mon pays d'origine qu'ils aillent la chance de parler français, où on ne parle pas l'anglais, so, ça, pour moi c'est fondamental.

I think that schools, the services in French are essential. When you have people that are there like the ACFO, just people that are there to help you to find housing [...]. When you come there are people that are there to listen to you, the first days, that's very important in the life of an immigrant. The first months. It's very difficult. [...] And the influence of all this, I find that schools contribute a lot to this because, I am Francophone I decide to arrive in London that I want to keep my kids, that they speak my language, that one day if ever they will go to my country of origin that they have the chance to speak French, where they don't speak English, so, that, for me it's fundamental.

Their emphasis upon maintaining a language other than English was not solely related to the notion that additional language skills represented added capital; rather, language was more deeply connected to identity. As described by Khalil, language is "une identité, c'est comme la couleur de la peau, c'est comme, c'est, c'est l'origine. C'est de là où on vient." [an identity, it's like the colour of one's skin, it's like, it's, it's the origin. It's where we are from.]. In attempting to integrate into the London FMC, and the broader host community more generally, the participants had to contend with the negotiation of their identity as French-speakers within a minority context. As illustrated above, this related to their minority status in relation to the majority Anglophone community, but also within the FMC as newcomers whose mother tongue was not French, despite being

fluent in the French language. There is diversity among Francophone immigrants according to language and while they face challenges with respect to language, they also identified and were identified by others according to additional markers. Thus, French-speaking newcomers should not be considered as a single unified category. As emphasized within postcolonial feminism, positionality, difference, power, and partiality among and between women and men should be recognized (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

5.7.2 Race

International migration is contributing to the increasing diversity of FMCs, as the majority of French-speaking immigrants since the 1990s have been members of visible minority groups from countries outside of Europe (Jedwab, 2002). As addressed within the introductory chapter, Francophone newcomers within FMCs are thus not likely minoritized solely according to language. This ‘compounding’ of minoritization was taken up by many participants who discussed not only how they were racialized, but also how their race intersected with other markers of identity. This also relates to the discussion within chapter two that racialization is not based solely on skin pigmentation, but also on other attributes that become racialized, such as a ‘foreign-sounding’ name. Danielle described the integration challenges faced by French-speakers from visible minority groups due to their situation as a ‘minority within a minority’:

[L]es défis sont nombreux. Il y a, juste on est d’abord minoritaire, et puis comme les autres francophones s’ajoute la façon dont on est francophone d’ailleurs [...]. On a pas mal, on ne se situe pas dans la communauté majoritaire tel que majoritaire, et on ne se situe même pas dans la société minoritaire comme la société francophone. Sa crée toujours des problèmes d’installation.

[T]he challenges are numerous. There are, just we are firstly a minority, and like the other Francophones is compounded by the way that we are Francophones from elsewhere [...]. We have a lot, we aren’t situated in the majority community as a majority, and we aren’t even situated in the minority society like the Francophone society. It always creates problems for integration.

She went on to explain that this created a certain fragmentation of the community because if newcomers did not feel that they belonged to the FMC, they might have a tendency to ‘dance’ between the two communities (Francophone and Anglophone) to try and fulfill their needs. Finding where one best ‘fits’, as suggested by Danielle above, is a power-laden process of negotiation since newcomers cannot fully manage the impressions they seek to make. Because social markers of identity are identifiable during social interactions and are used by people to make assumptions about others, newcomers’ performances are always contextualized by their social location.

For instance, Khalil’s comment alludes to the idea that one’s ‘race’ is inescapable: “Mais je ne crois pas qu’il y a une intégration totale. Du moins à mon avis, c’est ça, on ne peut pas, on ne peut pas tout changer. Parce qu’il faut enlever la peau [...]” [But I don’t believe that there is a total integration. At least from my point of view, that’s it, we can’t, we can’t change everything. Because then you have to take off the skin [...]]. Danielle echoed this sentiment indicating that she would always be an immigrant. Further, she felt that not all immigrants faced the same issues and that one’s race could problematize their experiences. She explained if people moved into a society where the others resembled them (a White person migrating to a country where White people are in the majority, or a Black person migrating to a country where Black people are in the majority) they would not face the same challenges as people moving to a country where they were a visible minority: “[...] nous sommes visible malheureusement. À l’intérieur de toi tu te sens aliéné. Dehors aussi on te voit quelqu’un d’autre. Ça c’est l’autre. Nous avons une couleur qui nous trahisse. On te considère toujours comme l’autre.” [...] we are visible unfortunately. On the inside you feel alienated. Outside too they see you as someone else. That’s the other. We have a colour that betrays us. They will always consider us as the other.]. Like Danielle, participants often discussed their race, or aspects of their identity that were racialized, in relation to forms of discrimination they had experienced. Indeed, discrimination was addressed at a number of levels, each of which is

addressed below. These include intra-group discrimination (e.g. same 'ethnic' group), discrimination from other newcomers, discrimination from 'Canadians', and discrimination in relation to particular fields (e.g. employment). These examples highlight that migrants' negotiation of identity does not simply occur once upon their arrival within a new country; rather, it occurs continuously within varying social interactions throughout the integration process.

I asked Halima to tell me about the experience of being a veiled woman in London because I assumed it might be different than in her home country. She told me that while most people were polite, she faced the most problems with other Arab people. She described an experience she had with a woman who was a friend of the family and had agreed to help them upon their arrival in Montreal. She told me about the initial look of shock she noticed on the woman's face upon first meeting her, as this acquaintance did not know she wore a niqab. Seeing each other again a few days later the woman tried to discourage her from veiling:

Elle me parle de la vie au Canada et qu'est ce que tu vas faire? Ah, tu dois travailler, comment tu vas travailler avec ton voile, les gens ne t'accepte pas comme ça. Et la vie est très boring ici, tu ne peux pas rester à la maison toute la journée comme ça, tu dois travailler. [...] elle ne m'a pas encouragé du tout. Elle m'a donné des choses qui vont me faire des obstacles, obstacles, obstacles.

She told me about life in Canada and what am I going to do? Ah, you have to work, how are you going to work with your veil, the people won't accept you like that. And life is very boring here, you cannot stay home all day like that, you have to work. [...] she did not encourage me at all. She gave me things that are going to be for me obstacles, obstacles, obstacles.

Halima also gave other examples of Arab people she met who cited problems she would face if she continued to wear a full veil (e.g. telling her she would be unable to obtain a drivers' licence). While others may be less likely to voice disapproval directly to Halima given their 'outsider' status, the purpose of this example is not to suggest that Arab people are more discriminatory than others. Instead, it illustrates that diversity within groups and not only between groups

can also complicate integration. In addition, Halima stated that most Canadians were very nice but did give examples of particular incidents where she had been discriminated against, such as a man who shouted at her while she was crossing the street. However, she viewed these as ‘localized’ experiences: “Vraiment c’est rare. Je ne peux pas dire que tout les Canadiens sont comme ça ou tout les gens sont comme ça. Mais de temps en temps, tu trouve des choses qui te fait de la peine.” [Really it’s rare. I can’t say that all Canadians are like that or everybody is like that. But from time to time, you find things that hurt your feelings.]. Although Halima downplayed these types of specific or individual incidents, as described earlier she did emphasize that discrimination was more overt in the labour market.

While newcomers are often grouped according to shared characteristics such as ethnicity or country of origin, often the socially constructed dichotomized groups of ‘immigrants’ and ‘native born’ figure within discussions of integration. Yet diversity also exists within these groups and not all newcomers are equally accepting and supportive of each other. For example, Gilberto noted the tension that can exist between different ‘waves’ of immigrants (e.g. groups coming within different decades). As things like policies and settlement services change over time, newcomers that have arrived more recently may have access to different resources than those who arrived in previous decades. He explained that this could lead to resentment toward newly arrived immigrants:

[C]e que j’ai remarqué que les personnes qui sont ici depuis, par exemple 20 ans, ils regardent quelqu’un qui arrive, puis il y a des gens qui arrive, ils on pas assez d’argent pour soutenir sa famille donc il demande de l’aide à Ontario. Puis ils disent, ah, quand je suis arrivé ici, ça n’existait pas, ça n’existait, oui, ça n’existait pas avant. Puis, je devrais apprendre un petit peu l’anglais et puis après me trouver un emploi. Maintenant je travaille, et les, um, les taxes que je paye c’est pour te soutenir à toi? Qui vient d’arriver? Et tout cet argent qui doit revenir à moi je dois le donner pour que tu puisses trouver un appartement, pour que tu puisses payer l’électricité, la nourriture. Donc, ça devient comme une sorte de racisme [...].

What I have noticed is that people that are here since, for example 20 years, they look at someone that arrives, and there are people that arrive, they don't have enough money to support their family so they ask Ontario for help. And they say, ah, when I arrived here, that didn't exist, yes, that didn't exist before. And, I had to learn English a little bit and after find myself a job. Now I work, and the, um, the taxes that I pay it's just to support you? That just arrived? And that money that should come to me I have to give it so that you can find an apartment, so that you can pay electricity, food. So, that becomes a form of racism [...].

He also mentioned that this type of attitude could be found among Canadians, largely among those who were 'not well informed' and likely did not understand the immigration process and the experiences of newcomers. He felt that people should be informed about immigration. I got the sense that he thought this would help dispel misunderstandings people had about newcomers and by extension minimize discrimination resulting from ignorance.

Danielle was the most direct when discussing issues related to discrimination. She gave several specific examples of incidents her family had experienced. One particular incident highlighted the intersections of racial identity, place, and habitus. She explained that they had moved into a neighbourhood where there were not a lot of Black people and told me about a time her son had been playing with neighbourhood friends, and a child in the area called him a nigger. Her son proceeded to throw a stone at the boy's house and his mother scolded him and called the police. This incident was very disconcerting to Danielle for a number of reasons. Not only had her son experienced discrimination in his own neighbourhood, but in her home country, the entire community was responsible for a child's upbringing and police would never be brought in to deal with such an issue.

Rose also cited a specific example of discrimination she faced not long after arriving in Canada. This experience was very poignant for her because it served as a sort of symbol for what her life here might be like. Although she did not emphasize experiences of racism in subsequent interviews, this example

highlighted the impact first impressions can have upon newcomers' experiences of settlement and integration:

Encore un choc à peine que je venais d'arriver, [...] je vais à l'église, on dit 'la paix du Christ, serrez-vous la main'. Je retourne pour serrer la main à une dame. Elle a refusé. Elle regardait comme ça, j'ai dit, mon Dieu voila la question que je me posais, est-ce qu'on va m'accepter, voila un signe, que je vais vraiment vivre la misère ici. Je suis rentré ce jour à la maison là où on habitait à l'hébergement, j'étais vraiment fondu, complètement, je me suis dit mon Dieu, c'était un signe pour dire que tu ne serais pas accepter ici.

Again a shock as soon as I had arrived, [...] I went to church, they say 'the peace of Christ, shake each other's hands'. I turn to shake a woman's hand. She refused. She looked like that, I said, my God there's the question that I had asked myself, will they accept me, there's a sign, that I will really live a life of difficulty here. I returned home that day where I lived at the shelter, I was really disappointed, completely, I said my God, it was a sign to say that you will not be accepted here.

While these examples refer to explicit experiences of being racialized or discriminated against by people in specific social interactions, many participants noted that discrimination is not always so overt. Examples of more implicit and institutional forms of discrimination were made largely in relation to the economic field of practice and productive occupations. This is especially noteworthy as employment is often stressed as essential to integration (further discussed in chapter six).

Danielle referred to the often subtle nature of discrimination within Canada. She described how she had been unsuccessful time and time again in obtaining work because her degree was not Canadian. However, after completing a Canadian university education and still facing difficulty in getting a job, she felt she had experienced a 'very fundamental deception'. She gave additional examples of labour force discrimination but argued that it was often 'hidden'. She argued that the 'problem of racism' exists and that it could not be resolved 'from one moment to the next' but that with time could hopefully be minimized:

Et puis nous disons peut-être, peut-être qu'il y a du racisme caché quelque part. Qui nous nous montre pas clairement, qu'on ne peut pas voir clairement, ça ne peut pas, ça ne peut pas partir d'un moment à l'autre. Mais avec le temps les gens se familiarise avec le multiculturalisme. Je crois que le multiculturalisme, ce n'est pas une chose qui vient aujourd'hui, qui se plante dans un group d'individus. [...] ça prend du temps pour que vous pouvez vraiment s'habituer à ces individus voila, c'est ce qu'on attend.

And so we say maybe, maybe there is racism hidden somewhere. That is not clearly visible, that we don't see clearly, but it can't, it can't leave from one moment to the next. But with time people are familiarizing themselves with multiculturalism. I believe that multiculturalism, it's not something that comes today, that plants itself in a group of individuals. [...] it takes time for you to really get used to those individuals there, that is what we are waiting for.

She explained that racism always exists, but felt that the poor economy in present times and resulting loss of jobs could lead to increased discrimination. She offered a possible explanation: that as Canadian-born people lost their jobs and began to seek an explanation, they might notice that there were more 'coloured faces' than in the past and might by extension assume that newcomers were to blame. She also noted that her last name likely contributed to the labour force discrimination she experienced, stating that her racialized foreign name and skin colour were inescapable, leading to her sense of alienation within a society that was not her own. Danielle hoped that this would also change with time and felt that newcomers could contribute to this change by taking action. For instance, she said that feeling discriminated against led groups of immigrants to form their own associations in order to defend their interests.

Makane made a similar point, stating that discrimination was often implicit. He said that when send your curriculum vitae (CV) 'a thousand times' and no one calls you, people just look at your family name, you have no chances. He felt that no one would openly discourage him and that the discrimination he experienced was much more subtle. For instance, he saw those from the 'non-visible majority' getting jobs while he continued to face difficulty in integrating into the workforce.

He ultimately felt that institutional racism existed within the Canadian labour market:

[C]e n'est pas le même marché pour les minorités visible. [...] mais tu viens quelque part que, je ne sais pas, du Congo, tu viens, tu veux faire par exemple gestion, administration, tu peux avoir dix doctorats mais tu ne vas pas trouver du travail, il faut être rationnel. Si tu veux retourner chez toi, tant mieux, mais ici c'est pas, ces jobs, ça ne reflète pas ton portrait. Le marché est bien structuré, il y a des emplois où ce n'est pas pour tout le monde [...].

[I]t is not the same market for visible minorities. [...] but you come from somewhere that, I don't know, from the Congo, you come, you want to do management, administration, you could have ten doctorates but you won't find work, you have to be rational. If you want to return home, so much the better, but here it's not, those jobs, it doesn't reflect your portrait. The market is well structured, there are jobs where it's not for everyone [...].

This section emphasizes that French-speaking newcomers from visible minority groups do not have to contend solely with the challenges associated with being situated within a minority language context, they must also negotiate the intersection of their linguistic and racialized identities within these communities. As noted above, the context within which newcomers' identities become embedded within the host society has implications for their occupational engagement within different fields of practice, as they are categorized during social interactions according to particular markers. Their gendered experiences further influenced their occupations, and by extension their integration.

5.7.3 Gender

While gendered experiences are implicitly included within the examples noted throughout this chapter, such as the difference between more collectivist and individualistic ways of life being emphasized more by the female respondents, it is also necessary to highlight more explicitly how this particular marker of identity interacted with others like language and race. While all those participating in this study were non-Caucasian French-speakers, this shared social categorization does not necessarily make them a single unified group. The sub-sections above

served to illustrate that, despite being French-speakers within an FMC, the community was diverse even at the level of language. For instance, participants had different accents and levels of proficiency, and all had a mother tongue other than French. The London FMC is also racially diverse. Those who belong to visible minority groups within the community experience a 'minority within a minority' (Madibbo, 2005) situation according to their racial minoritization within the minority language community. Another layer of diversity within the community is that of gender. Not only may there be differences of experience between males and females, there are also differences among males and among females. As emphasized within the literature on postcolonial feminism, diversity within groups is essential to consider. Thus, better understanding how gender intersected with language and race, rather than being a 'unifying' marker of identity, enabled me to explore the differential experiences of men and women that were socially bound together by language within the London FMC.

The intersection of gender with race, for example, is well illustrated through Halima's experiences. While her wearing of the niqab was discussed above as a practice according to which she was racialized and marked as 'other', it should be noted that as a veiled Muslim woman her 'religious' identity was also gendered in a particular way. Since arriving in Canada, Halima consistently emphasized that she was a symbol of her religion and an ambassador for Islam, and that if she continually set a good example, she could begin to change people's assumptions about Muslims, and of veiled Muslim women in particular. For instance, she had given presentations in schools and at community centres to increase people's awareness and to discount negative media portrayals about Muslim women being largely passive and oppressed:

[T]out le monde a une idée que le voile c'est partout. Et tout le temps, même dans la chambre à coucher. Tu dors avec le voile, [...] parce que tout les informations du media, et le media te montre avec des terroristes et tout ça. Et les femmes sont bloquées, les femmes sont enfermées, elles ne comprennent pas, elles ne voient pas, elles n'ont pas de vie. Mais, je dois changer ça. Moi, j'ai, maintenant j'ai la responsabilité de changer ces idées.

[E]veryone has an idea that the veil is everywhere. And all the time, even in the bedroom. You sleep with the veil, [...] because all the information from the media, and the media shows you with terrorists and all that. And the women are blocked, the women are confined, they don't understand, they don't see, they don't have a life. But, I have to change that. Me, I have, now I have the responsibility to change those ideas.

Some of the women also described how gender norms in Canada differed from those in their home countries. For instance, Danielle explained that in her country, the gendered division of labour was more 'traditional'. There, women were responsible for the domestic sphere. Even if they had paid staff responsible for reproductive occupations like cooking and cleaning, they had to manage this staff. Women were also responsible for child care, whereas men were described as 'breadwinners' responsible for the family's material needs. Marie and Rose further contrasted their experiences as women in Canada as compared to the gender norms in their home country. For instance, when I asked Marie if she could think of something that she had adapted since arriving in Canada, she explained that she had more 'potential' here than back home:

Puisque nous, même si tu as 40 ans, 50 ans surtout si tu es une femme tu resteras chez tes parents. Si tu n'es pas, tant que tu n'es pas marié. Donc c'est difficile à te libérer, et puis si tu étudies, tu ne passeras même pas travailler, tu resteras toujours dépendante de tes parents, de tes oncles.

Because we, even if you are 40 years old, 50 years old especially if you are a woman you will stay with your parents. If you aren't, as long as you are not married. So it's difficult to liberate yourself, and if you study, you won't even go to work, you will always remain dependent upon your parents, your uncles.

Rose also described this type of new found independence and responsibility in Canada and went on to say that, because her changed lifestyle differed from the norm in her home country, it had affected the way her family members perceived her. I asked her to elaborate and she explained the following:

Tu vas trouver, une maman ne va pas dépendre de sa fille [au Canada]. La maman là est autonome. Mais si je vais avec ce

discours là chez moi, ils vont dire 'Ah! Elle est devenue insensible à nos problèmes'. Donc, ici la fille n'est pas obligée d'aider sa maman. Parce que la maman déjà est autonome. Et puis la maman a cotisé, a cotisé durant toute sa vie pour qu'à la retraite qu'elle puisse avoir son pain. Donc, donc moi je parle maintenant de cette mentalité là, donc, ils vont me dire, c'est ça, là où tu es parti l'Amérique du Nord, c'est comme ça qu'on va [...] ne plus penser aux autres. Mais non, on pense aux autres mais, on a une autre mentalité maintenant.

You will find, a mother will not depend on her daughter [in Canada]. The mother here is autonomous. But if I go with that discourse back home, they will say 'Ah! She has become insensitive to our problems'. So, here the daughter is not obligated to help her mother. Because the mother is already autonomous. And the mother has saved, has saved during her whole life so that at retirement she can have her bread. So, so I now speak of that mentality, so, they will tell me, that's it, there where you went in North America, that's how they will [...] no longer think of others. But no, we think of others but, we have another mentality now.

In Canada, these women assumed additional responsibilities for a number of reasons. For instance, two of them no longer lived with a spouse, leaving them responsible for all occupations. Also, no longer having staff led them to engage in particular occupations rather than supervise them. Given the context within which these women found themselves following migration, their gendered identities often had to be negotiated, not solely in terms of gender itself, but also in relation to their social location according to a number of markers.

When exploring gender, it is also necessary to consider the experiences of men. Given the occupational perspective adopted in this research, many of the findings relating to a gendered negotiation of migration and integration referred to occupation. As addressed above, some of the gender norms that had characterized the participants' home countries differed to some extent from those in Canada. Many of the participants thus negotiated the transitions they experienced to their engagement in productive and reproductive occupations in relation to their gendered identities. Essentially, whether the participants continued to engage in similar occupations, or whether they had to begin to

engage in new or different occupations, these experiences were often described in relation to gender. For instance, Makane related his employment to his gendered identity. He emphasized his need to work in Canada, whatever the job, “Parce qu’un homme n’est défini que par son travail. Dès qu’il n’a plus de travail qu’il est rien, tu commence à mourir.” [Because a man is defined but by his work. Once he has no more work he is nothing, you start to die.]. Gilberto also addressed gender when discussing employment within Canada. He mentioned that he spent years seeking employment, even returning to university to obtain additional credentials and doing some volunteer work, but that his spouse found work “juste comme ça” [just like that]. In a later interview I asked him if he thought it was easier for women to find work in Canada than men. He did not think that was necessarily the case but did address the gendered nature of many productive occupations and felt particular types of jobs may be easier for women to obtain:

[I] y a des travaux qui, c’est plutôt pour, c’est plus facile pour les femmes de se trouver cet emploi ou d’y entrer dans ce sorte d’emploi, comme les enseignantes à la petite enfance. Et je ne sais pas si c’est pour l’image qu’on a la maman qui surveille les petits, que c’est un petit peu difficile de les gens regarder un homme qui est dans un travail de garder les petits, comme les bébés ou les bambins. On peut le faire aussi, moi je peux le faire, mais je pense que les gens on plutôt l’image de femmes fessant ce sorte d’emploi que un homme.

[T]here are jobs that, they’re mainly for, it’s easier for women to find that job or to enter into that sort of employment, like early childhood educators. And I don’t know if it’s for the image that they have the mother that is watching the young, that it’s a little bit difficult for people to see a man that has a job of watching the young, like the babies or the infants. We can do it too, I can do it, but I think that people rather have the image of women doing that sort of job than a man.

The participants’ changed context following migration also necessitated negotiations related to reproductive occupations for a variety of reasons. For instance, no longer having a social support system of extended family members nearby made the participants increasingly responsible for a number of

occupations. As all participants had children, the gendered dynamics of child care were often addressed in the meetings. While some of the men assisted with child care, the women were primarily responsible for this (either the female participants, or the male participants' spouses). The negotiation of child care was balanced with responsibilities for productive occupations. For instance, one male participant did assume the primary responsibility for parenting his children when his wife had found work but he remained unemployed. Two of the participants (one male, one female) had older children and while they shared in responsibility for reproductive occupations, the male spouses in both instances were primarily seeking employment. Although the women were also working part time or in school, they remained largely responsible for the children. Among the remaining participants, one man was living apart from his children (leaving his spouse responsible for them), two of the women were living without a spouse and one woman focussed on raising her children while her husband worked to rebuild his career.

Halima especially emphasized the importance of having children in her life. Given the difficulty she faced in finding employment, which she felt was largely due to her niqab, she focussed instead on reproductive occupations. She looked forward to having a young child to alleviate the boredom she experienced in London:

[C]'est quelque chose qui, qui m'intéresse d'avoir le bébé. Tu sais, passer le temps avec le bébé, parce que la différence entre mon petit et le bébé c'est [X] ans. Alors quand mon petit est rentré à l'école j'ai passé beaucoup de temps à la maison seule et j'ai senti vraiment ah, seule, il n'y a rien à faire et tout ça.

[I]t's something that, that interests me to have the baby. You know, passing the time with the baby, because the difference between my youngest and the baby is [X] years. So when my youngest went to school I spent a lot of time at home alone and I really felt ah, alone, there is nothing to do and all that.

Danielle's experiences further highlighted the gendered negotiation that can take place within households, as integration is not purely an individual endeavour.

Migrating families also have to contend with their children's integration and this responsibility may be gendered. For instance, Danielle's husband was already engaged in full-time studies when she arrived with her children to join him. As a result, she took on much of the work of helping integrate them. She described the challenge her family initially faced as her children had been educated in their mother tongue within their home country and were now enrolled in a French school in Canada. She took on the additional role of teacher at home, working intensively to help them learn. In addition to engaging in reproductive occupations during the day, she would also prepare the nightly lessons for her children, who spent the day learning at school, and the evenings catching up at home. In addition to improving their French for school, they were also learning English to integrate into the larger community:

Et puis j'avais là comme activité de les aider à s'intégrer dans la langue francophone. Là où il y avait aussi l'extérieur anglophone. Et puis, jouer avec cette tension c'était vraiment un travail trop lourd avec quatre enfants qui apprenait les deux langues à la fois. Et puis qui devait garder leur langue maternelle. Et puis, avec l'intégration aussi de, voila, je me réveillais trop tôt le matin, je me couchais trop tard. J'avais l'activité familiale à temps plein.

And I had as an activity to help them integrate into the Francophone language. There where there was also an Anglophone exterior. And, playing with that tension was really too much work with four children that were learning two languages at a time. And that had to keep their mother tongue. And, with the integration also of, as a result, I was waking up too early in the morning, I was going to bed too late. I had full time family responsibilities.

I offer a final example to illustrate some of the vital insights that could have been overlooked if I had not aimed to include both women and men in this study. The experiences of two female participants who were recruited in order to achieve more gender-balanced data generation revealed important challenges that were faced by some of the women within the London FMC. They had lived within women's shelters for a period of time and each had negative experiences there.

For instance, one woman described her stay at a local shelter as a form of imprisonment where her occupational engagement was largely restricted:

[C]omme une espèce là d'emprisonnement pour moi. Manger à des heures fixes, sortir à des heures fixes, se réveiller. Donc la routine est totalement établie. Si t'es malade ou tu es fatigué, tu ne peux pas faire quelque chose, tu rate. Donc c'est difficile. À manger, on était obligé de manger qu'est ce qu'on préparait là, même si tu as quelque sous, mais tu ne peux pas t'acheter ni préparer, donc, c'était trop difficile.

[L]ike a sort of imprisonment for me. Eating at fixed times, going out at fixed times, waking up. So the routine is totally established. If you are sick or you are tired, you can't do something, you miss out. So it's difficult. To eat, we had to eat what they prepared, even if you have a bit of money, but you can't buy yourself or prepare, so, it was too difficult.

Another woman also described her negative experiences within a local shelter in detail. Many of the problems she faced she attributed to language, again highlighting intersectionality:

Dans le premier hébergement que j'avais eu ici à London, la langue avait eu des obstacles. Dans le sens où je ne comprenais pas, je n'entendais pas, ah disons je n'entendais pas, mais j'avais l'impression comme si ceux qui parlais, celles qui parlait anglais voulais profiter de cette situation pour parler derrière mon dos. Parce qu'elles savent que, pensais que je comprenais rien, rien, rien, donc. Donc ça, je n'avais pas apprécié, c'est ça qui a fait même que je sois encore de plus en plus distante avec certaines femmes. Parce que ça a voulu créé des situations un peu, ah, je dirais désastreuses.

In the first shelter that I had here in London, the language had some obstacles. In the sense where I didn't understand, I didn't hear, ah let's say I didn't hear, but I had the impression like if those that were talking, those that spoke English wanted to profit from that situation to talk behind my back. Because they know that, thought that I understood nothing, nothing, nothing, so. So that, I didn't appreciate, that's what made it so that I was even more and more distant with certain women. Because it created situations a bit, ah, I would say disastrous.

She ended up leaving the shelter sooner than she would have had to and moved into transitional housing instead. She compared this to her experience within a

shelter in Montreal where she did not face the types of problems she did in London because there was no language barrier. She stressed that there should be a Francophone shelter within the city.

This section served to highlight that many of the participants' experiences and occupations were framed in relation to gender, and intersected with other aspects of their identities. Assuming that the experiences of 'immigrants', 'Francophones', 'visible minorities', 'women' or 'men' are similar because people are categorized according to these markers within social interactions would miss important differences that individuals experience as a result of the intersection of these markers, which become embedded within a particular context.

5.8 Summary

This chapter presented the findings from data generation, analysis and interpretation stemming from the first three stages of my CE. These included narrative interviews, map making, engagement in participatory occupations, and semi-structured interviews. The findings indicate that successful integration is not unproblematically achieved, as newcomers face a variety of challenges throughout the integration process. Drawing on Goffman and Bourdieu's theories of performance and practice, this chapter outlined how 'starting over' and working toward integration entails a series of transitions that must be negotiated, many of which involve becoming aware of differences in the fields and habitus characterizing migrants' home and host societies. As newcomers begin to recognize such differences through engagement in occupation within particular places, they can begin to voice the unspoken and taken-for-granted assumptions within the host society. Yet engaging in occupation entails, to a certain extent, learning 'how things work' within Canadian fields of practice. As the 'rules of the game' differ between a migrant's home and host societies, one's habitus does not automatically fit within one's new context. How newcomers negotiate their performances within particular social situations may thus be characterized by a significant degree of uncertainty. While migrants may seek to manage the

impressions they make within their new context, this is not an exclusively agential process. As migrants experience a loss of capital that they may then seek to re-acquire, their embodiment of that capital influences its value within the host society's fields of practice. How one identifies and is identified according to a variety of markers also serves to influence migrants' integration experiences. The following chapter, by presenting the findings from stage four of my CE, more specifically addresses the larger structural context within which these participants' experiences were embedded. This entailed a critical review of government documents attending to FMCs and immigration and integration into them, as well as interviews conducted with representatives from government and community organizations within London.

CHAPTER SIX

6 Critically exploring dominant frameworks of successful integration

6.1 Introduction: Promoting immigration as a key mechanism for FMC 'vitality'

The notion of community 'vitality' described in the thesis introduction, which emphasizes the demographic condition of linguistic communities as an important vitality indicator, was developed in the late 1970s and continues to be used (e.g. Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994; Clément, Baker & MacIntyre, 2003).

Consequently, discussions of FMCs are often related to demographics, especially since these communities currently face the demographic challenges outlined in the introductory chapter, such as a falling birth rate and language transfer. Immigration has thus increasingly been viewed as a mechanism for strengthening the vitality of FMCs.

Given that immigration now contributes most to Canada's overall growth in population, Jedwab (2002) stressed that the development of OLMCs requires them to equitably benefit, both demographically and socially, from immigration. Yet FMCs appear to have difficulty in attracting immigrants. For instance, the majority of French-speaking newcomers settle in Quebec (approximately 70%), and those living in other provinces tend to be in urban centres with a large concentration of English-speakers (Canada, 2003b), leaving few Francophone newcomers to settle in second-tier FMCs like London. Suggestions have been made as to how to increase immigration to, and settlement within FMCs. Jedwab (2002) has suggested that Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) set benchmarks to increase the numbers of French-speaking newcomers. Quell (2002) has also suggested that governments and communities should increase both the number and retention of migrants speaking official languages in minority settings through a range of strategies that could be understood as 'institutional support', including Provincial Nominee programs, regionalization strategies, and

faster recognition of qualifications. The Standing Committee on Official Languages (SCOL) report (Canada, 2003c) further encouraged the use of immigration as a “lever for the demographic renewal” (p. 4) of OLMCs. Such initiatives are crucial because FMCs still do not receive the necessary proportion of immigrants to guarantee their demographic renewal (Canada, 2003c). Since immigration has become a key policy initiative to help sustain and support FMC vitality, examining how the issue of Francophone immigration is framed becomes necessary for better understanding the underlying assumptions embedded within this initiative and guiding the solutions offered. Furthermore, such targeted efforts by government can be informed by a deeper understanding of the integration challenges experienced by Francophone newcomers settling in second-tier cities, as demonstrated in this thesis. Thus, the participants’ experiences addressed in chapter five will be considered in relation to the documents reviewed within this chapter.

Immigration of French-speakers to Canada and their integration within London is embedded within a specific socio-historic context. This chapter reflects the particular importance of exploring that context, given my outlined paradigmatic and theoretical position (outlined in chapters three and four). The findings from stages one through three of my CE, presented in the previous chapter, cannot be interpreted in isolation. Indeed, the experiences of those who participated in this study were located within a particular socio-historical context specific to the time and place of data generation. This chapter, therefore, presents findings from the fourth stage that formed part of my outlined methodology. These findings must not be viewed ‘independently’ from those presented in the preceding chapter. Indeed, the way that immigration and integration into FMCs are framed by and are embedded within the social structure has material implications for the daily lives of newcomers, such as those who participated in this research and who are affected by the resulting government policies, strategies and action plans developed to address this issue.

Building upon the discussion of FMCs presented in the thesis introduction, this chapter begins with an overview of recent documents that are geared toward OLMCs in general and that address immigration to these communities in particular. This discussion of Francophone immigration draws on federal and provincial government documents and research, as well as additional studies that have been conducted on this topic; and outlines how they present immigration and what issues they emphasize. The following themes, which I identified in my analysis of the documents, are specifically addressed: the recruitment and attraction of French-speaking immigrants, their reception, and their settlement and integration. I also discuss key issues I identified within this literature that are related to the theme of settlement and integration and that are central to the objectives of this thesis. These include service provision, employment and qualification recognition, and language learning. It should be noted that while I have categorized these themes and issues separately for the sake of clarity, many are indeed interrelated. For instance, employment is a key element of economic integration that may be dependent upon additional factors including language ability and accreditation. Language and credentials can, therefore, be viewed as forms of capital that may facilitate integration into the economic field. The third section presents findings from interviews conducted with representatives from governmental and community organizations in London. The interview data is drawn upon to highlight the local level context of the London FMC, which is largely excluded from government documents that focus on different or broader geographical areas (e.g. Eastern Ontario). The respondents who participated in this stage of the research also offer important insights into the ways structural factors (e.g. government strategies) influence the work of those employed to serve the London French-speaking community. The discussion of findings within this chapter also draws on examples provided by the newcomer participants whose experiences were shared in chapter five to show the interrelation between newcomers' experiences and the broader social structure within which they are embedded.

6.2 Critical exploration of recent government initiatives targeting OLMCs and Francophone immigration

Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated that “linguistic duality is a cornerstone of our national identity, and it is a source of immeasurable economic, social, and political benefits for all Canadians” (Canada, 2008, p. 4). Bilingualism within Canada is thereby framed as a resource for the country that could be increased through targeted policies. Given the particular challenges faced by FMCs as a result of their minority status, government documents and policy initiatives have focussed on several aspects of relevance to these communities (e.g. education, health), among which immigration is often included. This section first provides a brief description of how immigration has figured within documents focussing on OLMCs more broadly (as some documents address both FMCs and Anglophone minorities within Quebec), followed by a discussion of government documents focussing specifically upon immigration to FMCs. Documents reviewed in this section were primarily located through Internet keyword searches (e.g. Google), through targeted searches of government agency websites (e.g. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages), and through the bibliographies of relevant documents. They have all been published within the last decade, in reflection of the renewed commitment to Canada’s linguistic duality stated within the 2001 Speech from the Throne (Jedwab, 2002). This section begins with a summary of the individual documents and follows with a discussion of my critical analysis of them.

One of the first federal documents released to support this commitment was ‘The next act: new momentum for Canada’s linguistic duality. The action plan for official languages’ (Canada, 2003b), which addressed immigration as part of a community development axis. The plan accorded funding for pilot projects to promote immigration to FMCs. The financial commitment was described as supporting communities in the recruitment and integration of immigrants, yet integration was not defined within the document, nor were specific details of how the money would be allocated included. Two years later, The Ministerial

Conference on the Canadian Francophonie (MCCF) engaged in cross-Canada consultations to identify issues and challenges faced by the country's Francophonie. The synthesis of these consultations, entitled 'Canadian Francophonie: Issues, Challenges and Future Directions' was published in 2006. Among the findings, immigration was noted as a key area perceived as fundamental to the future of the Canadian Francophonie because it was viewed as related to both Francophone demography and identity. In fact, the synthesis described immigration as an essential avenue "for a more harmonious demographic development of the Canadian Francophonie" (MCCF, 2006, p. 9). Issues raised in relation to immigration included the need to increase the number of immigrants and to integrate them as soon as possible so as to not lose them (e.g. due to assimilation into the Anglophone community or secondary migration). Language instruction (presumably English, though this remains unspecified) and recognition of qualifications were viewed as vital for facilitating their integration. This signals a recognition that newcomers may not be able to immediately successfully integrate into particular fields of practice 'as is' and may need to acquire additional forms of capital, such as English language skills, in order to do so. However, as will be discussed throughout this chapter, emphasis upon specific fields and forms of capital serve to construct particular expectations (e.g. economic productivity) that pose challenges to newcomers given the range of occupations they need and want to engage in as part of their integration. The necessity of developing an all-encompassing strategy to address Francophone immigration stressed within the MCCF document, including recruitment, intake, cultural and economic integration, and regionalization was noted. Unfortunately, these terms remained undefined within the document making it difficult to interpret what assumptions would be embedded within any resulting strategy. For instance, it is not clear what is meant by 'cultural integration', what this would entail, and how this would be encouraged.

The Government of Canada (2008) more recently released the 'Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality 2008-2013: Acting for the future', highlighting the

government's continued support for both official languages. The roadmap was based on two key pillars: "the participation of all Canadians in linguistic duality, and the support for official-language minority communities" (p. 6). In relation to immigration it described the following measures to be taken:

- a) Ensure French-speaking immigrants' best possible integration by making French services adapted to their needs easier to access
- b) Fund research and data analysis to better identify issues related to Francophone immigration outside Quebec
- c) Facilitate recruitment and retention of Francophone immigrants.

As part of the development of the 'Roadmap' (Canada, 2008), the Federal government conducted consultations across the country. Particular needs of OLMCs surfaced, among which the need to better integrate newcomers was highlighted. The 'Roadmap' also referred to the 'Strategic plan to foster immigration to Francophone minority communities' (2006a), stressing the need for community reception of newcomers so that they may contribute their talents and skills, and contribute to the community. While what exactly was meant by 'integration' was once again not clearly defined, the emphasis upon migrants' contribution to their receiving communities suggests that their integration is viewed in relation to their productivity.

Essentially, these documents outline funding and priorities in regard to OLMCs in general, and immigration into them in particular. However, general statements attending to integration remain vague and when they do include some detail, the focus remains on productive occupations. What remains largely absent from such documents is any attention paid to the subtleties of integration detailed in the previous chapter, such as uncovering the taken-for-granted assumptions within specific fields of practice through engagement in a variety of occupations. This was highlighted by Gilberto's questioning of his own gendered behaviour when the females in his class told him he did not always have to hold the door open for them. These documents do not reflect his emphasis upon the process of

learning complex social rules through everyday occupations. While such a lack of detail might be because immigration was not the priority of these documents, the proceeding discussion addresses documents that do specifically focus on immigration as central to specific government initiatives for FMCs. For example, the report by the SCOL entitled 'Immigration as a tool for the development of official language minority communities' (Canada, 2003c) put forth fourteen recommendations related to four phases including selection, settlement, adaptation and contribution. Many of these will be addressed throughout the subsections below as they relate to the particular themes discussed.

'The Strategic framework to foster immigration to Francophone minority communities' (Canada, 2003a) was presented by the CIC-FMC Steering Committee in order to support the 'Action plan' (Canada, 2003b). Its goal was to provide Francophone communities with the necessary tools for their continued contribution to the country's development. The purpose of the 'Strategic framework' was not only to increase the rate of immigration to FMCs, but also to facilitate the reception and integration of French-speaking newcomers. The goal was also twofold, not only to combat the demographic downturn of FMCs, but also for these communities to experience the economic and cultural benefits of immigration. The 'Strategic framework' comprised the five following objectives:

1. Increase the number of French-speaking immigrants to give more demographic weight to FMCs;
2. Improve the capacity of FMCs to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructure;
3. Ensure the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into FMCs in particular;
4. Ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into FMCs;
5. Foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

For each objective, targeted results, strategies to achieve them, and outcome measures were listed. While the 'Strategic framework' begins to broaden the discussion of integration beyond the economic field of practice, recommended initiatives focus largely on promoting better representation of Francophone newcomers within socio-cultural institutions (e.g. media) and adapting existing services to better suit their needs (e.g. health services). The discussion of social and cultural integration still does not adequately take into account elements of the socio-cultural field noted by the newcomer participants. For instance, Rose explained the importance of building a social network of friends that could assist with child care. The focus within this document remains upon formal institutions (e.g. schools). As with the SCOL report (Canada, 2003c), these objectives will be discussed in more detail throughout the following relevant sub-sections.

Three years later, the 'Strategic framework' was followed by a 'Strategic plan to foster immigration to Francophone minority communities' (Canada, 2006a), which focused on long-term initiatives. The 'Strategic plan' identified challenges and issues to be addressed and proposed specific actions to be taken over the course of five years (2006-2011). It argued that successful immigration is comprised of three elements: attraction, integration, and retention and settlement. Attraction related to recruiting and receiving immigrants within particular host communities. Integration referred to ensuring newcomers' successful economic and social integration. Retention and settlement related to ensuring immigrants' settlement and long-term establishment. The 'Strategic plan' classified the challenges of immigration according to four themes: the number and composition of French-speaking newcomers to FMCs; immigrant mobility; immigrants' integration difficulties; and the lack of capacity for FMCs to recruit, receive and integrate French-speaking immigrants. Furthermore, the better integration of those already settled within FMCs; the recruitment of new French-speaking immigrants; and their settlement, integration, and retention were highlighted as three directions in which to steer initiative development. It was also noted that enabling the recruitment, integration and retention of newcomers required the

following: community willingness to receive newcomers; relevant partnerships; access to French services; and the participation of municipal and provincial governments.

These documents more clearly address specific priorities associated with a goal to increase immigration to FMCs, such as improving the capacity of these communities to receive newcomers and strengthening their reception and settlement infrastructure. They also begin to consider some of the challenges faced by both the receiving communities and the newcomers themselves. For instance, when addressing the challenges to immigrants' integration into economic and social fields, the 'Strategic plan' (Canada, 2006a) cites obstacles related to the following factors: labour market integration, not having a network of contacts, not knowing the host society's values and customs, credential recognition, and weak English or French language skills. It was further suggested that at times "the situation for French-speaking immigrants is more difficult because they do not come from countries belonging to the British Commonwealth" (Canada, 2006a, p. 5). Thus government documents focussing specifically on immigration to OLMCs are more detailed in how they address the varying facets of immigration and integration, the associated challenges, and the strategies they recommend for moving forward. Ultimately, however, these documents focus on the more 'tangible' aspects of integration, such as capital acquisition in the form of credential recognition and language acquisition. Where they do mention more 'tacit' elements, such as building a network of contacts or becoming familiar with the country's customs, these are noted as obstacles to finding a job and do not take engagement in other occupations into account. As a result, the ways that migrants must negotiate transitions, not only upon arrival and within the 'host society' in general, but continuously and within varying fields of practice in particular, remains largely unacknowledged. There is also a lack of specificity in regard to the diversity of newcomers. When strategies for "better integration of immigrants and refugees already settled in FMCs" is addressed in the 'Strategic plan' (Canada, 2006, p. 7) it becomes inherently implied that all

immigrants and refugees face the same challenges. What the findings in the previous chapter highlight is that migrants' habitus, their capital, and the intersection of their identity markers are important factors that shape their unique immigration and integration experiences. As indicated in the description of government documents above, the various initiatives also tend to follow a linear approach, focussing on particular stages in the immigration process. These include the recruitment and attraction of newcomers, their reception, and their settlement and integration. Each of these stages is now addressed in turn.

6.3 Recruitment and attraction

It can be assumed that communities will not directly benefit from immigration if newcomers do not move into them. Thus, recruitment and attraction are a crucial step in attempts to develop FMCs through immigration. Yet the way recruitment and attraction are framed by the government influences the particular strategies that are deemed appropriate to undertake, making it important to consider what is being emphasized within these documents. The 'Strategic framework' (Canada, 2003a) stated that communities have to "attract and retain at least the same percentage of French-speaking immigrants as their demographic weight" (Objective 1 section, para. 1) in order to benefit demographically from immigration. Rather than leave this to chance, it was recommended that significant and targeted promotion and recruitment measures be taken (e.g. providing potential newcomers with helpful and accurate information). The emphasis on this issue is also reflected in the SCOL report recommendations (Canada, 2003c). For instance, it stresses the need for immigration officers to inform potential migrants of the existence of Canadian OLMCs and encourages Canadian embassies, consulates and diplomatic missions to promote OLMCs abroad. Such strategies suggest that challenges associated with recruitment relate primarily to the availability of information, which can lead to lack of awareness of, and knowledge about, FMCs. Defining the problem in this particular way leads to the development of particular kinds of solutions that may

not address some of the key challenges faced by newcomers, many of which were presented in chapter five. For instance, simply increasing awareness of the existence of FMCs to encourage settlement of French-speakers outside of Quebec may further contribute to the disillusionment experienced by newcomers to these communities if they are not also made aware of the particular challenges they will face as linguistic minorities within them. This was highlighted by many of the newcomer participants, such as Paul who commented that before immigrating he thought French was equally represented throughout the country, “Je croyais que c’était à 50%, donc partout” [I believed it was 50%, so everywhere] but discovered upon arrival that Francophones were predominantly located in Quebec.

Recruitment efforts, particularly through international promotion of OLMCs, can therefore create challenges for newcomers in later stages of migration if Canadian linguistic duality is not accurately represented or perceived. For instance, Quell (2002) argued that it is important for newcomers to have realistic expectations of their destinations. If Canada is presented as fully bilingual and potential French-speaking migrants are not made aware of implications of the minority status of FMCs (e.g. lack of available French health services), recruitment strategies may be successful, but succeeding stages of settlement and integration into a variety of fields may not be. Thus a tension exists within discussions on the recruitment of French-speaking immigrants. While their presence within FMCs is viewed as beneficial to the linguistic minority, their attraction to these communities must also bear in mind the challenges they will face within such a context, as so strongly expressed within the experiences of the participants shared within the previous chapter.

6.4 Reception

It is assumed within the documents reviewed that once newcomers arrive in Canada and settle within particular communities, the welcome or reception that they receive will affect their settlement and integration. Consequently, the role of

the host community in welcoming newcomers is addressed in discussions of Francophone immigration. For instance, the 'Strategic framework' (Canada, 2003a) stressed that communities need to be accepting of diversity and that migrants need to be able to access settlement services in French because these form part of the 'reception structure'. It also addressed marginalization experienced by French-speaking newcomers when emphasizing that host communities have to be more receptive to ensure that immigrants have access to social activities and institutional structures. Addressing these issues directly within the documents suggests a recognition that 'diversity' may not be well accepted within all FMCs. Yet such wording also serves to frame the issue in a particular way. Suggesting that communities need to be more welcoming and receptive implies by extension that they may simply be 'unreceptive'. What it fails to do is explicitly tackle issues like discrimination that are shown in the findings of my research to be experienced by newcomers from visible minority groups. Thus, why particular communities are deemed unaccepting of diversity needs to be dealt with more directly within government initiatives, as the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) has begun to do.

The FCFA addressed the issue of reception in their 2004 report focussed exclusively on the ability of FMCs to host newcomers. It emphasized two important factors for improving immigrant reception within FMCs. First was the need to raise awareness and consciousness of Canadian-born French-speakers regarding Francophone immigration. Second was the need to take stock of particular FMCs' capacities to welcome newcomers and to further develop these capacities in order to create favourable conditions for integration.

Recommendations for improving community reception included the need to create places and tools to be used by organizations in order to increase their contact with immigrants; the introduction of staff recruitment and racism policies within organizations; and awareness raising in the community.

While the FCFA report (2004) noted that the communities studied were open to immigration, Bourgeois et al. (2007) argued that such openness was 'theoretical' since the communities lacked understanding about newcomers. Despite more explicitly addressing the issue of diversity within their reports, however, this shift may have stemmed from criticism of the FCFA's (2001) document which explored the relationship between 'Francophone and Acadian' communities and 'ethnocultural communities', inherently situating those from visible minority groups outside of the 'mainstream' rather than recognizing them as an important part of these communities. Such a dichotomization of groups is unsurprising given the separation of government policies addressing bilingualism and multiculturalism. Community reception may be affected by the conflict between these policies, which is based in part on their genesis. Official bilingualism was originally based on the belief of two founding nations, making it difficult to situate newcomers with its policies. A linguistic community can include diverse ethnic groups, and an ethnic community can include multiple language groups. Yet as explained by Jedwab (2002), "the federal government's commitment to promote the linguistic vitality of official language communities does not imply support for the ethnocultural expression of the group identities" (p. 40), as this would fall under the purview of the Multiculturalism Program. This compartmentalization of official policies makes it problematic to support ethnic identification within the promotion of official languages. The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) began to address this issue by recommending that collaborative relationships between the Official Language Support Program and Multiculturalism Program should be strengthened to fulfil the needs of Francophone ethnocultural communities.

Although French-speakers from visible minority groups still form a small proportion of the country's Francophone population (i.e. just over 2% in Ontario), Jedwab (2002) stressed that it remains essential for those supporting OLMCs to be cognizant and inclusive of the diversity within their communities. Further openness toward newcomers by governmental authorities and

communities is necessary to avoid permanently marginalizing newcomers, since in order for strategies encouraging Francophone immigration to be successful, immigrants must feel welcome within FMCs. Yet this remains a challenge within communities with a long-established collective identity based mainly on linguistic identification (FCFA, 2004; Quell, 2002). Comments made by Danielle illustrated how her sense of belonging to the community was negatively affected by the former official definition of 'Francophone' that did not 'count' her. She further emphasized that in marginalizing Francophones from 'elsewhere', French-speaking newcomers will always face additional integration difficulties.

The need to support intercultural awareness of host FMCs, as emphasized by Bourgeois et al. (2007), is also particularly important. Some respondents from ethnocultural groups indicated feelings of marginalization or even exclusion when participating in the FCFA 'Dialogue' tour (2001). Participants within the 2004 FCFA study also felt excluded from the FMCs. They stated that being categorized as newcomers meant they were considered neither as Francophone nor Anglophone, which contributed to a "feeling of loss of identity" (p. 31). The report further indicated that many immigrants were disappointed with the support they received upon arrival. This sentiment was also echoed within my study. As explained by Belkhodja and Beaudry (2008), "at various stages of their integration into Canadian society, immigrants have many questions [...] in short about *all* aspects of life, including details that Canadians often take for granted" (p. 82). Host communities must therefore provide newcomers with the information and support they require (Belkhodja & Beaudry, 2008). This reflects the findings presented in the previous chapter that the process of 'starting over' requires not only achieving tangible and material markers of settlement and integration (e.g. housing, job), but also learning the unspoken rules of the fields in which immigrants engage throughout the settlement and integration process. This was particularly emphasized by Makane who described the additional stress associated with

his job because he was not always certain of how to perform. Thus, based on my findings as well as the secondary literature, it is clear that strategies to promote reception should be broadened to encompass the variety of challenges faced by newcomers within these FMCs. This requires not only informing members of the host community and newcomers about each other, but also recognizing how differences in their habitus can serve to marginalize newcomers whose dispositions differ from those of the host community.

6.5 Settlement and integration

Immigrants' incorporation into society is addressed in a variety of ways within the government documents. This section begins with an overview of how settlement and integration are approached in general. It then moves on to discuss the following themes, identified in my analysis of the documents, that related to this process in more detail: service provision, employment and qualification recognition, and language learning.

The notion of 'successful integration' is touted as a response to issues of immigrant marginalization and vulnerability within society, in part by encouraging their engagement with, and contribution to, the host community. CIC's (Canada, 2001b) 'Planning now for Canada's future' document outlined five characteristics that would enable successful integration: proficiency in one of Canada's official languages; the ability to find and keep a job; the ability to transfer, and make use of, previously acquired occupational skills and educational credentials; the ability to integrate commonly held Canadian values and attitudes; and the ability to access and fully participate in the institutions and associations that are available to all Canadians. Yet the notion of successful integration should not necessarily be understood as positively unproblematic, as newcomers face a range of challenges related to their incorporation within host communities. Many participants in my study described challenges to labour market integration that were based on discrimination related to aspects of their social identity, rather than a lack of appropriate qualifications or capital. For instance, Halima

discussed how being a veiled woman led people not to hire her, Danielle mentioned that her 'foreign' last name likely dissuaded people from following up on her CV, and Makane described how the labour market differed for visible minorities because of their 'portrait'. What is problematic about the characteristics listed above is the focus on each person's individual 'ability', which places the onus for success upon individual immigrants. If their potential to engage in particular occupations is restricted due to obstacles such as the presence of institutional racism, a migrant's 'inability' to achieve success should not be viewed as a personal failure in achieving integration.

Some challenges are, nonetheless, addressed within government documents, as are recommendations for overcoming them and enabling integration. Quell (2002) described the types of transitions experienced by newcomers:

Immigration means thousands of families from all over the world setting foot in Canada, often for the first time, and having to contend with the challenges that a largely unfamiliar environment presents to them. It means thousands of people having to find new homes, schools, jobs, places of worship and medical care. And many of them will also have to contend with a new linguistic environment (p. 3).

The 'Strategic plan' (Canada, 2006a, p. 7) also highlighted some of the biggest obstacles to successful integration:

- Lack of work experience in Canada, which is required by many employers;
- Lack of foreign credential recognition;
- Lack of models among the faculty in schools and post-secondary institutions;
- Lack of health services in French for immigrants;
- Discrimination by people who are prejudiced against visible minorities;
- Problems communicating clearly at work;
- Lack of English language skills; and
- Difficulties adapting to Canadian culture.

Given such barriers to integration, recommendations have been made to minimize them. Yet, Canadian settlement programs remain largely focussed on five key areas to encourage immigrant *participation* in and *contribution* to society. These include employment, housing, education, health, and income security (Jedwab, 2002). The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) also emphasized social contribution. For instance, its report argued that innovative ways of facilitating the transitions experienced should be developed, such as urging the Department of Human Resources Development Canada (a member of the CIC-FMC Steering Committee) to initiate programs for supporting and integrating newcomers by enabling them to acquire particular forms of capital, such as initial labour market experience and additional professional and linguistic skills. It was noted that such initiatives “would ensure that new arrivals would be able to contribute fully to their community and to Canadian society” (Canada, 2003c, p. 20). It should be noted however, that while all newcomers may face difficulties in their settlement and integration, many of these may be accentuated for French-speakers given their minority status, especially for those from visible minority groups who constitute a ‘minority within a minority’ (Madibbo, 2005).

Once again, what is noteworthy about the ways in which settlement and integration are framed within these documents is the assumption made in regard to what the dominant challenges are and how these should be addressed. For instance, if productivity and contribution on the part of newcomers is emphasized, it follows that lack of work experience within Canada may be problematic. The underlying assumptions for why having Canadian work experience would be beneficial however, remain unexplored. It can be interpreted that those with previous work experience within a Canadian context may be assumed to have learned how to ‘perform’ accordingly. The point about adapting to ‘Canadian culture’ also assumes that a particular way of doing and being is privileged within the country. The notion of a single culture within an officially multicultural society seems especially contradictory and should be questioned. I argue that embedded within the notion that newcomers have

difficulty adapting to 'Canadian culture' is an assumption that newcomers are expected to learn to perform according to the dominant habitus of the particular fields within which they seek to integrate and that those failing to do so are thereby seen as resisting integration. Thus, the list of 'obstacles' cited above (Canada, 2006a), inherently suggests what newcomers seeking successful integration should strive for: Canadian work experience, foreign credential recognition, clear communication at work, English language skills, and adaptability to Canadian culture. The achievement of such goals emphasizes the need for individuals to acquire forms of capital that are recognized in Canada and to adopt 'appropriate' performances. Only three of the eight points made address issues located 'outside' the individual (i.e. lack of models among faculty in schools and post-secondary institutions, lack of health care in French for immigrants, and discrimination by people who are prejudiced against visible minorities). Nonetheless, the implicit assumption remains that if these barriers were removed, immigrants could be more productive (e.g. be healthy, gain more from their education). Although the participants in my study negotiated these challenges in a variety of ways, many nonetheless acknowledged the need to make personal sacrifices in order to work toward integration, once again illustrating the onus for 'success' being placed upon individual migrants. For instance, Makane describing having to commit jihad upon himself, Rose discussed limiting financial support to her extended family, and Marie emphasized having to start over and sacrifice herself to learn English. Not all participants uncritically accepted this responsibility, however, as many also noted the frustration and difficulty associated with attempting to work toward integration as they faced barriers that remained outside of their personal control, such as the error made in Rose's accreditation process that limited her opportunities for continuing education.

While integration is often referred to as a 'two way street' (e.g. Biles & Winnemore, 2006), the onus for successful integration is largely placed upon individual newcomers, as shown throughout this chapter, with the exception of

limited attention paid to receiving communities. Nevertheless issues such as the availability and appropriateness of information and services geared toward Francophone immigrants must also be considered. The discussion of settlement and integration within the documents reviewed noted particular themes that will now each be attended to individually. These include service provision, employment and qualification recognition, and language learning.

6.5.1 Service provision

The theme of service provision is a dominant one within documents on Francophone immigration, not only because services can support newcomers' settlement and integration, but also because this issue is central within discussions of OLMCs more broadly. It was specified within the federal Official Languages Act (1969) that where there is significant demand, services must be provided in both official languages (Canada, 2001a). Ontario also passed the Ontario's French Languages Services Act in 1986, which guarantees the public's rights to receive government services in French within the twenty-five designated areas, and provides for a French language services coordinator within each ministry (Bourgeois et al., 2007). In 1994, London became the twenty-third designated area in the province (Ontario, 2010). However, such legislation does not guarantee that all services will be available in French, nor does it regulate the quality of the service provided. For instance, the provincial French Language Services Act does not apply to all public organizations (e.g. hospitals) and except where powers have been transferred from the province, municipalities are excluded (Bourgeois et al., 2007; MCCF, 2006). The issue of service access and use was so predominant within the meetings with newcomers that I categorized 'services' as a specific field of practice within my analysis presented in chapter five. For instance, Marie's comment that the lack of French service availability and her need to learn English made her feel 'colonized' was particularly striking and emphasized the importance of this issue for FMCs in general and for Francophone newcomers in particular.

Spontaneous use of French in public service in FMCs is not yet a norm and the issue of 'active offer' versus 'active demand' acts as a vicious circle within the services field that negatively affects service provision for French-speakers. Bourgeois et al. (2007) explained that Francophones fail to request the French services they are entitled to because they are often unaware that these are available. Conversely, government institutions fail to actively offer services in French because they do not see a sufficient demand. This issue has been directly addressed by the province's French Language Services Commissioner. He emphasized the 'active offer' approach in his first annual report (OFLSC, 2008), explaining that the notion of 'supply and demand' must be *reversed* in a minority setting. He argued that services have to be offered first, in order for demands to emerge. This is especially true for Francophone newcomers within this field who may not be familiar with Canadian policies regulating when it is mandatory to provide French services and when it is not.

It is argued that service provision in French not only assists Francophone newcomers, it also benefits FMCs by curbing assimilation and language transfer amongst newcomers. The absence of French services would hinder Francophone newcomers' process of settlement and integration, and require them to frequent Anglophone institutions, working against efforts to recruit them to FMCs (George & Mwarigha, 1999; Jedwab, 2002, 2008). Danielle emphasized this point in explaining that when Francophones cannot access services to which they are entitled, they are inherently forced to speak English. The need for access to French services is not limited to the act of service provision itself, it is also symbolically important within FMCs. As argued by the Ontario's French Language Services Commissioner,

Being a Franco-Ontarian and living in French is a choice that one must make every day. Government institutions that understand this and that actively offer French-speaking Ontarians an opportunity to be served in French make this choice a little easier, remove some of the burden, and help to create a sense of cultural rootedness and strength (OFLSC, 2009, p. 7).

He went on to explain that, by extension, not offering services in French weakens the community by failing to enhance its potential and to fight assimilation. Makane made a similar comment that Francophone organizations play a symbolic role beyond service provision that serves to unite communities within minority settings. These points relate to the characteristics of vitality noted in the thesis introduction, such as institutional support. Bourgeois et al. (2007) emphasized the importance of Francophone institutions for contributing to community life and enabling resistance to assimilation because they do more than offer services: they also contribute to identity-building and larger symbolic and political purposes. Once again, however, when supporting FMCs attention must be paid to the diversity of their community members and to the intersectionality of language with other markers of identity, such as race and gender.

6.5.2 Employment and qualification recognition

Employment figures prominently in discussions of settlement and integration because it is proposed as central to integration into the economic field, and economic integration is viewed as essential for enabling social integration (Canada, 2006a). Newcomers face a series of obstacles to labour market entry, several of which were noted in the presentation of research findings in the previous chapter. The lack of recognition of their qualifications, whether formal credentials or past work experience, garners much attention in government documents and studies on FMCs (FCFA, 2001, 2004; Canada, 2003c). For instance, the 'Strategic framework' (Canada, 2003a) stressed the importance of migrants' economic integration. It highlighted that immigrants have less success in the labour market than those born in Canada, even when they have greater levels of specialization and education than Canadian workers. The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) directly addressed this issue by recommending that the Canadian Government act to ensure that provinces and regulatory authorities treat immigrants' foreign credentials equitably. This point is noteworthy given that

varying levels of jurisdiction may complicate processes of accreditation, especially for regulated professions.

Quell (2002) emphasized that challenges faced by newcomers in this regard lead many to eventually stop pursuing recognition and instead seek to obtain Canadian qualifications. This process of capital acquisition is costly in terms of time and finances, and may be redundant for professionals that are already qualified. The frustration associated with this process was emphasized by participants in my study, many of whom could no longer work in the same profession within Canada because much of their capital (e.g. degrees obtained abroad) was not recognized here. When addressing the need to 'start over', they also stressed the time and cost that would be required to return to school and the need for English language skills to attend most higher education institutions. Beyond credential recognition, the FCFA (2004) emphasized that additional barriers also exist, since newcomers who obtain a degree or diploma in Canada still have difficulty finding work. This point was also reinforced by the findings presented in chapter five. Employer attitudes are identified as an important barrier to newcomers' economic integration. The hesitation to hire them is often attributed, at least on the surface, to their lack of work experience within Canada (FCFA, 2004; Framework, 2003). Yet, as suggested by my research, I argue that the hesitation may indeed be related to a reluctance to employ someone with a different habitus, that is, someone who is viewed as 'other' because they look or do things differently than what is perceived as expected or appropriate within a given field of practice. Consequently, many newcomers are forced to work without remuneration (i.e. volunteer) or get a job below their qualifications in order to gain the requisite 'Canadian experience'. Paul, Rose and Gilberto all discussed having to volunteer prior to securing employment. This can be devastating for newcomers who were not aware that they would have to requalify in Canada, or who do not seek a job solely for the sake of employment, but because it reflects their skills and education (Bisson, Bucumi, & Gabikini, 2003), and hence their status and identity. For example Khalil emphasized his desire to

engage in meaningful employment but explained that given the challenges he faced in the Canadian labour market he had since had to 'lower the bar'. Ultimately, such expectations on the part of employers, and the lack of effective policies to address issues related to credential recognition, contribute to a context sustaining the under-employment of newcomers. Ironically, the devaluing of newcomers' capital inherently contradicts emphases placed upon skilled migration and successful integration that emphasize contribution and productivity on the part of newcomers.

6.5.3 Language learning

Proficiency in Canada's official languages is a key barrier to integration within various fields for many newcomers. While Francophone immigrants are familiar with at least one of the two, they still face linguistic challenges. For instance, they may have difficulty communicating in French with other members of the FMC due to differing accents within the community (FCFA, 2004), such as Marie's experience of working a retail job in Quebec. However, the primary linguistic barrier to integration for French-speaking newcomers, particularly those settling in FMCs, remains learning the English language. Not only is knowledge of English important within a minority context, it is especially crucial for economic integration. While particular occupations (e.g. grocery shopping) may be accomplished with limited English language skills, though not always to the point of meeting all of one's needs, fluency is often required to secure employment or to obtain education specific to one's profession.

As supported by the findings presented in chapter five, linguistic barriers to integration stem in part from the false impression many immigrants are given of Canadian bilingualism prior to their arrival. As also discussed above (section 6.3), Canada is presented abroad as a bilingual country. While it is officially bilingual, the particular 'geography' of language within the country should be specified as being characterized by concentrations of Francophones within particular places, many of which are in minority settings. Jedwab (2002) reviewed

how official bilingualism was presented to newcomers in CIC's publications, *A Look at Canada* (Canada, 1999) and *Welcome to Canada* (Canada, 2001c). The latter stated:

One of the most important skills you will need to adapt to life here in Canada is to speak English or French. Once you learn one or both of these languages, you will find it easier to get a job, to understand Canada, and to communicate with your children, who will be busy learning English or French at school (Canada, 2006b, p. 31).

This suggests that fluency in *either* English *or* French is sufficient throughout the country. Yet, newcomers' experiences of Canadian bilingualism often differ from their expectations, as most find solely having French language skills is insufficient to facilitate integration in most of the country. As stated within the FCFA (2004) report, although many participants were mostly aware that Francophones are concentrated in Quebec, many also believed that they could live in French elsewhere in the country. This assumption was expressed by most of my study's participants. As a result, immigrants settling outside of Quebec quickly learned that full participation in Canadian society required English language capital. This negatively impacted their integration, and "isolation, problems finding employment and disappointment with Canada were among the effects listed" (FCFA, 2004, p. 28). This reflects an important tension related to FMC immigration, as French-speaking newcomers ultimately need to learn English within London to enable their integration, yet English language learning can also lead to language transfer and assimilation into the Anglophone community. Access to English courses was also challenging for many participants due to a variety of issues such as the need to balance this occupation with others, which could be difficult if supports such as child care were unavailable. Ultimately, whether migrants move to London, settle within the city, and integrate into the community relates not only to the issues raised within the governmental initiatives described above, but also to their day-to-day experiences at the local scale. It is therefore necessary to further consider the particular context of London where my study took place.

6.6 Francophone immigration to London

While the Census data presented in section 1.3.1 of the thesis introduction offer a glimpse of London's French-speaking population, the numbers do not reflect the community's attempts to address Francophone immigration. As a result, the following sections focus specifically upon the city's FMC. This section includes a summary and discussion of a local level study conducted in 2003 (Bisson et al., 2003) and the following section addresses the findings from interviews conducted with the representatives from governmental and community organizations within London conducted during stage four of my CE. The findings from these interviews are presented within four sub-sections including: a description of the organizations, issues faced by Francophone minority communities, issues faced by Francophone organizations, and issues faced by Francophone newcomers.

In 2003 the ACFO hired a consulting firm to evaluate the needs of Francophone immigrants and refugees, and to determine the community's capacity to host them and provide for their settlement, integration and promotion within the London-Sarnia region (Bisson et al., 2003). This is the only research document specific to both Francophone immigration and the city of London that I was able to locate, and I therefore present a detailed summary. Data generation methods employed by the consultants included a literature review; participation of French-speaking immigrants and refugees in a preliminary meeting (N=8), in-depth interviews (N=27), and a questionnaire survey (N=47); in-depth interviews with five representatives from settlement and integration organizations; telephone interviews with ten Francophone community leaders; and a public meeting.

The authors estimated that between 1991 and 2001 approximately 500 to 800 French-speaking immigrants and refugees settled in London, representing about 10% of the city's Francophone population (Bisson et al., 2003). For many of these newcomers, a substantial number of whom came from Africa, French was their second or third language. A large number of them were also Hispanic. In general, the city's French-speaking immigrant population was young, educated

and under-employed. At the time of the study, the French Community Access and Resource Centres located in the Centre Desloges welcomed newcomers. The majority of their clientele were born outside of Canada (80%) and were refugees (70%). Refugees also represented 33% of respondents to the study's questionnaire. This is noteworthy as the settlement and integration experiences of refugees are likely to differ from those of other categories of immigrants. For instance, asylum seekers are not currently eligible for particular services like subsidised English language courses.

Findings were presented in three sections related to newcomer needs, culture shock, and level of satisfaction related to welcome and integration. While the report highlighted important points to consider, it should be interpreted with caution given that the majority of findings were drawn from quantitative data that were not statistically significant due to a small non-representative sample. Findings related to newcomers' needs were presented according to the following themes:

- Welcome and integration (e.g. resources, accurate information),
- Services in French (e.g. housing, education, finances),
- Housing (e.g. education and assistance regarding specific requirements such as need for references),
- Education and credential recognition (e.g. inefficiency of process),
- Labour market (e.g. acquiring Canadian experience),
- Business start-up (e.g. financing),
- Judicial services (e.g. knowledge of laws and judicial system), and
- Engagement in economic and community development (e.g. volunteering).

The report also raised the issue of culture shock, described in brief as the difference between 'dream and reality', which is largely unaddressed in the government documents reviewed above. The authors argued that newcomers

can arrive with a 'deformed' image of Canada with some anticipating that it will be a sort of Heaven on earth. Indeed, while this point was not emphasized in chapter five, some participants in my study did refer to Canada as an 'eldorado' where one's dreams would be possible to achieve. Such an expectation can lead to feelings of deception, which were discussed in the previous chapter, when one's experiences differ largely from what they expect to find. For instance, although Khalil described how he had anticipated challenges prior to migrating, he nonetheless felt shocked by the extent of the difficulties he and his family faced, some of which he had not expected. This included his ongoing difficulty in securing full time employment despite his qualifications.

The authors' findings related to culture shock were categorized according to the following themes: stereotypes and prejudices based on one's name, Canadian experience, individualism, solitude, type of dress, being reduced to less than nothing, student behaviour, Canadian ambivalence, living one's Francophonie among Francophones, having to express oneself in English, and communication and culture (Bisson et al., 2003). The impacts of culture shock upon newcomers were listed as follows: stress; separations and divorces; discouragement; personal and familial frustration; depression; moral, intellectual and psychological problems; and conflicts with children. Many of the quotations presented within this report echo comments made by participants in my study. For instance, the following statement reflects the increased individualism experienced by Francophone newcomers to London:

C'est très difficile de vivre ici. Au pays ou même en France où je suis restée quelques mois, il y a des amis et des parents partout. Ici par contre, chacun vit dans son coin. L'individualisme d'ici me déprime et je pense très souvent à repartir. Je ne sens pas avoir trouvé ma place ici.

It's very difficult to live here. Back home or even in France where I lived for a few months, there are friends and parents everywhere. Here however, each lives in his or her corner. The individualism here depresses me and I often think of moving back. I don't feel I have found my place here. (Bisson et al., 2003, p. 19)

This is very similar to the points made by Marie, Rose and Danielle who emphasized the difference between what they described as the individualism of Canadian society as compared to the more collectivist nature of their societies 'back home'.

Finally, findings related to newcomers' satisfaction with their welcome and integration were addressed. The study evaluated satisfaction of services received in relation to reception, professional accreditation, and accessibility of the following: housing, health services, children's education, judicial services, labour market, financial services, transportation, leisure, and courses for upgrading and English as a second language. In their conclusion the authors stated that the participants' levels of satisfaction with the services received were relatively high, but differed between immigrants and refugees, with refugees generally being less satisfied (Bisson et al., 2003). This was in part related to the long legal process faced by refugee claimants, many of whom became discouraged. Particular challenges faced by the newcomer population included labour market integration, related in part to language (fluency and accent), and lack of Canadian experience.

The authors also made a distinction between the Canadian-born and immigrant Francophone populations, stating that the Canadian-born population was concerned with protecting its culture, while immigrants were primarily concerned with economic integration, with social integration being secondary (Bisson et al., 2003). They argued that while newcomers wanted a cultural life in French, they recognized the need to learn English to secure employment. Thus, they needed to build bridges to the Anglophone community for work, and to the Francophone community for their cultural life (with culture being largely related to language in this sense). The authors also addressed the host community, indicating that they did not fully comprehend the extent of challenges faced by newcomers. Finally, the report addressed the tension between the Canadian-born and newcomer

communities, stating that neither was making the necessary effort to understand the other, leading to a lack of dialogue.

The authors made five recommendations to encourage Francophone immigration and integration (Bisson et al., 2003). The first was that the community adopt a proactive strategy to make the region attractive for French-speaking immigrants and refugees. The second was for the community to invest in local efforts upon which it could act directly, and to establish collaborations with provincial and national organizations to address issues requiring a national approach. The third was for local organizations to develop a new methodology to teach 'commonly spoken' English for French-speaking newcomers, given the respondents' dissatisfaction with their English language learning courses. The fourth was that the community develop an economic integration strategy in addition to a focus on employability that favoured the development of an entrepreneurial culture among French-speaking newcomers. The final recommendation was for the community to create a new organization composed primarily of French-speaking immigrants and refugees to be charged with the implementation of strategies facilitating the settlement of Francophone newcomer families in the region.

Based on what I have observed throughout my time in the community, many of these recommendations have been addressed in some way. For instance, the ACFO started an English club focussing on conversational language. A new organization focussed on the multiculturalism of the Francophone community, the 'Regroupement multiculturel francophone de London', was initiated. The ACFO also became a part of the 'Réseau de soutien à l'immigration francophone du Centre-Sud-Ouest de l'Ontario' (Central-Southwestern Francophone Immigration Support Network, CSFISN). The CSFISN was formed in 2006 following recommendations from the CIC-FMC Steering Committee and its Ontario sub-committee to initiate three Francophone immigration networks within the province. With partnership support from the 'Centre Francophone de Toronto' and the ACFO, the 'Centre de santé communautaire Hamilton/Niagara' was

granted the CSFISN. The global objective of the network is to support the implementation of the five objectives stated in the 'Strategic framework' (Canada, 2003a). Yet the ongoing challenges faced by newcomers, as emphasized by the participants in my study, suggest that such efforts are not a solution in and of themselves. As highlighted by their comments, French-speaking immigrants face a number of challenges within the London FMC. To explore this further, the following section presents findings from interviews with the six governmental and community organization representatives that highlight the challenges associated with Francophone immigration and integration from their point of view.

6.7 Interviews with governmental and community organization representatives

Federal government policies on bilingualism, multiculturalism and immigration make international Francophone immigration to FMCs an issue of national scope. Provincial governments also shape FMCs through their areas of jurisdiction (e.g. Office of the French Languages Services Commissioner). However, while being embedded within these broader provincial and national scale contexts, the experiences of individual migrants, those in the communities that receive them, and those working for the organizations and agencies that serve them are lived at a much smaller scale, that is, at a community level. As a result, the federal and provincial documents discussed above are of relevance to all FMCs in Ontario, but the way Francophone immigration plays out in various cities differs based on their respective local contexts.

To provide additional insight into the city's current situation with regard to newcomers within the FMC, semi-structured interviews were conducted with six representatives, one from each of the following governmental and community organizations: Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO), Centre communautaire régional de London (CCRL), Carrefour des femmes du sud-ouest de l'Ontario (CFSSO), Collège Boréal, Centre d'acquisition des compétences et des talents des immigrants francophones du sud-ouest de l'Ontario (CACTIFO),

and the Ontario Trillium Foundation (OTF). These interviews provided a more detailed understanding of London's FMC from the perspective of local service providers and organizational representatives, and of how French-speaking immigration to this city is embedded within the specific local context. I asked these participants to describe their organizations and what they saw as the issues facing the London FMC. Discussions relating to things like the organizations' mission statements, therefore, did not come from official documentation or websites, but rather from the participants' perspectives. The purpose, from my critical paradigm location, was not to present an 'accurate' representation of the community's single 'reality'. Rather, it was to uncover how those who work for organizations that serve newcomers understand the issues the community faces, and to consider how these understandings are part of the structure in which the experiences of French-speaking immigrants occur.

The findings are presented in four sub-sections. I begin with a description of the organizations as outlined by these six participants. In my analysis of these interviews, I then identified issues at three 'scales': communities, organizations, and newcomers. Each of these is addressed in turn. These issues were discussed by the respondents from the governmental and community organizations during the interviews and reflect their articulation of the key challenges. Findings are presented in the past tense because the interviews took place at a particular point in time and changes have occurred since (e.g. composition of a board of directors, services offered). The findings in these sub-sections are also presented somewhat differently from those in the previous chapter. Given the smaller number of participants recruited for this section of the study, and the small size and limited number of staff and members of the boards of directors within some of the organizations, findings and quotations are not directly linked to specific respondents. In the following sub-sections when I refer to participants or respondents, I am referring to this particular sample of six governmental and community organization representatives. When relating their

comments to those made by respondents who participated in stages one to three of the CE, I refer to the newcomer participants by pseudonym (e.g. Halima).

6.7.1 Description of the organizations

The ACFO had a mandate to defend the French language. To 'defend' in this sense referred to the responsibility of ensuring that the rights of Francophones were respected (e.g. having French-language services available at the passport office) and thereby acting as a 'watch dog'. The ACFO also had a mandate to serve Francophones in the region, but the staff was largely bilingual and also capable of serving English-speaking clientele. Service provision was wide ranging, with many services available to the French-speaking population in general, including newcomers. Examples included their employment services (e.g. employment counsellors, workshops, etc.), translation services, and Francophone business centre to encourage entrepreneurship. Some of their services were also offered in partnership with other community organizations. For instance, the Wraparound program for seniors was offered in collaboration with the London Intercommunity Health Centre.

In relation to newcomers, the ACFO's mandate was to orient them and assist their integration. Particular services were geared specifically toward the immigrant population. These included a settlement and integration program focused primarily on identifying immediate needs (i.e. language, employment, education) and working to address them, either directly or through referrals. The ACFO also worked with newcomer youths by offering an integration program in French schools for them, their parents and their teachers; and by offering a summer program. Additional services were further developed according to identified needs within the community. For instance, the arrival of increasing numbers of migrants from war-torn countries led to development of support services for victims of war and torture. It should be noted that the provision of particular services was dictated by funding, which could impose eligibility criteria.

For instance, refugee claimants were excluded from the settlement and integration program.

The CCRL had a mission of supporting the Francophonie within London, by bringing together and representing the Francophone community in its cultural diversity. Their programs focused on offering educational and cultural activities. They ran the Escal program that offered before and after school programming for school aged youth. They also offered three to four performances a year by bringing in musicians and theatre groups, and organized the annual celebrations of the St-Jean Baptiste and Francophonie week.

The CFSOO assisted females that have been victims of abuse of a sexual nature. Their targeted clientele were French-speaking women, regardless of age, race, legal status, or time and location of abuse. Direct services available to their clientele included individual and group counselling, active listening, and referrals to address specific needs (e.g. Ontario Works, Legal Aid), among others. Indirect services geared to the general public included awareness campaigns and public presentations, among others. Their services were thus available to newcomer women, which was important as many of their clients were victims of domestic violence and war-related rape. Given their diverse clientele, the women's cultural specificity was taken into account during service delivery. The need to use innovative ways to provide services in order to avoid the stigma related to this issue was emphasized.

The Collège Boréal is a Francophone applied arts college that offered education services in French. Within Southwestern Ontario in particular, the college's offerings reflected the community context, which had a smaller Francophone population than other cities with a college site. They offered a variety of language courses including French as a Second Language courses for Anglophones, and two English as a Second Language programs for newcomers or others who wanted to learn English. The first covered levels 1-7 through the government-funded 'LINC' program (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada); the

second covered levels 7-10 with an additional placement within a local business. The placements were most often in English due to a lack of French businesses and organizations. Language courses for newcomers were subsidized, yet, an important service delivery gap existed because such subsidies were unavailable for refugee claimants.

The CACTIFO aimed to discover and promote people's competencies and talents, and to enable immigrant integration by providing immigrants with community-specific information in relation to various domains and by promoting their contributions to society. They focused on the domains of education, health, sport, and environment. Their goal was to inform Francophone ethnocultural newcomers, but they eventually sought to address the broader community in London. They were organizing projects, but had not yet obtained the funding to implement them and were seeking to partner with other organizations in order to offer these.

The OTF is a funding agency that promoted healthy and vibrant communities in Ontario. In addition to funding, representatives also met with community groups to identify synergies and partnerships that could be formed to help realize the foundation's mandate. The OTF had target areas in 4 sectors: arts and culture, sports and recreation, social services, and environment. While they did not specifically address immigration, applicable programs involving support for newcomers that fell within these target areas were fundable. For instance, the Café-Causette program offered through the CFSOO was partly funded by the OTF. That program involved the organization of a monthly gathering for French-speaking women to engage in an activity they helped select (e.g. yoga, picnic). Most of the participants were newcomer women. Ultimately however, the OTF could not impede the mandates of other agencies or ministries such as CIC and therefore could not directly fund settlement and integration programs.

While available services or programs may have been geared specifically to particular groups (e.g. newcomers, women), the organizations' mandates were

not immigrant-specific. All organizations were open to the French-speaking population in general, which included newcomers. While service provision was related to the mandate of each respective organization, their mandates may have shifted over time to reflect funding realities and community needs. For instance, it was noted that the ACFO's role had evolved beyond its earlier focus on the reclamation of rights for French-speakers in order to more recently offer a range of newcomer settlement services. The CCRL had also widened its mandate to include a stronger focus on youth. Another important point to highlight is the exclusion of asylum seekers, or refugee claimants, from some of the services provided to newcomers. As noted in the study of London described above (Bisson et al., 2003), this group is disproportionately high among the Francophone community in London. If service providers are restricted from assisting them due to regulations from funding agencies, an important segment of the community remains marginalized.

All organizations had a diverse staff that included Francophone newcomers, with the exception of the CACTIFO, which had no staff at the time and was run by newcomer volunteers employed elsewhere within the community. Nearly all also had a diverse board of directors (the current composition of one of the boards was unknown by one participant). Ethnocultural diversity within the staff and board of directors was viewed as important because participants wanted their organizations to reflect their clientele, benefit from the richness of multiculturalism, and provide equal opportunity for employment. Diversity within the organizations was present at varying levels, from employees to executive directors and boards of directors. It was emphasized that having newcomers included at all these levels is important because they have varying degrees of power within the organization. Overall, the participants felt their organizations had a positive relationship with their clientele, but it was noted that this could be improved by attracting a larger number of them. For instance, a larger client base could enable them to obtain additional funding to address service gaps. Keeping this general overview of the participants' organizations in mind, I now turn to a

more detailed discussion of the findings stemming from the interviews conducted with them, which are presented in three sections: issues faced by Francophone minority communities, organizations, and newcomers.

6.7.2 Issues faced by Francophone minority communities

In order to address the particular issues faced by FMCs in relation to international migration and the integration of newcomers, one requires at least a partial understanding of the unique situation in which these communities exist. As noted within the government documents, minority linguistic communities face a tendency toward the assimilation of Francophone community members into the broader Anglophone community given the challenges they face on a daily basis to living their lives in French. FMCs are also diversifying demographically as a result of immigration, and encouraging unity and solidarity within an increasingly diverse community is another contemporary challenge for these communities, especially given their differences in habitus. Thus, many participants addressed not only the challenges faced by French-speaking newcomers, but also the issues that FMCs in general must confront. One respondent stated that being part of the Francophone community required a sustained and active effort. It was further explained to me that as a result of having been in a minority situation and having faced oppression and discrimination for generations, Francophones may become very protective of their culture. Others noted that living in a minority context may also cause Francophones to become plagued by a form of 'inferiority complex' characterized by apathy or shame. I view these on a continuum. I interpret the idea of protectionism as being related to the resistance toward immigration by some community members, noted within the documents discussed above, because it could entail a change within the community that may have fought for decades to secure a particular identity or culture. On the other end of the continuum, related to a sense of not proudly identifying as Francophone, one participant explained,

L'impression que j'ai c'est que le francophone a peut être honte aussi des francophones, je ne sais pas, s'affiche pas très vite aux

francophones. Aussitôt que le francophone connaît l'anglais c'est fini, demande des services en anglais.

The impression I have is that the Francophone is a bit ashamed also of Francophones, I don't know, does not attach oneself very quickly to Francophones. As soon as the Francophone knows English it's over, asks for services in English.

I suggest that either reaction to being within a minority context, whether protectionism or apathy on the part of Francophones, makes newcomers' incorporation into FMCs especially challenging. For instance, it is difficult to integrate into sub-groups within the community that are very tightly knit and resistant to change, while it is also difficult to participate in the broader Francophone community because it is small, scattered and not easily identifiable (e.g. due to assimilation into the Anglophone community as suggested in the quotation above). It was thus noted by participants that the city's Francophone community was not a single, homogeneous group. Rather, the community was comprised of various groups, many of which were categorized by the respondents according to various markers (e.g. Francophone youth, Francophone older adults, 'ethnocultural' Francophones). In addition to such visible markers of differentiation within the community, respondents also noted differences that were more attitudinal in nature (e.g. openness to immigration).

While it was noted that there was a particular 'segment' of the London community that was hesitant to change within the FMC (e.g. those who may fall on the 'protectionism' end of the continuum), some participants felt that rather than remaining central to the community and marginalizing newcomers, this group had instead withdrawn itself from the mainstream community, in essence marginalizing itself. One respondent described this as follows:

C'est quand même une des rare villes, j'en connais pas d'autre, où il y a cette mixité là. Que la communauté francophone il n'y a pas de distinction, tout le monde ce mélange. Prend les activités, qui ce fait par le centre communautaire ou bien, tout le monde est mélangé. Les francophones de souche ou pas, immigrantes, tout le monde est mélangé, pour ceux qui veulent s'intégrer à la communauté bien sûr. [...] Bien je sais aussi que dans la

communauté francophone il y a une partie de la communauté francophone de souche qui ne sont pas content de cette mixité qui se sont retiré. Ça je le sais. Ok. Qui disent bien on se retrouve plus dans cette communauté là.

And, it's still one of the rare cities, I don't know others, where there is that mix. Take the activities, that are done by the community centre or else, everyone is mixed. The Canadian-born Francophones or not, immigrants, everyone is mixed, for those that want to integrate into the community to be sure. [...] Well I also know that in the Francophone community there is a part of the Canadian-born Francophone community that is not happy about this mixing and that have withdrawn themselves. That I know. Ok. That say well we don't see ourselves in that community anymore.

This was a shift that was described as seemingly particular to London, rather than the norm within FMCs. As noted above, other communities have been described as more segregated, with less inclusion of diverse newcomers within organizations (FCFA, 2004), illustrating how habitus serves to unify groups of people with similar dispositions, and by extension serving as a mechanism of exclusion for those who do not have the same tendencies or share the same embodied knowledge. It was suggested that the perceived success London had had in better integrating newcomers into the community might be due in part to the presence of immigrants within community organizations (e.g. staff, board of directors). However, the organizations continued to face difficulty in sustaining engaged participation of the community as a whole, newcomers or otherwise. It was explained earlier in this chapter that immigration is viewed as a tool to help mitigate the effects of ongoing assimilation of French-speakers (Canadian-born or immigrant) into the larger Anglophone community, which causes FMCs to become increasingly smaller. Yet this poses challenges both for the newcomers seeking to join Francophone communities, and for the organizations seeking to serve them. Organizations face the ongoing challenge of retaining French-speakers within the FMC, which is complicated by the difficulty they have in identifying and encouraging Francophones to become engaged in the community. This is partly because language, unlike skin pigmentation or gender, is not a visible marker of identity and many Francophones do not self-identify as

such and live largely in English. This was also described as partly a consequence of living within a minority setting, as Francophones were said to often use English by default in social interactions. This may be attributed to the lower rate of bilingualism among Anglophones (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010) and the resulting assumption that others one meets will not speak French. The challenge this posed to the London FMC was clearly identified by one participant who explained:

On est effectivement perdu dans un monde et lorsqu'on est avec un groupe complètement anglophone on hésite de parler français. Et c'est normal, parce que ces gens là à ce moment là vont dire 'qu'est ce qui disent entre eux?' Alors il faut faire attention, bon, cependant, on pourrait trouver une façon plus facile de s'identifier etcetera. Et ça c'est un danger épouvantable. Je fais parti d'un comité où on est 15 francophones autour de la table, il y a un anglophone et toute la réunion ce fait en anglais. Et ça, ça l'arrive tout le temps. Ça aussi c'est un danger épouvantable. Alors moi je dis, la façon de régler ça, c'est qu'il faut combattre l'assimilation par l'intégration.

We are effectively lost in a world and once we are with a completely Anglophone group we hesitate to speak French. And it's normal, because those people at that moment will say 'what are they saying amongst themselves?' So you have to be careful, so, however, we could find an easier way, to identify one another etcetera. And that's an incredible danger. I am part of a committee where we are 15 Francophones around the table, there is one Anglophone and the whole meeting is conducted in English. And that happens all the time. That's also an incredible danger. So I say, the way to resolve this, is that we have to combat assimilation through integration.

It was noted that due to the Francophone community's lack of visibility and its small size, it was difficult for newcomers to build a social network and participate in the city's Francophonie. From the participants' perspectives, this can be addressed in part by engaging in what I have labelled as 'community occupations', which bring French-speakers together. Such community occupations include a range of social gatherings organized for diverse purposes that are mainly held by community organizations. Indeed, one participant defined 'community' as a group of people that *do* things together.

For instance, one participant described the positive effect of a community occupation related to a contemporary health issue:

[Q]uand il y a des plus grands forums où il y a des diversités qui arrivent mais qui sont francophones, dernièrement j'ai vu il y avait un atelier sur H1N1, il y avait des Arabes qui parlait français, l'ambiance était chaleureuse. Quand on a la même langue de communication on a une acquise, on s'associe [...].

[W]hen there are larger forums where there are diversities that arrive but that are Francophone, recently I saw that there was a workshop on H1N1, there were Arabs that spoke French, the ambiance was warm. When we have the same language of communication we have an ease, we can associate [...].

By extension then, when French-speakers do not participate, the community is negatively affected by their absence. The growing diversity of the community could, however, make it more difficult to plan activities that cater to a variety of interests, and by extension to welcome newcomers into the host community.

While historically there has been an emphasis upon shared 'culture' for uniting Francophones, given that FMCs are increasingly characterized by French-speakers from a variety of cultures, emphasis is increasingly placed upon shared language. Though such a shift may enable openness toward newcomers by emphasizing what Francophones continue to share (i.e. language), rather than what differentiates them (e.g. race), sub-groups with a similar habitus and who share particular aspects of social and personal identity (e.g. interests, countries of origin) will continue to exist, particularly as people's identities are not related to a single marker. As a result, various clubs or associations existed within the community (e.g. Association culturelle canado-congolaise de London for the Congolese, Cercle des Copains for Francophone seniors) and might be more successful in organizing activities that reflected their members' habitus and interests. Although such groups were not viewed by the participants as creating separations within the community, and it was argued that their presence should be encouraged because they enable Francophones with similar interests to come together,

respondents emphasized that it was difficult for their organizations to unite the community as a whole. For instance, although events inviting the broader community were attended by a diversity of Francophones (e.g. Canadian-born, newcomers), they remained unsuccessful in building momentum for sustained community engagement. As explained by one participant,

Il y a des activités sporadique, nous faisons notre AGA, on appelle les francophones arrivent, quelques gens arrive, c'est juste pour cette activité là, il n'y a pas comme tel quelque chose de continue qui permettrait l'interpénétration des gens [...]. Si on avait par exemple des manifestations communes qui regrouperaient des francophones quatre ou cinq fois par ans, je crois qu'on serait plus uni. Mais s'il faut attendre seulement les grands événements comme la fête du Canada, ou la St-Jean-Baptiste, ou la semaine de la francophonie, ou le mois des noirs, c'est tellement ponctuel et les relations meurent avant la fin de l'événement.

There are sporadic activities, we do our AGM, we call, the Francophones arrive, some people arrive, it's just for that activity, there is nothing continuous as such that permits peoples' interpenetration [...]. If we had for example common demonstrations that would bring Francophones together four or five times a year, I believe we would be more united. But if we have to wait only for the big events like Canada day, or the St-Jean-Baptiste, or the week of the Francophonie, or the Black History Month, it's so punctual and the relations die before the end of the event.

It seems that while community occupations are useful for bringing Francophones together, they are less successful in enabling a longer term sense of community. Encouraging unity and solidarity within an increasingly diverse community was a contemporary challenge for the London FMC that respondents felt community organizations could work to address. While no clear-cut solutions were offered given the complexity of the issue, it was noted that the organizations had an important role to play in assisting newcomer integration, not simply through the provision of settlement services, but also more broadly through community building. For instance, it was noted that continuing to bring the Canadian-born and newcomer populations together through community occupations would further contribute to the 'openness of spirit' of each group and encourage solidarity of the FMC. Ultimately, this

presents an alternative way of conceptualizing integration in that strategies to promote successful integration need not solely be directed primarily toward individuals and capital acquisition (e.g. resume writing workshops). There is also a need to build a stronger sense of community for the FMC to which diverse people, sharing a language, can feel they belong. This point was echoed by Danielle who explained that if Francophone migrants from visible minority groups were not welcomed by the host community and were unable to develop a sense of belonging, they might be more likely to assimilate into the Anglophone community.

6.7.3 Issues faced by Francophone organizations

Respondents from the governmental and community organizations also discussed issues faced by Francophone organizations. Although the role of Francophone organizations extends beyond service provision, this remains an important part of their daily operations. As noted in section 6.5.1 above, the availability of services in French is important not only for Francophone newcomers, but also for FMCs more broadly. Although government policy requires federal and provincial services to be made available in both official languages, newcomers may still have difficulty accessing these for a variety of reasons, such as a lack of bilingual staff within Anglophone organizations. Thus there is a need for Francophone organizations that offer services, rather than for French services offered through Anglophone organizations. While such a difference may seem subtle, it was explained by a participant that Francophone organizations create a different environment for clientele because *all* operations are conducted in French,

Quand elle appelle [organisation], automatiquement on va répondre en français. C'est déjà un point de départ. Ça va la rassurer, ça va l'encourager à demander des services. On ne va pas lui répondre en anglais ensuite, alors tous les services sont en français. Quand elle se dirige là, elle sait déjà en avance qu'elle aura le service dont elle a besoin. [...] elle l'aura sur le champ, elle n'a pas le délai d'attente là, ok, on va prendre un rendez-vous, l'autre est bilingue, l'autre intervenante qui est bilingue est sur le terrain. Ce n'est pas

comme ça. Tu viens ici, tu auras le service en français, sans délais immédiate.

When she calls [organization], automatically we will answer in French. It's already a starting point. It will reassure her, it will encourage her to ask for services. We won't answer her in English and then, so all of the services are in French. When she goes there, she already knows in advance that she will get the service she needs. [...] she will get it on the spot, she won't have to wait, ok, we will make an appointment, the other is bilingual, the other counsellor that is bilingual is off-site. It's not like that. You come here, you will get the service in French, without an immediate delay.

Furthermore, it was explained that Francophone organizations do not simply offer English services in French; rather given the unique challenges these communities face (as discussed in section 6.7.2), their service delivery may be adapted to the particularities of FMCs. For instance, given the number of refugees within the French-community, the ACFO developed a specific program for survivors of catastrophic stress and war.

When newcomers are able to access the services they need, without language posing a barrier, it was argued by respondents that this could increase their autonomy and facilitate their integration. Nonetheless FMCs face particular challenges to service provision related to a number of issues. Small numbers of Francophones living in low concentrations can lead particular areas to experience a paucity of services in general, or particular service gaps. For instance, while the CFSOO was based in London and offered services within the city, the organization only had two counsellors who were responsible for a large geographic area including the Middlesex, Lambton, Kent, Oxford, Elgin, Perth, Huron, Grey, Bruce, and rural Essex counties. This left residents outside the city of London (e.g. Sarnia) without direct access to the organization's services. The city's Francophone community also did not yet offer all of the services that were available from Anglophone organizations, but the need for them existed given that their availability could promote all stages of the incorporation process for Francophone newcomers, from recruitment to integration. For instance, an

important gap within the London FMC was the absence of a welcome centre, and the need for one was emphasized by a participant who explained:

On arrive dans une ville comme celle-ci, on ne sait sur quel pied danser, en dehors des autres barrières que j'ai citées, il y a cette information de base, et nous le grand problème dans la ville de London, c'est un manque de centre d'accueil pour les francophones. Il y a un centre d'accueil qui existe au Cross Cultural Learner Centre avec la maison St Joseph et puis l'autre maison, je crois Jeremiah. Mais, du côté francophone il n'y a rien de tel, qui serait un point de chute pour les francophones qui arrive. C'est-à-dire les francophones arrive et là on leur distribue des brochures, on leur donne une vision globale de la vie ici. Et puis tout à l'heure après, six jours, ils aient là où ils peuvent aller s'établir, mais ça, ça manque. Moi je créais tout de suite un centre d'accueil.

We arrive in a city like this one, we don't know what foot to dance on, outside of the other barriers I listed, there is that base of information, and us, the big problem in the city of London, is the lack of a welcome centre for Francophones. There is a welcome centre that exists at the Cross Cultural Learner Centre with the St Joseph house and the other house, I believe Jeremiah. But, on the Francophone side there is nothing of the sort, that would be a starting point for Francophones that arrive. That is to say the Francophones arrive and then we give them brochures, we give them a global vision of life here. And then later after, six days, they go where they can settle, but that's missing. I would create right away a welcome centre.

Providing a form of guesthouse that would be operated in French where newcomers could stay upon their arrival while they began the settlement process and located more permanent housing was deemed an important role for the Francophone host community that as of yet remained unfulfilled. The FMC faced challenges related to obtaining the necessary funding for such an endeavour, which was often tied to targets for clientele served and could be difficult to meet in FMCs. Yet, the importance of making a place available was further emphasized by Rose's experiences within one of the city's Anglophone shelters, where she described feeling excluded and discriminated against because of her limited English language skills.

Funding thus became a predominant theme related to the functioning of organizations because it served as one of key barriers or enablers to service provision (e.g. hiring staff, publicity). This highlights how not only newcomers, but also organizations within FMCs need to continually acquire forms of capital, such as economic funding, in order to be 'successful'. It was noted that many services were offered through specifically funded programs, in which money was accorded for particular uses. There could also be eligibility criteria for clientele associated with the funding, restricting service access for particular people. The organizations' discretionary spending was thereby limited, and continuity of services was not guaranteed, as programs were funded for finite periods. One respondent described the challenge of an annual funding cycle for a particular program offered through the organization:

Il y a aussi le fait que oui on peut aller chercher un projet pour ça, mais le fait que, les critères pour des projets, mettons si tu as un projet c'est dans le temps d'un an. Quand tu démarre le projet ça prends trois à quatre mois pour que le projet puisse commencer à bien dérouler, et aussitôt commencé, il faut terminer. Et quand c'est terminé les bailleurs de fonds ne veulent pas financer le même projet deux fois, alors il faut venir avec une autre idée. Donc, il n'y a pas de continuité dans les projets. Ça, ça nous pénalise aussi.

There is also the fact that yes we can go get a project for that, but the fact that, the criteria for projects, let's say if you have a project it's in the span of one year. When you start the project it takes three to four months for the project to start to run well, and as soon as it's started, you have to end it. And when it's over the funders don't want to finance the same project twice, so you have to come with another idea. So, there is no continuity in the projects. That penalizes us too.

Funding limitations could also affect the quality of services. For instance, programs relying on volunteers who may not participate for the duration of a program could lead to a lack of stability.

Organizations had to continually seek out and apply for funding to support their operations. Whether or not organizations were successful in obtaining funds, and the amount they were awarded depended on a number of things (e.g. whether

the program reflects the mandate of the funder and/or the organization providing the program). It was explained that 'money begets money'. Organizations exist within a particular social structure in Canada and there is a 'certain way of doing things' within the country. While mainstream organizations may be accused of not adequately addressing the needs of newcomers, leading to the development of immigrant-run efforts, the former are more likely to obtain funding if they have been funded in the past and have successfully managed their programs.

Burgeoning organizations that had no such 'track record' of successful operation within the community thus faced particular difficulty in obtaining initial funding.

For instance one participant explained:

Là on est en train de travailler sur beaucoup de projets, beaucoup de projets. Et comme tu le sais en matière de projets, ça demande des subventionnements. Et quand les sous ne viennent pas ça bloque un peu. Mais bon, on a bon espoir que ça va, ça va se débloquer.

We are in the process of working on a lot of projects, a lot of projects. And as you know in terms of projects, they require subsidies. And when the money doesn't come it blocks a bit. But well, we have hope that it will, it will unblock itself.

I then asked if the organization presently had funders and he went on to explain:

Bon, on a travaillé, on travaille avec Trillium, on travaille avec le CIC, mais le CIC ne peut pas financer tant qu'on n'a pas fait une preuve sur le terrain d'avoir gérer le financement. C'est compliqué, on ne va pas rentrer dans ce débat. C'est toujours un problème finance, mais on existe, on est là.

Well, we worked, we work with Trillium, we work with CIC, but the CIC can't finance as long as we haven't proved in the field to have managed finances. It's complicated, we won't enter that debate. It's always a finance problem, but we exist, we are there.

It was also noted by some participants that new immigrant-run organizations may face difficulties with governance or the management of public funds because regulations within Canada differ from those in other countries. It is implied that the different habitus of newcomers may impede them from properly running an organization according to the expectations characterizing Canadian fields of

practice. It was explained that funders function somewhat as 'social banks' seeking a return on investment, in the sense that the money they give must be well managed in order to have a positive impact within the community. This leads them to fund organizations that have successfully managed funding in the past.

The approach of funding time-limited programs within particular organizations was criticized by some participants for creating 'silos', whereby community groups operated separately, each offering their own services. This could also create tensions between organizations that were in competition for limited financial resources and had a small community of potential clientele to serve, hence the emphasis some participants placed upon the need to revisit their mandates to ensure they were meeting the needs of the community. However, it was noted by respondents that funders were increasingly encouraging partnerships between organizations. This supported various components of programs to be offered by different organizations according their particular mandates. If newer organizations were able to partner with better established ones in this way, they may be able to build the reputation required to obtain additional funding.

Some of these partnerships were described as more formal than others. For instance, due to service delivery gaps experienced by FMCs given their limited size and resulting budgets, many organizations referred their clientele to other organizations if they could not meet their particular needs. They might also display pamphlets that advertised services offered by other Francophone organizations so that potential clientele could be informed about what was available within the FMC. More formal partnerships also occurred within the Francophone community, and between Francophone and Anglophone organizations. For instance, it was explained that two French organizations could run a program together and each offer a particular component (e.g. career access program offered by ACFO and Collège Boréal), or a French and English organization could offer a program together to make it available in both official

languages (e.g. Access Centre for Regulated Employment offered by ACFO, WIL Employment Connections and the Cross Cultural Learner Centre). Such partnerships were said to be encouraged by funders, who seek to allocate resources efficiently and avoid redundancy of programs and services within communities. To promote this, it was explained that representatives from funding agencies could meet with community organizations to help identify synergies between them and create partnerships with potential for success. Such streamlining can help to overcome gaps in service provision related to the restricted mandates or capacity of individual organizations. One respondent gave examples of the types of partnerships that had been formed between the Collège Boréal and other community organizations:

On a des partenariats avec l'ACFO, pour beaucoup de programmes où là nous on offre la composant éducation et eu offre la composante établissement et intégration. On a également un partenariat avec le centre franco-santé sud pour divers projet qu'ils sont en train de mettre en place, éducation, la santé alimentaire etcetera, donc nous on va donner la portion éducative.

We have partnerships with ACFO, for a lot of programmes where we offer the education component and they offer the settlement and integration component. We equally have a partnership with the franco-santé sud centre for diverse projects that they are in the process of putting in place, education, dietary health etcetera, so we will give the education portion.

Given that reaching a large number of Francophones may require covering a large geographic area, organizations may also partner with others in different cities in order to offer programs at multiple sites. However, tensions between community organizations, largely relating to their differences in capital, were highlighted. Tensions could exist both within the Francophone community and between the Francophone and Anglophone communities. For instance, organizations were described as competing for limited available funds, and required to serve a targeted number of individuals. Organizations that were more successful might be resented by those receiving fewer resources, or competition to meet targets could lead Anglophone organizations to not refer French-

speakers to Francophone organizations. One participant explained that not all organizations were getting their 'piece of the pie' despite also contributing to the community.

As FMCs become increasingly diverse, some respondents discussed how their organizations must work to ensure that their services reflect the particular needs of a multicultural clientele. It was argued that this could be promoted in a number of ways, such as adapting programs to meet different needs among a diverse clientele. In relation to gender for instance, services not only have to address the different needs of men and women, they also have to recognize differences within each group. For instance, while services were provided in French for women that had experienced abuse of a sexual nature, the needs of a woman born in Canada who had experienced domestic violence differ from those of a Congolese woman who was raped during war. Increasing diversity within organizations (staff, board of directors) so that they reflect the communities they serve was also viewed as important. Some respondents argued that seeing immigrants employed within the community could also serve to encourage newcomers. However, it was noted that staff diversity could create 'human resource' challenges as people with a different habitus may have different ways of doing things. This was highlighted in the comments of the newcomer participants discussed in the previous chapter who addressed the difficulty of learning the tacit and unwritten rules within Canadian fields of practice. This was particularly emphasized by Makane who explained having to be very reflexive at work to ensure he was 'performing' appropriately. Apprehension about such an issue may in part contribute to employers' hesitancy to employ newcomers as noted above (section 6.5.2). In addition to the particular challenges faced by their organizations and the larger Francophone community within a minority context, the respondents also addressed issues faced by Francophone newcomers within London.

6.7.4 Issues faced by Francophone newcomers

The issues Francophone newcomers face in attempting to integrate into London were addressed at a number of levels by the six respondents from the government and community organizations, four of whom were immigrants themselves. While there was a focus upon the city's FMC, it was noted that the Francophone community was embedded within the larger Anglophone community, which must also be considered, as it was possible to be integrated into one but not the other. For instance, it was explained that a French-speaker may obtain employment in a Francophone organization, attend mass in French, enrol their children in French schools, but still feel isolated from the larger community due to the need to be able to communicate in English outside of Francophone-specific environments. This particular situation could create a dynamic whereby one may successfully integrate into the Francophone community, yet remain marginalized within society more broadly. Paul's experience resembled this situation as he was very engaged within the Francophone community, but his lack of English proficiency limited his involvement within the Anglophone community. There is some acknowledgement of this twofold integration by Francophone newcomers within the government documents reviewed. The third and fourth objectives of the 'Strategic framework' (Canada, 2003a) address economic, and social and cultural integration respectively into 'Canadian society' and into 'FMCs' implying a separation between the two. Yet what could be more clearly elaborated are the implications of such a separation upon newcomers' engagement in varied occupations that take place either within the FMC or within society more broadly.

While London is a designated FMC, language was the primary barrier to integration cited by respondents because knowledge of the English language was nonetheless deemed essential for living in the city. Participants acknowledged that learning another language upon arrival to Canada was challenging for newcomers. It was noted that this may be especially difficult for

those who were unaware that they would have to learn English and also had to reckon with the deception of 'Canadian bilingualism' as they had envisioned it. Despite the presence of Francophone organizations in London, the majority of interactions with others that were required to engage in various everyday occupations within the city were conducted in English, posing obstacles to the occupational engagement of French-speaking newcomers (e.g. banking). One participant also explained how a lack of English skills was particularly problematic in specific domains, or fields of practice. He referred to areas he deemed as 'essential services', such as health care, that were not legislated to be bilingual, and to areas where services should be offered in both official languages but either were not, or were delayed and of lesser quality. He argued that increased bilingualism among service providers more broadly (i.e. not just within Francophone organizations) would enable French-speakers to be more independent and autonomous, thus further enabling their integration while they learned English:

Bon, je ne vais pas demander la lune, que dans les services essentielles, santé, ah, transport, qu'il y est un minimum de langue de communication pour que les gens puissent être fonctionnaire, puisque quand quelqu'un est autonome, quelqu'un qui arrive ici tout seul, il sait aller se prendre une chambre d'hôtel, il sait aller prendre son train, prendre son autobus, faire ses achats, c'est un plus, [...] même si il est seule. Mais s'il a besoin d'un soutien dès le début d'une béquille, s'il n'arrive pas à s'intégrer, il ne s'intégrera jamais.

So, I won't ask for the moon, that in the essential services, health, ah, transportation, that there be a minimum language of communication so that people can be functional, because when someone is autonomous, someone arrives here all alone, he knows how to go get a hotel room, he knows how to go take his train, take his bus, make his purchases, it's a plus, [...] even if he is alone. But if he needs the support of a crutch from the start, if he doesn't arrive at integrating, he will never integrate.

One's ability to engage in the necessary tasks of settlement without the immediate obstacle of language was viewed by the respondent quoted above as beneficial to one's ultimate successful integration. Marie raised a similar point

when describing how daily occupations were complicated by her lack of English skills. She stated:

[...] dans mon pays, c'est un pays francophone mais, à l'école j'avais appris quelques notions d'anglais. Mais une langue si on ne la pratique pas on la perd. Alors c'est difficile et l'accent, donc j'essai de me débrouiller. Donc avec la barrière linguistique c'est tout un problème. Il y a juste un petit truc, tu veux voir ou savoir mais le vocabulaire et l'accent, donc c'est tout un problème là pour t'exprimer, ou pour que les autres te comprennent.

[...] in my country, it's a Francophone country but, at school I had learned a few notions of English. But a language if you don't practice it you lose it. So it's difficult and the accent, so I try to manage. So with the linguistic barrier it's a whole problem. There's just a little thing, you want to see or know but the vocabulary and the accent, so it's a whole problem to express yourself, or for others to understand you.

She explained how she often had to visit a community organization for assistance in translating her mail, which came in English despite her having requested correspondence in French, or to have someone accompany her to particular appointments and serve as an interpreter. Offering more services in French would make Francophone newcomers' existing linguistic capital, that is their French-language skills, more valuable throughout the integration process.

Yet respondents also conveyed that language proficiency was only one element of integration, and on its own did not ensure one's incorporation into the community. It was explained by one participant for instance, that being able to speak French did not guarantee integration into the Francophone community given its minority context (section 6.7.2). Further, despite its small size the London FMC was not characterized as a single homogenous community by the respondents. As briefly addressed above, it was described as including different groups or sub-communities that might interact in particular places (e.g. workplace) or fields (e.g. economic), but that were not tightly-knit into a united whole. While newcomers might join clubs and organizations for ethnocultural groups within the FMC and participate in broader community events, one

participant explained the ongoing difficulties they could face in being accepted by the Canadian-born Francophone community:

Au début quand vous arrivez votre entourage est froid, si vous n'êtes pas connecté à votre communauté d'origine, ou si vous n'êtes pas connecté à un membre de famille, mais pour que la communauté en général vous accepte ça prend beaucoup de temps.

In the beginning when you arrive your entourage is cold, if you are not connected to your community of origin, or if you are not connected to a family member, it takes a lot of time for the community in general to accept you.

Although French-speaking newcomers were present and active within the London FMC, given the challenges they faced in attempting to integrate into both the Francophone and Anglophone communities, they nonetheless can be interpreted as remaining what Madibbo (2005) has termed a 'minority within a minority'. Given the difficulties newcomers could face with first identifying the Francophone community within London, and then being welcomed into it, respondents highlighted the important role played by Francophone organizations that served as a bridge between established and newcomers communities through efforts such as programs and events that brought the two together (e.g. Host Program). The newcomer participants whose experiences were shared in chapter five all noted the positive contribution of the community organizations to their settlement and integration process, yet some viewed particular services as more useful than others. For instance, Halima described how helpful participating in the Host Program had been for her because it provided her with regular social contact and gave her the chance to visit places in the city she might not have otherwise known about. Conversely, Khalil did not discount the potential benefit of the program, but explained that his experience was not as beneficial as he had hoped because he was matched with another immigrant who he felt was not fully integrated either. As many of these organizations directly offered services that assisted

newcomers upon arrival, service provision was addressed by the respondents from the government and community organizations in relation to integration.

One of the issues raised was newcomers' access to services. One participant explained that simply offering services did not suffice, as newcomers had to be made aware of what was available to them and where such services were provided. Marketing and promotion by organizations through various means was signalled as important to inform potential clients of their services, especially since not all French-speaking newcomers arriving in London might be aware of what was available in French, or that a Francophone community even existed within the city. Indeed, many of the newcomers whose experiences were presented in chapter five were unaware that London was a designated FMC prior to moving to the city. While more formal means of publicity were used (e.g. pamphlets) it was also noted that word of mouth was particularly useful for attracting new clientele. More than one participant highlighted the importance of this more informal means of publicity:

Nous faisons de notre mieux pour assurer la promotion de nos services et nous assurons la promotion à travers notre site internet, à travers les brochures que nous élaborons, et puis on essaie d'encourager les membres de la communauté de parler de l'ACFO à leur proche. Nous avons fait un petit sondage il y a trois ans, on a constaté que de bouche à oreille, les gens qui ont appris de nos services bouche à oreille c'était 60%. Et le reste que par brochure. L'internet c'était même 10% quelque chose comme ça, oui. Donc nous comptons beaucoup sur bouche à oreille, et nous avons des matériels promotionnels aussi.

We do our best to assure the promotion of our services and we assure that promotion through our website, through brochures that we elaborate, and we try to encourage members of the community to talk about the ACFO with those close to them. We did a small survey three years ago, we noted that word of mouth, people that learned of our services by word of mouth was 60%. And the rest just by brochures. The Internet was even 10% something like that, yes. So we count a lot on word of mouth, and we have promotional materials too.

Word-of-mouth within the London FMC was described as effective in reaching newcomers for a number of reasons. For example, not all newcomers have immediate Internet access or are computer literate; some come from countries with strong oral cultures; linguistically they remain an invisible minority and may not be referred to Francophone organizations; and French-language media is limited within the city. Many of the newcomer participants explained how they were referred to particular organizations, either by family members and friends, or by other organizations. For some, hearing about particular organizations and services in London while they still lived elsewhere influenced their decision to relocate to the city. For example, when Paul decided to move to Ontario to enrol in English classes, he chose London in part because a friend had told him about the presence of the ACFO in the city. Rose also moved to London because a friend had told her about the services offered through the CFSOO. The discussions of integration also went beyond what the organizations provide for newcomers and considered key elements of integration, among which employment was most emphasized by the organization representatives.

Securing employment within FMCs was described as challenging for Francophone newcomers since the number of jobs available in French was limited, and because many Francophone newcomers arrived without the minimum level of English proficiency required to obtain a job and first had to learn English. Reflecting the discussion of capital loss and acquisition in the previous chapter, it was emphasized by the respondents, that while French-speaking newcomers might arrive with fluency in one official language and specific qualifications (e.g. university degree, work experience), these did not automatically enable integration since French-speakers might still have to learn another language, have their qualifications recognized, or obtain additional credentials within Canada, all of which delayed their labour market entry. Like the need to overcome the deception some newcomers experienced in relation to Canadian bilingualism, some also had to surmount the differences between their expectations of the Canadian labour market and their experiences of it. This was

reflected in the experiences of Khalil and Gilberto who had more difficulty in securing employment than they had anticipated. For instance, Gilberto described the challenges he had faced in getting a job despite having returned to school in Canada to obtain additional credentials and doing some volunteer work to build a network and gain 'Canadian experience'.

Consistent with the findings in the previous chapter, respondents noted that negotiating the transitions experienced as a result of international migration related not only to more concrete aspects of integration (e.g. language learning, employment), but also to less tangible ones, such as negotiating differences in habitus. For instance, one's ability to adapt within Canada was viewed in part by some respondents as related to one's attitude or 'mentality'. As one participant explained:

Et surtout quand tu quitte ton pays que tu arrive ici, ne t'attends pas à avoir nécessairement un travail tout de suite comme tu le souhaite avec les mêmes avantages que tu avais là-bas, c'est impossible. Alors l'intégration, quand on abandonne ce qu'on abandonne ce qu'on a au pays et quand on arrive dans un nouveau pays, il faut, moi je pense que c'est une question de mentalité, accepter d'abord que on va recommencer à zéro, veut, veut pas. Et c'est ça que les immigrants en général on du mal à accepter.

And especially when you leave your country and you arrive here, don't expect to necessarily get a job right away like you want with the same advantages that you had back home, it's impossible. So integration, when we abandon what we abandon what we have in our country and when we arrive in a new country, you have, I think that it's a question of mentality, to accept first that we're going to start over at zero, like it or not. And that's what immigrants in general have trouble accepting.

As described in chapter five, the idea of starting over at zero refers to both material elements of integration (e.g. housing), and to more subtle forms of integration such as learning 'how things work' in Canada. Marie's description of working in retail and learning that she could not sit down even when the store was not busy highlights this type of experience. The participants from the governmental and community organizations also recognized that things were

done in particular ways in Canada and explained that newcomers had to learn the unwritten rules of a place. For instance, one participant explained that integrating into the Francophone community and into the city was difficult primarily because newcomers did not know the culture of the place. I interpret this understanding of 'culture' as newcomers' unfamiliarity with the dominant habitus of the host society. Several participants elaborated upon this issue, indicating that there was a role for the host society to play in informing newcomers about the subtleties of Canadian society, that is in making taken-for-granted aspects of habitus more explicit. For instance one respondent mentioned the following:

Mais, ça prendrait qu'un moment, nous en temps que membres de ces communautés qu'ont disent aux gens, voila comment ça marche au Canada. Tu veux t'intégrer, il n'y a pas que le travail, il n'y a pas que les taxes que tu paye, mais il y a aussi la culture. La façon de faire.

But, it would take a moment, us in terms of members of these communities that we tell people, this is how it works in Canada. You want to integrate, it isn't only work, it isn't only the taxes that you pay, but there is also the culture. A way of doing.

As addressed throughout this sub-section, the respondents described that French-speaking newcomers faced a series of challenges to their integration (e.g. language, employment). It was implied by their comments that integration required overcoming these challenges. Yet newcomers' attempts to do things like learn another language, secure housing, obtain employment, and adapt to another way of doing within society were acknowledged as being framed by the particular fields within which they find themselves. Indeed, their social location within the host society was viewed by participants as being related, at least in part, to particular markers of their identity. As exemplified in the following quotations, their comments pointed to the material consequences for newcomers of being placed into socially constructed categories. For instance, one participant gave an example of how women were discriminated against based on their gender:

C'est que la femme en tant que tel, fait parti, est un être humain en part entière. Et c'est juste la société qui là mise dans cette boîte. De femme, de, de ok, c'est vrai la nature, Dieu disons a fait que la femme doit faire des bébés tout ça, mais chacun a son rôle dans la vie, c'est normal. Mais c'est notre société qui a été construite qui est fait que on a mis une femme dans une boîte, elle est faite pour être épouser, elle est faite pour être au foyer, elle est faite pour ceci, cela.

It's that the woman as such, is part of, is a whole human being. And it's just society that put her in that box. Of woman, of, of ok, it's true nature, God let's say made it so that it is women that have to have babies all that, but each has their role in life, it's normal. But it is our society that was constructed that is made so that we put a woman in a box, she is made to be married, she is made to be at home, she is made for this, for that.

This respondent acknowledged that while sex differentiates males and females, biological differences (e.g. women's capability for childbirth) have been extended to encompass roles or occupations associated with gender that are not related to biology, but instead to the social construction of gender (e.g. caregiving). Thus newcomers' experiences were gendered because men and women were perceived differently within society.

Discrimination based on race was also discussed. One respondent explained that, despite self-identifying in a particular way, one's social identity was nonetheless influenced by one's skin pigmentation or 'race':

[J]e ne peux pas nier le fait que je suis noir, parce que je suis noir, mais en même temps, est-ce que je, I see myself as black, no, I see myself as a person whose skin colour is black. Donc, ça fait une grande différence. Ça fait que moi, personnellement je ne me, je ne me rattache pas à la communauté de cette manière, où je me dis ah nous les noirs on fait ci on fait ça, non, parce que je ne vois pas la vie en noir et blanc, mais en même temps, c'est-à-dire qu'il y a des faits que je vis qui sont dû au fait que quelqu'un d'autre me représente en me regardant, he is black.

I can't deny the fact that I am Black, because I am Black, but at the same time, do I, I see myself as Black, no, I see myself as a person whose skin colour is black. So, it makes a big difference. It causes me, personally I don't, I don't connect myself to the community in

that way, where I tell myself ah we the Blacks we do this we do that, no, because I don't see life in black and white, but at the same time, that is to say, that there are facts that I live that are due to the fact that someone else represents me in looking at me, he is Black.

In this way, newcomers' experiences must also be viewed as racialized. This was echoed in the previous chapter, by Khalil for example who argued that one's race is 'inescapable'. The importance of considering the intersectionality of immigrants' identities was raised by participants, as people may not identify or be characterized according to a single marker of identity. For instance, one participant stressed the need to accept diversity,

[S]i on peut accepter le fait que oui, c'est peut-être pas sa langue maternelle, mais c'est une langue d'usage qu'il utilise, ça fait qu'il est francophone, il peut s'exprimer en français, travailler en français, vivre en français. [...] le fait de reconnaître ces personnes comme francophones ça augmente le nombre, mais accepter le aussi avec sa couleur, accepter le avec ses différences.

[I]f we can accept the fact that yes, it's maybe not his mother tongue, but it's a spoken language that he uses, it means that he is Francophone, he can express himself in French, work in French, live in French. [...] the fact of recognizing these people as Francophones increases the number, but accept him also with his colour, accept him with his differences.

Newcomers are not simply 'numbers' to be counted toward a measure of demographic vitality. As suggested within the quotations above, newcomers are also not simply 'Black' or 'female', in addition to race and gender, they may also speak a variety of languages, practice different religions, have varying levels of ability, among others. They may also therefore face additional challenges to integration due to discrimination based on a series of markers of 'difference'.

Despite addressing various forms of discrimination that existed within host societies, some participants emphasized that individual responsibility should be taken by newcomers to surmount the challenges they faced. It was further emphasized that while the host community had a role to play in welcoming newcomers, and community organizations and services were available to assist

them, ultimately it was the newcomers themselves that were responsible for their integration. This reflects the emphasis placed upon individuals' 'abilities' for enabling successful integration within the government documents reviewed, such as one's ability to find and keep a job, or one's ability to transfer, and make use of, previously acquired occupational skills and educational credentials (Canada, 2001b). One participant explained how the role organizations could only go so far:

Comment on peut faire pour les aider, pour faciliter le processus d'intégration et faciliter le processus, et au bout de corde que chacun soit responsable aussi, parce que souvent c'est facile de juste dire there is racism. Oui il y a racism, mais, you can overcome it.

What can we do to help them, to facilitate the process of integration and facilitate the process, at the end of the line that each is responsible too, because often it's easy to just say there is racism. Yes there is racism, but, you can overcome it.

Another participant was slightly more critical, indicating that some newcomers may be in need of a sort of 'reality check' upon their arrival in Canada:

[Les nouveaux arrivants] pensent que, bon bien, ça c'est aussi une perception en étant là-bas que, pas encore au Canada, pense que tu arrive aujourd'hui, la vie est belle, l'argent va pousser sur des arbres, tu vas cueillir, et c'est ça, ces rêves je dirais utopique font que quand ils arrivent ici la réalité [...], mais finalement ça se dégénère en quoi, déception, puis la personne ne veut finalement fournir aucun effort. Pensant que ça va être facile, je vais là assis sur ma chaise et puis le travail va venir me rejoindre. Les gens qui font les efforts qui le faut, arrive à obtenir ce qu'il faut.

[Newcomers] think that, well ok, that's also a perception of being abroad, not yet in Canada, think that you arrive today, life is beautiful, money will grow on trees, you will pick it, and that's it, those I would say utopian dreams make it so that when they arrive here the reality [...], but finally it degenerates into what, deception, and finally the person does not want to put forth any effort. Thinking that it will be easy, I will be there sitting on my chair and the work will come find me. The people that put in the necessary effort, end up getting what they need.

As these last few quotations indicate, challenges faced by newcomers are not related solely to achieving a sort of 'checklist' for integration (e.g. enrol children in school, learn English); rather, they are related to the newcomers' particular location within the host society. Additional elements complicating the integration process refer to elements such as their expectations of Canada prior to their arrival, the deception they may experience in relation to the Canadian labour market and use of official languages, and the discrimination they may experience as a result of their 'differences'. Yet unlike the last few quotations, I argue that whether or not newcomers are successful in 'overcoming' such challenges is not related solely to the individual effort they put forth, but is also more broadly influenced by the relationship between their habitus and capital, and the fields of practice within which they become embedded following migration.

6.8 Summary

Whiteford, Klomp and Wright-St Clair (2005) stated that "All occupation takes place in a context. That is, no human action is independent of the social, cultural, political and economic contexts in which it occurs" (p. 10). The purpose of this chapter was to explore the broader structural context within which the newcomers' experiences of immigration and integration were embedded. The chapter began by briefly readdressing the concept of 'vitality' that figures within governmental documents addressing FMCs. The notion that community vitality of FMCs is related to demographics, institutional support and status thus informs, whether implicitly or explicitly, actions that are recommended or taken to address what may be perceived as threats to vitality. For instance, the focus within some of the government documents discussed within this chapter sought to support the demographic strength of FMCs by increasing the number of French speakers through immigration. The discussion of how FMCs and their perceived vitality is framed by the government (i.e. federal, provincial, municipal) and the organizations that support these communities was essential to consider critically within this thesis, as the assumptions embedded within it serve to shape the

experiences of newcomers settling within this social context. As highlighted within this chapter, it is not only what is addressed within these documents that informs the 'realities' of newcomers, but also what remains absent from the discussion. Individual experiences do not exist within a vacuum; rather they are socio-historically situated within the context presented in this chapter. How immigration issues related to the topics addressed above are constructed within documents and enacted via organizations have material implications for newcomers and for their possibilities for integration and occupational engagement within their host communities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7 Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis represents the culmination of a critical ethnographic study undertaken within the London FMC. My research had two primary objectives. The first was to critically examine the experiences of French-speaking migrants from visible minority groups within the city's FMC in order to challenge unspoken assumptions embedded within the notion of 'successful' integration. The second was to raise awareness of the structural barriers faced by these migrants in enacting occupation and negotiating identity in place, particularly according to the markers of language, race and gender, within specific socio-historic contexts.

Within this chapter, the findings presented in chapters five and six are discussed in relation to these primary objectives, and their implications for research, policy and service provision are considered. The remainder of this introductory section briefly revisits the primary purposes of each chapter to place this discussion and conclusion in relation to the entire thesis. The second section presents a discussion of four critical points stemming from my research. The third section outlines directions for future research on Francophone immigration and related issues. The fourth section attends to some of my personal reflections stemming from my engagement in this research. The fifth and final section presents my conclusions, which highlight the contribution of my research to the discipline of occupational science as well as to migration studies. It also includes a discussion of four implications for research, policy, and service provision that stem from this study.

In working to address my research objectives, this thesis began by introducing the concept of successful integration, highlighting the need to consider this concept in relation to FMCs and the experiences of French-speaking immigrants

from visible minority groups. It stressed the importance of drawing on theoretical frameworks that attended to the dialectical relationship between structure and agency in order to understand how migrants' occupations are related to their identities and negotiated within particular places, as well as the importance of adopting an occupational perspective for my study. The first chapter also introduced the concept of vitality as related to FMCs, paying particular attention to the emphasis placed upon the demographics of these communities. I then turned to the issue of diversity to begin to broaden discussions of FMC vitality.

The second chapter presented a review of the literature within migration studies and occupational science that attended to identity. The focus on identity was used to bridge the two bodies of literature, as research on migration has tended to include a restricted view of occupation, while research within occupational science has addressed migration and place in limited detail. The first section of the literature review explored contemporary issues in international migration, and then addressed how research on migratory process has highlighted the complex intersectionality of identity. I then discussed how place and transitions have been addressed in relation to migration. The second section of the literature review began with a discussion of recent articles on migration published within occupational science. As these were limited in number, the review also outlined how the relationship between occupation and identity has been conceptualized within the occupation-based literature, as well as how place and transitions have been explored in relation to occupation and identity.

Building upon the interrelationship between occupation, place, and identity explored throughout the literature review, the third chapter detailed the theoretical framework developed to guide the research. This framework drew primarily upon key concepts from Goffman's theory of performance and Bourdieu's theory of practice. The concepts of performance, field, habitus and capital in particular were adopted because they view structure and agency as interrelated and inseparable, rather than as dichotomous. These thereby served

to highlight how people's experiences are embedded within specific socio-historic contexts. My theoretical framework was further informed by the literature on anti-racism and postcolonial feminism, which was drawn upon to discuss contemporary understandings of identities as intersectional in nature. Ultimately, this framework enabled me to recognize how power relations within society influence migrants' daily occupations, and how engaging in these can serve to shape their identities and reproduce the social structure.

The fourth chapter presented the methodology used to conduct this research. I began by outlining my ontological and epistemological position in relation to historical realism and a view of knowledge as intersubjective, co-constructed and mediated through values. The fit between critical ethnography (CE) and this paradigm location was explicated. Carspecken's (1996) approach to CE in particular was adapted for my study. The five stages I designed to apply this approach were detailed. The first three stages included up to five data generation sessions with eight French-speaking newcomers from visible minority groups residing within London. The fourth stage included a critical review of government documents and interviews conducted with six representatives from local governmental and community organizations. The fifth stage comprised the processes of data analysis and interpretation. The chapter further included quality criteria relevant to the type of research conducted, as well as ethical considerations relevant to my study.

The fifth chapter presented findings from my first three stages of data generation. After introducing the study participants by highlighting the dominant threads they emphasized throughout the sessions, as well as briefly describing their maps and routines, the pervasive issue of 'starting over' was detailed. My research highlighted that, as newcomers started over within London, they faced a series of transitions and challenges related to tacit knowledge and unspoken assumptions embedded within the host society. The findings outline how the participants began to become aware of differences in the fields and habitus within and

between their home and host societies, often through engagement in occupation. Based on this awareness, participants were able to voice the taken-for-granted characteristics of these fields and habitus and discussed how they attempted to learn 'how things worked' in the host society. This ongoing process of increasing familiarity with differences influenced their negotiation of performances. The findings highlight that such performances are related not only to their possession of economic and symbolic capital, but because such capital is embodied, their performances were also related to the intersection of their identity markers and how these were embedded within particular places and social interactions when engaging in occupation. The focus on identity attended to the intersections of language, race and gender in particular.

The sixth chapter presented findings from the fourth stage of data generation. My critical review of government documents noted an emphasis upon productive occupations and newcomers' contributions to society. The 'process' of immigration and integration outlined within such documents was also found to be presented as following a linear approach including stages of recruitment and attraction, reception, and settlement and integration. The particular issues emphasized within such documents were explored in detail to highlight what are forefronted as challenges and solutions to the process of 'successful' integration. These included service provision, employment and qualification recognition as well as language learning. Exploring the local scale of London more specifically, the interviews I conducted with representatives from governmental and community organizations went beyond a description of the role of their organizations to also address key issues they felt were faced by Francophone communities, organizations, and newcomers within a minority context. Key issues emphasized included the difficulty of sustaining engaged participation of community members and the resulting need to foster community-building, the challenge of securing stable funding for services and of serving large geographical areas, and the ultimate need to learn English despite being fluently French-speaking within an FMC.

Keeping the content of these previous chapters in mind, the following section presents a discussion of four critical points that stem from considering the study findings in relation to each other (e.g. chapters four and five) as well as in relation to the research objectives, relevant literature and the theoretical framework that guided and informed this research.

7.2 Discussion

The Canadian government has taken action to promote the vitality of FMCs in order to contribute to their preservation and development. Given that vitality has been defined primarily in relation to demography (e.g. numbers, distribution), institutional support (e.g. formal and informal) and status (e.g. social, sociohistoric) (Giles et al., 1977), one of the key strategies adopted by the federal government to address issues such as the falling birth rate and language transfer faced by these communities has been to promote the immigration and successful integration of Francophone newcomers. Yet my research shows that, in addition to the types of vitality 'indicators' commonly emphasized in government documents, such as the total number of French-speakers, the daily experiences of Francophone immigrants within FMCs must also be explored to highlight the structurally shaped challenges they face in working toward integration. While their arrival within the community may increase the number of Francophones demographically, their presence will not promote community vitality if they face structural barriers that serve to marginalize them. The notion of successful integration that is promoted within contemporary policies and that informs social practices must then also be critically examined. As shown throughout this thesis, and consistent with the adoption of a theoretical framework that examines the dialectical relations between structure and agency, it was necessary to explore my two research objectives together as they were interrelated in a number of ways. For instance, some of the structural barriers faced by Francophone newcomers, such as the lack of particular services available in French, were

shaped by the assumptions embedded within the dominant discourse of successful integration.

This section serves to further discuss the findings of my research by emphasizing four critical points stemming from the CE. The relationship between occupation, place and identity is also highlighted within my discussion of these points. First, what is implied within the notion of 'successful integration' must be made explicit as it can be understood as promoting particular modes of incorporation within various fields. Second, the outlined process by which newcomers are expected to integrate and the outcomes they are expected to achieve must be problematized as these do not reflect the complexity of the transitions they have to negotiate. Third, attention must be paid to the diversity that exists both among and within FMCs as the heterogeneity of Francophone populations within Canada serves to shape newcomers' experiences of integration within different places in particular ways. Finally, processes of exclusion must be challenged as they hinder newcomers' integration and sense of being and belonging. These points are now each addressed in turn. The discussion of these points highlights how understandings of integration must extend beyond emphases placed upon economic productivity and contribution and promote inclusive communities where Francophone newcomers can engage in meaningful occupations and ultimately develop a sense of belonging.

7.2.1 Successful integration emphasizes particular modes of incorporation within various fields of practice

If newcomers are not successfully integrated into society, it may be assumed that they remain socially marginalized. Hence on the surface, the notion of successful integration may seem inherently positive. Yet my research illustrates that the way successful integration is framed embeds assumptions that promote particular modes of incorporation within various fields of practice that may also serve to marginalize newcomers.

The predominant ways that successful integration has been discussed within governmental documents on Francophone immigration were addressed in chapter six. For instance, I summarized five characteristics that were suggested to enable successful integration: proficiency in one of Canada's official languages; the ability to find and keep a job; the ability to transfer, and make use of, previously acquired occupational skills and educational credentials; the ability to integrate commonly held Canadian values and attitudes; and the ability to access and fully participate in the institutions and associations that are available to all Canadians (Canada, 2001b). Specific factors that were argued to be detrimental to successful integration were also outlined. Among others, prevalent factors included a lack of Canadian work experience, problems communicating clearly at work, and difficulties adapting to Canadian culture (Canada, 2006a). I argue that such characteristics set expectations for ideal outcomes to be achieved by newcomers and simultaneously locate the problems they may face in relation to their skills or abilities. Thus, if markers of successful integration remain unmet, this construction of what is to be achieved and where the barriers are located may ultimately serve to deem migrants 'unsuccessful' largely due to their own failures and by extension, unproductive, excluded and further marginalized.

Definitions of successful integration and associated criteria do not exist in isolation within particular documents. As shown within the literature review, they also collectively contribute to and reinforce particular ways of defining the host society and newcomer populations and idealize and promote particular modes of incorporation. Portes and Zhou (1993) defined modes of incorporation as consisting of "the complex formed by the policies of the host government; the values and prejudices of the receiving society; and the characteristics of the co-ethnic community" (p. 83). I argue that modes of incorporation inherently serve to frame what is expected of newcomers and what outcomes they should achieve. Samers (2010) outlined three broad forms of incorporation, categorized as assimilation, multiculturalism and integration. Briefly, assimilation was described

as the expectation that newcomers forego their identifying characteristics and become indistinguishable from the host community. Multiculturalism was described as the expectation that immigrants have equal participation in all spheres of society while maintaining their identifying characteristics. Integration in this sense was described more generally in terms of the expectation that the host society and immigrant populations make mutual accommodations. Each mode thus frames the host society and newcomer populations in a particular way (Samers, 2010). Although a single form may pervade within official policy (e.g. Canadian Multiculturalism Act), additional forms of incorporation may be promoted and experienced within particular fields of practice. Diverse forms of incorporation have also been highlighted within the migration literature, such as the notion of segmented assimilation whereby newcomers may assimilate in some ways (e.g. economically) but not in others (e.g. culturally) (Portes and Zhou, 1993), and by the conceptualization of assimilation as a discourse that guides “who and what is not acceptable” (Samers, 2010, p. 273). Castles and Miller (2009) stated that even when multiculturalism is emphasized, the expectation remains that newcomers will conform to key values of the host society, which resonates with the emphases in government documents on ‘successful’ integration involving the adoption of ‘Canadian’ values and attitudes noted above (Canada, 2001b).

Although ‘multiculturalism’ is official policy within Canada, emphasis upon employment and English language learning within the government documents reviewed suggests that linguistic assimilation is necessary and expected within particular fields, particularly the economic field, as most job opportunities in FMCs require English proficiency. As stated within the ‘Strategic plan’ (Canada, 2006a): “[...] weak or non-existent English language skills are at the root of many of the problems French-speaking immigrants encounter while looking for employment” (p. 6). The ‘Strategic plan’ goes on to explain that 67% of Francophones in Ontario never use French at work and that despite the availability of free language courses, learning English remains an obstacle for

newcomers. The SCOL (Canada, 2003c) further stressed that “Francophone immigrants’ inability to find work in their area of expertise emerged as one of the largest obstacles to successful settlement [...]” (p. 11). While Francophones in London may continue to use French in particular fields, such as within French language schools or community organizations, English is ultimately required for ‘equal participation within all social spheres’ (Samers, 2010). The tensions created by the simultaneous promotion of various forms of incorporation can be gleaned within the experiences of the newcomer participants in my study. Residing within a ‘multicultural’ country, they were seeking to achieve specific markers of ‘integration’, while nonetheless being expected to conform to particular expectations that can be understood as promoting ‘assimilation’. Makane’s comments highlighted a particular tension he experienced. He argued that the Canadian labour market is racialized and that visible minorities do not have access to the same employment opportunities as Caucasians, but also emphasized that within Canada people are largely defined by their productive occupations. This suggests that to a certain extent his possibilities for ‘success’, often defined within government documents in relation to economic integration, are limited in part by institutional forms of exclusion and discrimination. Gilberto also noted a contradiction in regard to language. He explained that upon arriving in Quebec he was ‘bombarded’ with pressure to learn French, but when looking for a job in Montreal was told by a potential employer that he could not be hired because he did not speak English. The emphasis upon French within what could be categorized as the socio-cultural field within the Francophone province of Quebec conflicted with expectations within the economic field that working with Anglophone clientele required English-language skills.

I argue that the notion of successful integration predominant within the government documents reviewed does not solely reflect official multiculturalism, but also embeds assimilationist expectations for what Francophone newcomers should prioritize and how they should accomplish those priorities. For example, the focus on the achievement of economic integration stresses the need to learn

English in order to acquire a job. As shown by my research, the priorities outlined within discussions of successful integration are not restricted to government documents; they also become embedded in the daily experiences of Francophone newcomers within various fields of practice. For instance, despite government emphasis on the development of OLMCs and the vitality of linguistic minorities (Canada, 2001a), participants in my study emphasized that they had no choice but to learn English in order to engage in daily occupations within London and this necessity was reinforced through the provision of subsidized language learning courses for newcomers. Respondents from the governmental and community organizations largely felt that newcomers could never be fully integrated without learning English. Newcomer participants also emphasized the continued challenges they would face if they did not learn English. Marie stressed that she felt colonized by the predominance of the English language within North America and argued that she had to 'sacrifice' herself to learn it. Ultimately, Francophones' inability to engage in occupations in French contributes to their language transfer and potential assimilation into the Anglophone population.

Samers (2010) argued that migrants wish to express their identities within the host society, while at the same seek to adopt some of the practices of the majority of citizens, and that the achievement of this balance is influenced by the ways the government aims to manage diversity. Newcomers thus negotiate their identities as they seek to maintain particular aspects (e.g. French language) while needing to fulfill expectations of the host society (e.g. learning English). As the occupations in which people engage are related to their personal and social identities (Christiansen, 1999; Laliberte Rudman, 2002), setting expectations for what newcomers should 'do' and how they should do particular occupations, and by extension who they are, who they may become, and how they should belong, can lead immigrants to experience tensions in this negotiation of their identities. This was also noted by study participants, such as Danielle, who explained that she is no longer who she once was as a result of having moved from a

collectivist to a more individualistic society. She described how expectations of contributing to a 'common goal' back home and always thinking of all those around her have been replaced by an emphasis upon individual liberties and focussing attention and resources on the nuclear family. Rose also emphasized how different social expectations caused a shift in her priorities following migration and consequently affected her relationships with those back home. For instance, rather than regularly send money back to her extended family she began saving for her child's education because "ici on a ce système de mettre de l'argent de côté pour l'éducation de l'enfant" [here we have this system of putting money aside for a child's education], but she explained that her family members consequently felt she had become insensitive to their problems.

To identify and problematize the assumptions embedded in successful integration and how these emphasize particular modes of incorporation within different fields of practice, the findings of my research serve to address the question: integration into 'what'? The migration literature called for the need to attend to both the places within which, and the scales at which people belong (Silvey & Lawson, 1999). The Francophone newcomers I met with were not solely integrating into the 'London FMC' or 'London' or 'Ontario' or 'Canada'. Rather they were incorporating into all of these simultaneously, as well as into the various fields of practice within which their occupations took place. Concepts adapted for my theoretical framework and methodology enabled me to critically examine this issue. For instance, it was suggested that because one's habitus is related to fields of practice, the exploration of social interactions must also consider the space within which particular interactions take place. As a result, I identified a number of fields described by participants and highlighted that newcomers need to learn a number of performances in Canada in order to integrate into each field. This understanding of social interactions occurring in relation to a broader social structure was further supported by the concepts of sites, settings, locales, and systems drawn from Carspecken (1996). Migrants' daily occupations occur within particular sites that are situated within larger

locales. Commensurate with Bourdieu, Carspecken further emphasized that occupations and the places where they occur are shaped in relation to the tacit setting (i.e. shared understandings that set the expected boundaries of particular social interactions) and system. I have characterized these concepts of setting and system as being part of a broader social structure. As migrants work toward successful integration, they do so within varied fields of practice where the norms within each may differ. Whereas 'multiculturalism' may enable newcomers to wear 'traditional' dress or eat 'ethnic' foods within particular fields (e.g. field of religious practice), more 'assimilationist' expectations may be characteristic of particular fields of practice and associated places (e.g. economic field, workplace). However, as not all fields are given equal emphasis within discussions of successful integration, particular modes of incorporation implicitly dominate. Although multiculturalism may be official policy, successful integration into the economic field requires more assimilationist actions (e.g. due to the emphasis upon Canadian experience, and the need for English language skills), and it is the economic field of practice that is most emphasized within discussions of success. As further emphasized below, I argue that the notion of successful integration contributes to the shaping of these norms and expectations.

In understanding the social structure and its 'conditions' (e.g. policies on Francophone immigration) as related to and reproduced by people's engagement in daily occupations in social interaction within particular places, the relationship between structural elements and migrants' experiences is elucidated. People perform their identities in social interaction within particular places in accordance with social norms that implicitly guide expectations of appropriate behaviour, and through engaging in such behaviour, people serve to reproduce those norms. Successful integration emphasizes particular 'norms' that set the expectations of how newcomers are expected to 'fit into' the host society (e.g. newcomers should prioritize employment as a way to contribute to society). In particular, I argue that the way successful integration is currently framed places the onus for success

upon individual migrants, demanding that they alter their ways of doing and being particularly in the economic field to fit within or assimilate into existing systems. My findings show that such expectations may be adopted by newcomers, but may also be challenged. Some participants, such as Makane and Gilberto, emphasized their individual responsibility for assuring their integration, in part because they felt they could more easily act upon themselves than upon others or the broader social structure. Some governmental and community organization representatives described the services they offer to help support the integration process but also emphasized the ultimate need for newcomers to take responsibility for themselves. I argue that this may be related in part to the types of services that are funded, which reflect the emphases embedded within the notion of successful integration. For instance, if emphasis is placed upon individual success in regard to particular priorities (e.g. employment), services are geared toward the achievement of those markers (e.g. language courses, resume writing workshops). Yet other participants such as Danielle and Marie explained how some of the challenges they faced stemmed from broader structural issues, such as the lack of available French services, rather than individual shortcomings or unwillingness to change. Ignoring these broader structural issues and the barriers they present to integration ultimately makes newcomers responsible for their own success and individualizes their 'failure' to successfully integrate. Yet Bourdieu asserts that habitus and the structure it reproduces are durable, but not static and can ultimately be changed over time. As social norms characterizing fields change over time, due to social movements such as feminism for instance, the habitus or dispositions of those within those fields then also begins to shift. This process is temporal however, as Maton (2008) explained: "Because its dispositions are embodied, the habitus develops a momentum that can generate practices for some time after the original conditions which shaped it have vanished" (p. 59). Continuing to critically interrogate what is expected of newcomers and what barriers they face in meeting those

expectations challenges taken-for-granted assumptions and can serve to promote social change over time.

7.2.2 Problematizing the process and outcomes of successful integration

In addition to 'successful integration' being regarded as promoting particular modes of incorporation more broadly, the integration process outlined within government documents and the outcomes newcomers are expected to achieve must also be problematized. I argue that the process of newcomer immigration and integration is presented as largely linear in nature within the documents reviewed. Further, the emphasis on demographics in discussions of FMC migration inherently presents newcomers as numbers or resources rather than as complex individuals. My research serves to challenge this limited understanding of integration.

The critical review of government documents presented in chapter six highlighted a particular immigration and integration process focussed on the initial recruitment and attraction of potential newcomers, followed by attention paid to the role of the host community in receiving newcomers, and emphasis upon the settlement and integration of newcomers within FMCs. As immigrants are assumed to move through these stages over time, particular expectations and outcomes are emphasized within the documents. More specifically, productive occupations are strongly emphasized in the documents analyzed, which results in a prioritization of the economic field with scant attention paid to other fields (e.g. socio-cultural). As a result, the challenges and barriers faced by newcomers that are acknowledged within these documents tend to address 'productivity', such as difficulties associated with securing employment or credential recognition. This neglects additional challenges newcomers face related to forms of occupational engagement within other fields, such as leisure or child care. In addition, the issues emphasized within discussions of successful integration are related to a linear understanding of the integration process whereby newcomers are to achieve particular outcomes (e.g. enrolling children in school, obtaining

credential recognition) over time and, in turn are eventually successfully integrated. Essentially, it is assumed that migrants must first be informed about Canada in order to be recruited and attracted to move here. Host communities must then be receptive in order to welcome newcomers. Migrants must then settle and integrate by accessing the necessary services to enable their success, learning English in order to secure employment, and working in order to be productive and contribute to the host society.

My research problematizes this linear process and its construction of a successfully integrated immigrant as one who is employed and economically self-reliant. Exploration of the experiences of migrants in negotiating occupation and identity must move beyond these taken-for-granted assumptions embedded in the notion of successful integration by attending to the complexity embedded within it. Integration was shown within chapter five to relate not only to achieving explicit markers of integration such as language learning and employment, but also to more implicit elements. Drawing on Goffman and Bourdieu, I described a process that began with newcomers 'starting over'. As they negotiated the transitions they experienced when starting over, they became increasingly aware of differences in the fields and habitus within the host society, and between their home and host societies. This recognition enabled them to begin to voice the unspoken assumptions characterizing these fields and habitus. Their learning process contributed to their increasing understanding of 'how things work' within Canada and informed their negotiation of performances within particular fields of practice. My interpretation of their experiences further explained how their performances were influenced by their habitus and capital. As these were described as being embodied, the integration process was also considered in relation to the intersection of particular markers of identity (e.g. language, race, gender).

Reframing the integration process in this way, that is as one of learning and reflection that is embedded within a particular social structure, serves to highlight

the complex negotiations that take place in relation to occupation, place and identity within multiple fields. As suggested above (7.2.1), by emphasizing that integration takes place not solely into 'society' more generally, but into a variety of fields of practice, the process of integration should be viewed as a multidirectional and ongoing, rather than as linear and temporal. When newcomers seek to engage in particular occupations within particular places that are embedded within different fields of practice, their habitus and performances of identity must be negotiated. This reflects Gilberto's comment that learning social rules was a continual process and that newcomers learned every day. It also reflects Danielle's frustration that newcomers are not informed of social rules upon their arrival and must learn Canadian ways of doing on their own. In attending specifically to the variety of occupations that migrants need and want to engage in, rather than solely those emphasized within dominant integration discourses, it becomes increasingly clear that the process and outcomes of integration are more complex than assumed within government documents.

The literature on migration and occupation contributed to my understanding of these complex intersections of place and occupation with identity. It was emphasized within chapter two that migration is not solely an 'individual' phenomenon. Indeed literature addressing migration and identity has explored how the multiple transitions associated with migration and integration are mediated at different scales, such as at the household level (Hardill & MacDonald, 1998; Raghuram, 2004). While government documents may emphasize individuals' engagement in occupations involving preparation for and entry into the labour market as makers of successful integration, migrant families may face difficulties in prioritizing these particular occupations given the range of occupations they engage in on a daily basis. The participants in my study described the variety of roles they fulfilled (e.g. parent, employee) and the multitude of occupations they were required or sought to engage in (e.g. meaningful work, travel), which influenced the ways they worked toward integration. For instance, some prioritized language courses, while others had to

forego these, whether altogether or at least temporarily. The participants were simultaneously experiencing transitions in relation to a variety of fields. Rose described how she struggled to balance the things that were important to her, explaining that working and parenting would be difficult to do well if she also had to enrol in English courses. Thus many of the participants described sacrifices they had to make in order to prioritize particular occupations over others. These sacrifices were made to negotiate the barriers the participants experienced to their occupational engagement. For instance, a lack of available and affordable child care was discussed as a primary obstacle to working toward integration as participants then had to prioritize reproductive occupations (e.g. parenting) at the expense of their expected involvement in occupations that entailed preparing for or participating in work. The participants also experienced a loss of different forms of capital within Canada that hindered their occupational engagement. Many described how their educational credentials were not fully recognized, forcing them to obtain Canadian education or to change vocations. For most participants, the money, time and effort required to reacquire an education equivalent to that they already held was not viewed as a viable option.

What further complicates this integration process is the way that occupations are related to place and identity. While the participants in my study were currently residing with London and engaging in occupations within the city, their identities also remained connected to the people, places and occupations they left behind. This contributes to the formation of hybrid and transnational identities discussed within the migration literature (Plaza, 2006, Scott & Cartledge, 2009). The participants in the study were not solely negotiating their identity performances as they worked toward integration in London. The transitions they experienced as a result of migration also entailed altered identity performances for those 'back home'. For instance, Gilberto described how he sometimes did not share all of the difficulties he faced in finding steady employment with his extended family members abroad. Although it is implied within government documents that newcomers must essentially learn Canadian ways of doing, such an assumption

neglects the point that doing so may threaten newcomers' identities by challenging their acquired habitus. Khalil emphasized that within his home country it is considered indecent to eat in public. Recognizing that this practice is acceptable in Canada and that he is physically capable of doing it, Khalil could eat in public here; yet doing so would challenge his habitus rather than be in accordance with it. Better attending to the implicit aspects of integration therefore serves to problematize the process and outcomes of integration as understood within the government documents.

7.2.3 Attending to the diversity among and within FMCs

The notion of successful integration was critiqued above for promoting particular modes of incorporation and for not sufficiently addressing the complexity of the integration process as related to the intersections of occupation, place and identity. I further argue that better understanding how Francophone immigration may contribute to the vitality of FMCs must also better attend to the diversity among FMCs in general, and to the diversity within them in particular. As emphasized throughout this thesis, the integration of French-speaking newcomers is place-based and embedded within a particular socio-historic context where their occupations and identities are negotiated. As highlighted by the participants who have lived in other Canadian cities, the experience of being a Francophone in London differs from the experience of being a Francophone elsewhere and this heterogeneity has implications for the experiences of Francophone newcomers settling and integrating into FMCs. The discussion of community vitality within chapter one also suggested that the confidence of Francophone minorities was related to a number of place-based factors such as the concentration of Francophones within the area and “the capacity of community institutions to represent and serve” their interests (Bourgeois et al., 2007, p. 116).

The geography of official languages within Canada is particularly important to consider in regard to Francophone immigration, as language was shown in my

study to be a primary barrier to the occupational engagement of French-speaking newcomers within FMCs. The 'status' of a language is understood as a characteristic of vitality and drawing on Bourdieu, I argue that language is also a form of capital. I further suggest, however, that the value of this capital and the status of the French language differ between places in Canada. While French is minoritized in general with regard to English, it is further minoritized in particular places where Francophones represent a smaller number or proportion of the city's total population. According to the 2006 Canadian Census for example, the percentage of those listing 'French only' as their mother tongue within London was 1.5, whereas the percentage for the same category in Ottawa was 15 (Statistics Canada, 2007). As highlighted within the introductory chapter, the proportion of French-speakers within a particular area is proposed to contribute to the vitality of the language and the linguistic community within that place. Korazemo and Stebbins (2001) argued that unlike what they described as more 'institutionally complete' FMCs (e.g. the Northern Ontario town of Hearst), those in larger cities such as London are always in the minority and dominated by the Anglophone population to the point that their inhabitants are obligated to live linguistically segmented lives. This is important to consider as language was shown in my study to have both enabling or constraining effects on occupational engagement. Despite the presence of a Francophone community within London for instance, why participants moved to the city and whether they decided to stay was described as largely relating to what they could *do* within the city. For instance, Paul, Marie and Rose came to London in part because of the availability of services here that would enable particular occupations such as English language learning courses. Yet the difficulty many participants faced in securing other occupations, such as employment, led some to suggest that they may ultimately need to move elsewhere. Thus, the value of one's linguistic capital is related to the particular spatial context within which one resides, and to the resulting occupations that are possible within particular places.

Knowing that Canada was officially bilingual prior to immigrating led many of the participants in my study to expect that they would be able to 'live in French' anywhere within the country. Recognizing upon their arrival that this was indeed not an accurate perception of Canadian bilingualism led to feelings of deception on the part of some participants, such as Danielle who explained that she did not feel she had a choice but to learn English within London. Representatives from the governmental and community organizations interviewed also emphasized the challenge posed to Francophone newcomers by the necessity of English-language skills for engagement in daily occupations within the city, especially for those who had not anticipated this prior to their immigration. This sentiment was echoed within the FCFA (2004) study, which highlighted that newcomers' recognition that English language skills would be required for full societal participation led to difficulties in finding work, isolation, and disappointment with Canada. Violette (2008) also argued that "[...] the promotion of official bilingualism conceals the actual situation in many regions and fails to prepare immigrants for the reality that awaits them" (p. 77). I emphasize that highlighting the heterogeneity of FMCs and the spatiality of bilingualism in Canada within future government documents and research on FMCs and Francophone immigration would begin to address this issue.

Considering not only the geographic diversity of FMCs but the demographic diversity within them was also emphasized throughout this thesis. For instance, the migration literature reviewed served to highlight the diversity characterizing contemporary international migration. This reflects not only Castles and Miller's (2009) identification of six general tendencies within current international migration, which include its increasing differentiation, but also studies exploring how migration is gendered, racialized, and otherwise differentiated according to a number of social and personal identity markers (e.g. Kofman, 2004). The literature on occupation, such as the studies addressing age, class, culture, gender, race and sexuality listed in chapter two (e.g. Beagan, 2007; Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Devine & Nolan, 2007; Haak et al., 2007; Iwama, 2004; Primeau,

2000a, b), also served to highlight how one's identity is negotiated in relation to occupational engagement and hence supports the need to recognize the diversity among Francophones within FMCs. The experiences of the study participants highlighted the importance of exploring multiple aspects of identity rather than focusing solely upon shared language within these communities. For instance, Halima explained how being a veiled Muslim woman influenced her social interactions and occupational possibilities in particular ways. The importance of not only recognizing but also embracing the diversity within the London FMC was also emphasized by most of the representatives from the governmental and community organizations interviewed. They noted the importance of having diversity among their staff and board of directors not only to reflect the 'richness' of the community, but also to help ensure that their services met the needs of the diverse community members.

I argue that considerations of diversity attending to the relationship between occupation and identity must also be related to place, as place was argued within the literature review to be socio-historically constructed and dialectically related to identity (e.g. Silvey & Lawson, 1999), as well as contributing to the meaningfulness of occupation (e.g. Rebeiro, 2001). Thus place does not simply exist in a physical sense, it is constructed in particular ways and people attribute and derive meaning from particular places. Examples were noted within the literature review, such as Yeoh's research that considered the naming of streets in commemoration of a colonial empire, as well as in the study findings when participants described the importance of particular places. Paul explained how he missed living in Montreal because of the sense of belonging he felt there as compared to London. He explained that for Francophones from abroad, Montreal is like the 'motherland' and when you arrive you feel at home, in part because it is a Francophone environment. He said that in London "je suis à l'étranger, mais à Montréal je ne suis pas, je ne suis pas Québécois mais je me sens chez moi, c'est la différence" [I am abroad, but in Montreal I am not, I am not Quebecois but I feel at home, that's the difference].

The relation between occupation, place and identity was further elaborated by drawing upon my theoretical framework, as both Goffman and Bourdieu argued that elements of the social structure set the conditions within which people habitually and routinely shape their identities by engaging in occupation within particular places through social interaction. The literature on anti-racism and postcolonial feminism further supports the necessity of recognizing diversity within groups, as 'minorities' (e.g. linguistic minorities) are not a single unified category. My research stresses that Francophone immigrants from visible minority groups have to contend not only with the challenges of being situated within a minoritized linguistic context, but also with those related to their further minoritization according to the intersection of additional identity markers such as race and gender. This reflects discussions of Francophones from visible minority groups as a 'minority within a minority' (Madibbo, 2005, 2006). The ways in which the participants' identities were negotiated within particular fields of practice were shown to be related not only to their visible markers of identity, but also to their habitus, which could be racialized during social interactions. For instance, one respondent from a community organization described how having a diverse staff could create 'human resource' issues as people may have different ways of doing things. Some newcomer participants expressed a sense of insecurity with regard to the ways they performed not only their occupations, but also their identities within particular places. I emphasize that although newcomers work toward integration, achieving it is not solely an agential process. How migrants are categorized by others according to markers such as language, race and gender, and how such categorizations are dialectically related to social norms ultimately serves to shape their experiences.

7.2.4 Challenging processes of exclusion that hinder newcomers' integration and sense of being and belonging

Integration should ultimately contribute to being and belonging. Yet as this research has shown, Francophone newcomers are continually subjected to processes of exclusion that hinder their integration and, by extension, their

development of a sense of being and belonging within particular fields. Gallant's (2008) work addressed the inclusion of Francophone immigrants and she argued that "In order for them to be able to become part of the community and to participate in its political life, they must perceive themselves as legitimately having a choice to be part of the group and, especially, must be perceived as having this choice" (p. 40). How this 'choice' is constrained, whether implicitly or explicitly, can limit newcomers' occupational possibilities (Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Laliberte Rudman (2002) argued that the relationship between one's engagement in occupation and one's identity is always managed in relation to a broader context. As noted in section 7.2.1, engagement in meaningful occupations was argued within the literature review to be reciprocally related to one's identity. Thus hindering newcomers' agency to *do* particular things in particular ways by extension limits who they are, who they may become, and whether they may belong (Howie, 2003; Kielhofner, 2004). 'Belonging' was also addressed within the migration literature reviewed. Samers (2010) argued that a sense of belonging contributed to migrants' 'substantive citizenship', which is conceptualized as relating not only to their legal status but also to their participation in society more broadly. Likewise, Gilmartin (2008) and Yuval-Davis (2006) both explored how one's sense of belonging may be impeded by practices of exclusion. Understandings of successful integration must therefore take into account the barriers inherently limiting the development of Francophone newcomers' sense of being and belonging within various fields, including but not restricted to the economic field.

The theoretical framework guiding my research drew on key concepts to identify processes of exclusion experienced by the study participants. Viewing individuals as located within particular fields of practice and understanding the development and performance of their identities as influenced by their social interactions with others within these fields served to highlight occupational engagement as embedded within and related to the social structure. Goffman (1959, 1977) explained that people's performances tend to reflect social norms and dominant

discourses, leading to the naturalization of routine informing behaviour. My findings emphasized that newcomers' lack of familiarity with these norms influenced their social interactions by affecting how they perceived others and were or wished to be perceived by others. For instance, seeing people eat in public shaped Khalil's first impressions of Canadian society. Yet noticing such differences, beginning to learn the social rules of the host society and performing according to them will not necessarily feel natural or become tacit for newcomers if these rules or expected performances conflict with their habitus. Bourdieu elaborated how the role of habitus in unifying those of a particular group also inherently serves as a mechanism of exclusion for those outside the group (Girard & Bauder, 2007). As newcomers settle in London and attempt to integrate into particular fields of practice, their performances are influenced by their habitus which is likely to differ from that of the host community, creating challenges to their occupational engagement within particular places. Makane's description of bringing his own food to a workplace function at someone else's house as 'culturally incomprehensible' illustrates this point. Although he had become familiar with this particular practice by his co-workers it had not become a part of his habitus and he continued to feel like an outsider. The anti-racist and postcolonial feminist literature provided additional insight as to how people's identities are constructed and constrained by processes of exclusion that reproduce difference and serve as form of social oppression (Dei, 2005). The embodiment of performances, habitus and capital can lead newcomers to be interpreted within social interactions according to visible markers of identity. By being racialized in this way, newcomers may face discrimination by being categorized as 'other'.

To acknowledge the more tacit elements of integration, I argue that discussions of whether or not newcomers are 'successfully integrated' must be expanded beyond a checklist approach (e.g. do they have a job, have they learned English) to address how and why particular markers of integration are emphasized, and to consider the factors that are enabling or restricting their occupational

engagement, identity and sense of being and belonging. The participants in my study highlighted a number of challenges they worked to overcome throughout the process of their ongoing integration, many of which I interpreted using my theoretical framework. For instance, many participants shared experiences related to their loss of capital within Canada. The lack of recognition of their previous education and work experience was particularly emphasized as it limited their possibilities for occupational engagement within the host community, and by extension their integration within the community. Khalil explained how his difficulty in obtaining meaningful employment contributed to a sense of discouragement and low morale, as well as to a feeling that he could not demonstrate who he was through his occupations. While augmenting newcomers' capital, by facilitating processes of credential recognition for example, could begin to promote belonging by enabling their economic integration into society through meaningful employment, my study findings suggest additional barriers must also be taken into account. As discussed above, capital is not neutral and its bearer is understood to influence its value, and thus barriers to labour market integration by those who have had their credentials recognized or who have obtained Canadian credentials continue to exist. This is reflected in the participants' discussion of the emphasis placed upon 'Canadian experience' by employers serving as an additional mechanism of exclusion. Makane, Danielle, and Halima also all discussed how issues such as one's skin colour, last name, and appearance could negatively affect their employment opportunities. Thus, processes of exclusion must be understood as being related not only to explicit barriers, such as a lack of credential recognition, but also to more implicit barriers related to issues such as performing according to social norms. Drawing on my theoretical framework I argue that newcomers may come to be viewed as 'other' not only due to social markers of identity (e.g. race, accent), but also because those markers become associated with different ways of doing and being. The way that people are categorized on the basis of not only

how they look or sound but also how they 'do' can, therefore, result in differential opportunities for occupational engagement and integration.

Assumptions embedded within discussions of successful integration, and the ways that Francophone immigration is framed and understood within government documents, serve to create processes of exclusion by categorizing newcomers in particular ways and establishing what is expected of them. Integration then entails the negotiation of these categorizations and expectations by newcomers. For example, the way that Francophones were once officially defined according to mother tongue explicitly served to marginalize French speaking immigrants with a different mother tongue. Although this definition has since been changed, its 'legacy' continues to exclude some in a more implicit fashion. Danielle suggested that as long as some French-speakers are deemed more Francophone than others, the integration of newcomers will always be problematic. Other examples cited by participants served to illustrate that although migrants may seek to manage the impressions they make (e.g. by acquiring particular forms of capital), they are nonetheless categorized by others in particular ways during social interactions. For instance, Halima sought to change the assumptions some people have about 'the veil' yet emphasized how this was made difficult by the media, which she felt reinforced negative stereotypes about Muslims.

The interviews conducted with representatives from governmental and community organizations also served to highlight that the challenges faced by Francophone newcomers were not simply 'individual' issues, but also related to the minoritized context of French-speakers within Canada more broadly. In addition to discussing the challenges faced by Francophone immigrants, these representatives addressed the challenges faced by the Francophone organizations serving them, and the Francophone minority communities welcoming them. A number of issues were raised, such as the lack of available French services, the lack of stable funding for some French services that are

available, the difficulty in securing initial funding for new 'ethnic' Francophone organizations, and the challenge of maintaining active community engagement in a minority context. I stress that 'successfully' integrating Francophone newcomers into FMCs in order to promote their vitality cannot solely emphasize the economic integration of newcomers, with the assumption that being a productive member of society will inevitably lead to socio-cultural integration and community development. Instead, processes of exclusion must be identified, critically challenged, and actively dismantled in order to promote inclusive communities where Francophone newcomers can engage in meaningful occupation that reflect and contribute to their identities, and can develop a sense of belonging.

7.3 Future directions

As this research forms part of the requirements for a Ph.D. in the Occupational Science field of the Health and Rehabilitation Sciences Program at The University of Western Ontario, the study was subjected to time and resource constraints that imposed particular limitations upon the research. I recommend four directions for future research that address the limitations of the present study and that build upon its findings. These include engaging in longer-term longitudinal qualitative research, conducting comparative research, recruiting additional participants from the host community, and promoting participatory community-based research.

The process of integration was described above as multidirectional and ongoing. Although I argue that integration should not be viewed as solely temporal in the sense that it is likely to be achieved within a specified period (e.g. five years), migrants nonetheless work toward integration over time. Longitudinal research is well suited for studying long-term processes, yet the use of such an approach is limited within a doctoral program. While I met with the eight French-speaking immigrant participants approximately once a month for three to five sessions each, this reflects a short period of the integration process. I recommend that a

longer-term longitudinal approach be undertaken over the course of years rather than months to further develop understandings of the complexity of integration as highlighted within this thesis. I argue that this approach would enable further transitions to be addressed. My study recruited participants that had lived in London for varying lengths of time and staggered data generation to explore different aspects of the integration process, such as seasonal variations in occupational engagement (e.g. having children home in the summer months). Within the period of data generation, many of the participants experienced transitions that influenced their integration, such as changing jobs and giving birth. I argue that a longer-term approach would enable further exploration of such transitions.

The geography of FMCs was acknowledged to have an influence on the experiences of newcomers. My research focussed on the London FMC in particular, but I recommend that future research critically explore the integration experiences of French-speaking newcomers in other communities to highlight the diversity of FMCs within Canada. Comparative research could identify similarities and differences in the structural barriers faced by Francophone immigrants settling and integrating into different communities. This comparative work could be undertaken at a number of scales. For instance, other cities within Southwestern Ontario could be explored to undertake a 'regional' approach. Future research could also expand to a larger geographical area to compare my findings to those obtained in future research conducted in rural areas, other secondary cities, or the gateway cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Thus regional, provincial and national comparisons could continue to be made as future research is conducted. In addition to comparing different FMCs, future research could also be undertaken within non-designated cities to see how the integration of French-speaking newcomers residing within them differs from those who have access to rights accorded to FMCs.

My critical approach to this research centred the experiences of French-speaking newcomers from visible minority groups. Francophone immigrants were included in both participant samples and only a few of the respondents from the government and community organizations were Canadian-born. Participants did discuss the host community, for instance some organizational representatives described different 'sub-communities' within the FMC, such as the 'ethno-cultural Francophones' and the 'Franco-Ontarians'. As addressed in the discussion above, when exploring integration one must consider integration into what. It was emphasized within the government documents that community reception is an important aspect of newcomer integration. I recommend that future research on Francophone immigration and FMCs recruit participants from the various sub-communities of the larger host community to both highlight the diversity of the community and further examine community reception. Better understanding what Canadian-born Francophones and Francophone immigrants that have resided within the community for longer periods of time think about the settlement and integration of French-speaking newcomers could serve to identify additional barriers or enablers to newcomer integration.

Finally, I recommend that future research, whether conducted in the London FMC or in other communities, build upon this research but adopt a more participatory approach. This study was guided by my ontological and epistemological position emphasizing the socio-historical construction of reality and the intersubjective and value-mediated nature of knowledge. I articulated the research objectives, conducted the literature review, developed the theoretical framework, selected the methodology and adapted the methods of data generation, analysis and interpretation to suit my CE. Although I selected dialogical data generation methods and co-constructed the findings with the participants, the study remained researcher-driven. My resource constraints dissuaded me from selecting a participatory action research (PAR) methodology, but I argue that future community-based research could further centre the priorities of those participating by engaging them throughout the process, rather

than primarily in later stages of data generation and analysis. PAR has been described as a collaborative process between academic researchers and the people affected by a particular issue that “seeks to democratize knowledge production and foster opportunities for empowerment by those involved” (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2008, p. 90). Engaging PAR for future studies would promote the emancipatory aims of critical research by further empowering marginalized individuals and groups to participate in the production of knowledge that is practical within their particular socio-historic context and that could be used to enable praxis and action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Ponterotto, 2005).

7.4 Return to reflection

The section on the location of the researcher (1.5) briefly introduced who I was in relation to my research when I first started. Having now completed my study, this section explores some of my further reflections related to having engaged in this research. The experience of conducting a study within the London FMC strongly contributed to my own identity as a Francophone. Having moved to London from Welland where I had spoken French on a near-daily basis, my use of French became increasingly rare. Embedded within the Anglophone university community, I was not strongly engaged with the broader London population, nor with its Francophone community. Nonetheless, I never questioned my Francophone identity. I was French, even though I no longer often spoke the language. Yet, when I undertook this study and scheduled meetings to discuss my research interests with some community gatekeepers, I experienced a range of emotions. I was excited to be starting my CE, but I was also nervous about once again speaking French with people outside my family. I was scared of making grammatical errors or of not being able to think of the word I wanted to use in a conversation. The degree of language transfer I had experienced came to the forefront when I was ‘returning to my roots’ and I felt slightly guilty for not having better maintained my mother tongue. Yet the welcoming reception I

received from Francophone community members encouraged me to become increasingly engaged and not to shy away for fear that my language was no longer 'up to par'.

As I conducted this research over approximately a two year period I continually reflected upon my own Francophone identity. Critically exploring the context faced by FMCs and those who are a part of them enabled me to shift my guilt of not being a 'good Francophone' to one of increasing awareness of the structural barriers hindering the expression of my Francophone identity. French-speakers in a minority context cannot simply live in French, as shown by my thesis, we must purposefully and continually seek out places and occupations where we can engage our identity. As noted in the occupation-based literature, and Goffman's theory of performance, identity is not solely something that we are (i.e. being), it is also something that we *do*. Indeed, *doing* this research enabled me to reclaim my Francophone identity by actively engaging with the Francophone community.

Conducting this study has made me increasingly aware of the ongoing challenges faced by FMCs, despite efforts by federal and provincial governments to enhance their vitality. Tensions exist within the London FMC that are related in part to the structural barriers they face. For instance, the lack of available French services in areas such as health care, and the lack of active offer for those French services that do exist continue to encourage language transfer, and ultimately the assimilation of the Francophone population. As stated by the province's French Language Services Commissioner, "Being a Franco-Ontarian and living in French is a choice that one must make every day." (OFLSC, 2009, p. 7). As highlighted by my study, that choice is unfortunately not made easy. I feel that French-speakers within FMCs must continue to advocate for their rights. Yet the need to remain united within a minority context cannot be promoted at the expense of acknowledging the diversity within our communities and the challenges and tensions we face. I acknowledge that I hold a privileged position within Canadian society. I am Canadian-born, Caucasian, fluently bilingual in

both official languages, and university educated. This position enabled me to conduct this research. Yet now that the study is complete, I remain committed to using my social position to contribute to the city's FMC and to further develop a program of research that will continue to critically explore the challenges imposed upon FMCs in Canada.

7.5 Conclusion

My critical ethnography exploring the experiences of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups within London, Ontario not only contributes to a better understanding of Francophone immigration within this particular FMC, it is also an important addition to the discipline of occupational science and the field of migration studies. In addition, the findings raise considerations for policy and practices addressing FMCs and the integration of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups.

Publications within occupational science have been increasingly calling for studies that attend to how occupation is dialectically related to the context within which it is situated. Recent research integrating social theory into studies of occupation, such as that conducted by Suto, (2009), Laliberte Rudman et al. (2009), and Dickie et al. (2006) have begun to critique particular foci within the discipline, such as the emphasis upon individualism. My study addresses the call made by such critical work to consider the situated nature of occupation, in part by highlighting the relationship between occupation, place and identity. In considering how individuals' opportunities, or lack thereof, for occupation are mediated by their identities within and across different places, 'place' was shown to be instrumental to the production and reproduction of people's identities as they engaged in routine occupations. Indeed, the experiences of the French-speaking immigrant participants were explored in relation to the socio-historic context within which Francophone immigration to Canada is currently embedded. My study thus also contributes to contemporary migration literature's understandings of place as contingent or as a process (Silvey & Lawson, 1999).

Again, moving beyond understandings of place as purely physical in nature and better understanding how people relate to place highlights its socially constructed nature. For instance, while Khalil was physically located within London, he described himself as being 'still at sea' because he felt he was far from his home country, but not yet a part of the host society.

The newcomer participants in my study experienced a number of transitions that they continue to negotiate. While research addressing transitions within occupational science has emphasized the importance of occupational engagement for facilitating the continuity of identity over time, one's need or ability to re-engage in similar occupations following international migration has not been sufficiently problematized. My study addresses how the shift experienced in place as a result of migration alters people's possibilities for occupation and hence their identities. The participants' need to engage in new occupations within Canada, or the restrictions they face in engaging in other occupations, highlights how the development of their identities within the host society both informs and is shaped by their occupational possibilities. Essentially, migrants' capacity to engage in specific occupations in order to confirm or reaffirm their identities may be restricted. Also contributing to the migration literature, my study highlights how newcomers manage their identities not only within the host society, but also 'back home' in continued interactions with those left behind as noted within contemporary understandings of transnationalism. My findings highlight how occupation became a means for the participants to negotiate their identities. For instance, Halima gave presentations at schools and community organizations to educate people about her practice of veiling in order to begin to challenge what she felt were dominant stereotypes of Muslim women.

My research further contributes to the growing number of studies on migration within occupational science by using an occupational perspective to make the implied role of occupation within discussions of immigrant integration more explicit. The use of an occupational perspective also makes this research an

important addition to the field of migration studies, which has thus far incorporated only a limited view of occupation. Understandings of migrants' social integration should expand beyond an emphasis placed upon productive occupations and the reproductive occupations that are engaged in to support these (e.g. gendered division of labour within the household) to further consider what the implications of particular modes of incorporation are for the variety of occupations newcomers need and want to engage in. Informing my occupational perspective with insights drawn from critical theory furthered my understanding of how immigrants' occupational engagement may be enabled or constrained by the social structure as they negotiate the transitions associated with the integration process. This entails recognizing the complexity of their social and personal identities according to the intersecting markers of race, gender and language. As the participants sought to negotiate their performances and manage the impressions they made within Canadian society, their social interactions were nonetheless influenced by their habitus, which had been developed in relation to different fields of practice abroad. Integration therefore requires not only learning different ways of doing, but also different ways of being. The findings of my study serve to challenge predominant themes within discussions of successful integration by highlighting, for instance, the range of occupations newcomers need and want to engage in besides or in addition to employment. My research also emphasizes implicit aspects of the integration process that are often ignored or taken for granted within policy documents, such as the learning of unwritten social rules.

As highlighted by the four issues addressed within the discussion above, emphasizing Francophone immigration and the successful integration of newcomers into FMCs in order to promote vitality has implications for the day-to-day lives of French-speakers who become embedded within this particular socio-historic context. In addition to my contribution to the occupation-based and migration literature, I propose four important implications stemming from my research that should be taken into account for future research, policy

development or service provision. I do not provide specific recommendations for particular actions; instead these broader implications emphasize critical considerations needed to better understand the integration of French-speaking immigrants within FMCs and to develop practices based on this deeper understanding. First, the implicit aspects of integration should be recognized. Second, linear understandings of integration should be problematized. Third, foci upon individuals must be expanded to consider additional scales at which occupations are negotiated, such as households and communities. Fourth, the intersections of occupation, place and identity must be considered when developing policies and programs aimed at enabling 'successful' integration.

The theoretical concepts informing my work served to highlight the implicit aspects of integration that are largely unacknowledged within discussions of migration within government documents. The participants' description of a need to 'start over' was so fundamental because it did not relate solely to the explicit aspects of integration, such as preparing for and participating in the workforce. They emphasized a complex transition process that led them to recognize and articulate things they had previously taken for granted. Beginning to reflect upon formerly tacit knowledge and being increasingly conscious of their performances in social interaction complicated the integration process, as they were often unsure of how to do or be. Indeed, the role of one's habitus in shaping one's negotiation of transitions must be taken into account. Hence, migration policy and research as well as service provision for newcomers must go beyond the 'obvious' aspects of integration to pay increased attention to the more implicit elements that serve to shape their occupational engagement within the host society, and thereby their identities.

I argue that the need to emphasize the implicit aspects of integration would be facilitated by problematizing linear understandings of the integration process. If integration is viewed as a series of successive stages, including markers such as finding housing, learning a language, volunteering to get Canadian experience,

and getting a job, then explicit aspects of integration supporting these are inherently forefronted (e.g. enrolling in language classes, taking a resume writing workshop). However, if integration is viewed as an ongoing reflexive learning process, as argued within the discussion above, then the recognition of implicit aspects of integration, such as recognizing differences in fields and habitus, would be enabled. Problematizing a linear model is also essential for highlighting how the integration process takes place during social interactions within multiple fields of practice and does not simply naturally occur over time.

As highlighted by the experiences of the study participants, newcomers do not migrate and integrate on their own. Thus research studies, policies and services addressing newcomers and their immigration and integration must not focus solely or even primarily on individuals. A broader focus upon additional scales of engagement and belonging, such as the household and community levels, must also be explored. It remains unsurprising that Francophone newcomers would encounter barriers to occupational engagement when the respondents from government and community organizations participating in this study highlighted the number of challenges faced by Francophone minority communities and Francophone organizations more generally. Indeed the challenges newcomers face were shown to be not individual issues, but rather to stem from and be connected to larger structural elements (e.g. policies, services). Thus a broader focus becomes essential.

As stressed throughout this thesis, occupation, place, and identity remain strongly connected and their intersections must be emphasized within considerations of Francophone immigration and integration. The possibilities for newcomers' occupational engagement cannot be viewed in isolation. Migrants' altered social locations, according to identity markers such as language, gender, and race that result from migration affect their occupational engagement within particular places. How their occupations are enabled or constrained thereby

promotes or hinders the development or reaffirmation of their identities within the host society.

The increasing presence of Francophone immigrants is changing the face of contemporary FMCs, and how the increasing diversity of these communities is being negotiated has implications for the occupational engagement of Francophone immigrants. As highlighted by my research, the particular ways in which their identity markers intersect within these communities shape their experiences. The participants within my study highlighted a number of ways they have been discriminated against, whether implicitly or explicitly, due to their gender, race, and language. Such discrimination restricts their opportunities for occupational engagement, and in doing so ultimately denies them the full expression of their identities. Emphasis within policy documents must go beyond outlining the transitions newcomers experience and recommending services to support these transitions (e.g. language courses and employment services to facilitate one's getting a job) to address the structural barriers faced by newcomers seeking to integrate. Only in this way can Canadian's twin constructs of national identity, namely multiculturalism and bilingualism, begin to be made materially meaningful in immigrants' lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Letter of information for immigrant participants

Study Title: The Integration Experiences of French-Speaking Immigrants from Visible Minority Groups Residing Within the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community

Study Researcher:

Suzanne Huot, PhD Candidate
Health and Rehabilitation Sciences
University of Western Ontario

Thesis supervisor: Dr. Debbie Laliberte Rudman
School of Occupational Therapy
University of Western Ontario

You are invited to take part in a research study that is exploring the experiences of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups relating to moving to and living in London, Ontario. I seek to learn from you about your daily life in order to raise awareness of the challenges faced by immigrants in doing what they need and want to do in daily life, how their identities change as a result of migration, and how integrating into a new society is experienced. I am a doctoral student in the Occupational Science field of the Health and Rehabilitation Sciences program at the University of Western Ontario and the information I am collecting will be used in my thesis.

Raising the number of French-speaking immigrants is a key policy goal of the federal government aimed at maintaining the presence of Francophone Minority Communities (French-speaking communities outside the province of Quebec). French-speaking immigrants arrive from a variety of source countries and experience changes to their everyday lives when moving between countries, which may affect the activities they choose or have to participate in. Better understanding the transitions experienced by immigrants in London, Ontario, Canada serves to clarify how integration occurs.

To participate in this study you must be between the ages of 18 and 65, and you need to: i) have immigrated to Canada from another country; ii) be able to speak French and consider French your mother tongue or primary official language spoken; iii) be a member of a visible minority group; iv) be able to participate in an interview in either French or English; and v) have an interest in sharing your experiences of migrating and living in London, Ontario.

What will I have to do if I choose to take part?

You will be asked to take part in 5 meetings with the researcher, who is a graduate student at the University of Western Ontario. All meetings will be conducted in either French or English, depending on what you prefer. The first meeting will be about your story of emigrating from your home country and coming to Canada. You will choose the way you want to tell your story, and what

you do not want to share about this time in your life. The researcher will listen to you and ask questions as needed to clarify and expand your story of migration.

At least two of the follow-up meetings will consist of observations. During the second meeting, we will map the areas of London that you frequent. We will identify the places you go and discuss what you do there. We will then decide what activity you would like me to observe, and where. I will take part in one of your routine activities with you. The second observation session will take place 3 to 4 weeks later and will involve participating in a second activity you choose.

Two other follow-up meetings will consist of interviews. One will address your occupations, or everyday activities, and experiences in Canada, and London specifically. You will be asked about the kinds of things you do, such as the activities that interest you, what you need to do, how you like to spend your time, and the kinds of things that keep you occupied. The second follow-up interview will address your experiences of moving to and living in the city of London. You will be asked to describe what the term 'integration' means to you, and describe things that help or hinder your experiences as an immigrant in the city of London. You can tell me as much or as little as you like, and you can decide what information you want to share.

The first meeting will take approximately 1 ½ to 2 ½ hours in which you tell your story. The follow-up meetings will each take approximately 1 to 2 hours. Each meeting will be held in a location of your choice; for example, at your home or at the researcher's office. You will choose the time and place.

Are there any risks or discomforts?

There are no known risks associated with taking part in this research. Some people experience discomfort when they talk about and remember times that were difficult for them. You are free to choose what will and will not be discussed. This research requires a lot of time commitment. All meetings will be scheduled at your convenience, and you can request to reschedule or shorten meetings if you experience discomfort or fatigue.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Your first-hand experience of international migration is important information that only you have. Information you share will be presented to others through publications and at conferences and meetings. As a result, your views can help influence the services, programs, and policies that are put in place for people immigrating to Canada. Your identity will never be released in any publication or presentation. If you want, a copy of the study results can be forwarded to you at the completion of the study.

What happens to the information that I tell you?

The meetings with the researcher, your story, and the interviews will be audio-recorded. What you say will be typed out by the study researcher. The only people who will listen to the recording will be the researcher, and her thesis supervisors. I will be taking notes about the activities you are doing and the setting we are in during the observation sessions. Once the observation period is over, I will write additional notes from memory. All identifying information will be removed from these notes. The only people who will read the observation notes will be the researcher, and her thesis supervisors.

To protect your identity, only numbers will be used to identify recordings, observation notes, transcripts, and interviews. You are free to request that parts of the recording be erased, either during or after the interview sessions. You will be given typed copies of all the interviews and observation records. Quotes from your story and the interviews, and notes from the observation sessions will be included in future publications and presentations and will be identified using code numbers or fictional names. Personal details will be changed to ensure your anonymity.

The consent form, notes and recordings will be locked in a secure place at the University of Western Ontario, and all information transferred into typed format and digital files will be password protected. All information will be erased after 10 years.

Other Information about this Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future. Information collected prior to withdrawal will be kept, unless you ask to have it removed from the study. You do not have to be in this study if you do not wish to be. You do not have to answer any questions in the interviews. You do not have to talk about anything in the interviews that you do not want to.

You will be given a copy of this letter of information and consent form once it has been signed. If you have any questions or want any additional information, you may contact me: Suzanne Huot.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact: the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Western Ontario.

This letter is for you to keep.

Appendix B – Letter of information for representatives from local governmental and community organizations

Study Title: The Integration Experiences of French-Speaking Immigrants from Visible Minority Groups Residing Within the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community

Study Researcher:

Suzanne Huot, PhD Candidate
Health and Rehabilitation Sciences
University of Western Ontario

Thesis supervisor: Dr. Debbie Laliberte Rudman
School of Occupational Therapy
University of Western Ontario

I am a doctoral student in the Occupational Science field of the Health and Rehabilitation Sciences program at the University of Western Ontario and the information I am collecting will be used in my thesis. You are invited to take part in a research study that is exploring the settlement and integration experiences of French-speaking immigrants from visible minority groups that live in London, Ontario. I seek to learn from you about the types of settlement services and other forms of community reception available to French-speaking immigrants. Your insights will serve to raise awareness of the challenges faced by, and supports available to, immigrants to Canada.

Raising the number of French-speaking immigrants is a key policy goal of the federal government aimed at maintaining the presence of Francophone Minority Communities (French-speaking communities outside the province of Quebec). French-speaking immigrants arrive from a variety of source countries and experience changes to their everyday lives when moving between countries, which may affect the activities they choose or have to participate in. Better understanding the transitions experienced by immigrants in London, Ontario, Canada serves to clarify how integration occurs.

To participate in this study you need to: i) work for, or be a member of, an immigrant service provider, or community organization or club; ii) be able to speak French or English; and iii) be able to participate in an interview in either French or English.

What will I have to do if I choose to take part?

You will be asked to take part in one meeting with the researcher, who is a graduate student at the University of Western Ontario. The interview will be about the types of services offered by your organization or club, your perceptions of the barriers to immigrant integration, and your views on community reception of newcomers within London. You can tell me as much or as little as you like, and you can decide what information you want to share.

This meeting will take approximately 1 to 1½ hours and will be held in a location and language of your choice; for example, at your office or at the researcher's office. You will choose the time and place.

Are there any risks or discomforts?

There are no known risks associated with taking part in this research.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Information you share will be presented to others through publications and at conferences and meetings. As a result, your views can help influence the services, programs, and policies that are put in place for people immigrating to Canada. Your identity and your organizational affiliation will never be released in any publication or presentation. If you want, a copy of the study results can be forwarded to you at the completion of the study.

What happens to the information that I tell you?

The interview will be audio-recorded. What you say will be typed out. The only people who will listen to the recording will be the researcher, and her thesis supervisors. To protect your identity, only numbers will be used to identify recordings, transcripts, and interviews. You are free to request that parts of the recording be erased, either during or after the interview sessions. Quotes from your interview may be included in future publications and presentations and will be identified using code numbers or fictional names. Personal details will be changed to ensure your anonymity.

The consent form and recordings will be locked in a secure place at the University of Western Ontario, and all information transferred into typed format and digital files will be password protected. All information will be erased after 10 years.

Other Information about this Study:


Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future. Information collected prior to withdrawal will be kept, unless you ask to have it removed from the study. You do not have to be in this study if you do not wish to be. If you decide to be in the study, you may drop out at any time by telling the researcher. You do not have to answer any questions in the interviews. You do not have to talk about anything in the interviews that you do not want to.

You will be given a copy of this letter of information and consent form once it has been signed. If you have any questions or want any additional information, you may contact me: Suzanne Huot.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact: the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Western Ontario.

This letter is for you to keep.

Appendix C – Research protocol



Office of Research Ethics
 The University of Western Ontario
 Room 4180 Support Services Building, London, ON, Canada N6A 5C1

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. D. Laliberte Rudman

Review Number: 15891S **Review Level:** Full Board

Review Date: February 06, 2009

Protocol Title: The Integration Experiences of French-Speaking Immigrants from Visible Minority Groups Residing Within the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community: Intersections of Occupation, Place, and Identity

Department and Institution: Occupational Therapy, University of Western Ontario

Sponsor:

Ethics Approval Date: March 18, 2009 **Expiry Date:** August 31, 2010

Documents Reviewed and Approved: UWU Protocol, Letter of Information and Consent (Immigrants - English and French), Letter of Information and Consent (for those private areas where observations take place - English and French), Letter of Information and Consent (for employees and members of local service providers, clubs and organizations - English and French), Advertisement.

Documents Received for Information:

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the approval date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the NMREB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information. If you require an updated approval notice prior to that time you must request it using the UWU Updated Approval Request Form.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the study or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of monitor, telephone number). Expedited review of minor change(s) in ongoing studies will be considered. Subjects must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the NMREB:

- a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
- b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
- c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to this office for approval.

Members of the NMREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the NMREB.

Chair of NMREB: Dr. Jerry Paquette

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Grace Kelly	<input type="checkbox"/> Janise Sutherland	<input type="checkbox"/> Elizabeth Wambolt	<input type="checkbox"/> Denise Grafton

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

cc: URE File

UWO NMREB Ethics Approval - Initial
 V.2007-10-12 (pptApprovalNotice/NMREB_Initial) 15891S Page 1 of 1

Appendix D – Advertisement

The Integration Experiences of French-Speaking Immigrants from Visible Minority Groups Residing Within the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community

I am interested in your experience of immigrating to Canada.

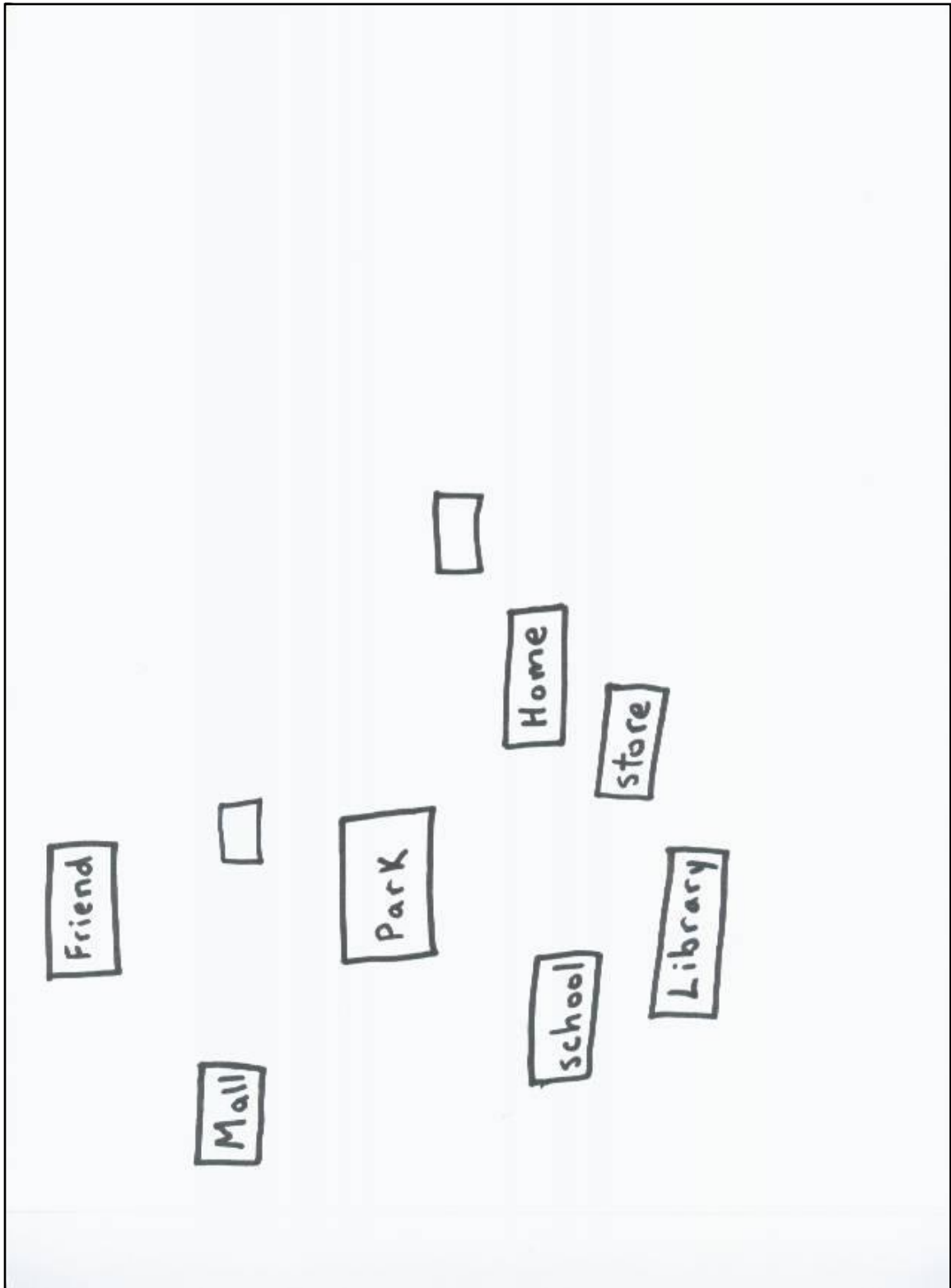
The study is being conducted by Suzanne Huot from the Health and Rehabilitation Sciences Program at the University of Western Ontario.

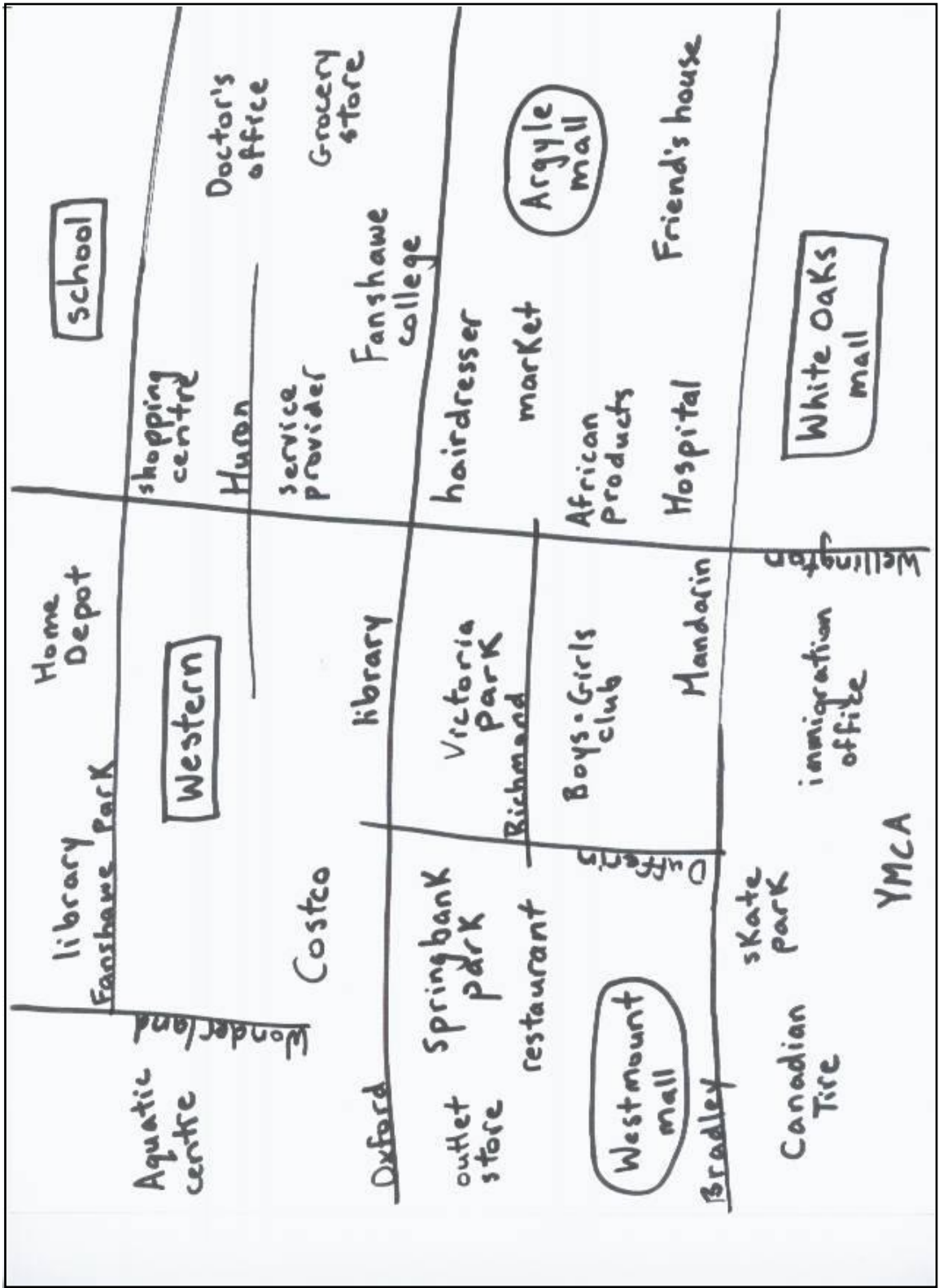
- Who? Volunteers who are:
- French-speaking (according to either mother tongue or primary official language spoken)
 - Part of a visible minority group
 - Between the ages of 18 and 65
- What? Take part in five meetings with a researcher
- The first meeting – I will ask you to tell me your story of migrating to Canada and to London, Ontario
 - The second meeting – we will take part in one of your routine activities
 - The third meeting – we will take part in another of your routine activities
 - The fourth meeting – I will ask you some questions about your occupations and activities in London, and about the places you frequent in the city
 - The fifth meeting – I will ask you about your experiences of settlement and integration within the city
- How Long? 1½ to 2 ½ hours for the first meeting, and 1 to 2 hours for subsequent meetings
- Where? At a time and place of your choosing
- Why? Your views can help influence the services, programs, and policies that are put in place for people immigrating to Canada.

Interested? For more information please contact:

Suzanne Huot

Appendix E – Example of two mental maps





Appendix F – Letter of information for those in private areas where observations took place

Study Title: The Integration Experiences of French-Speaking Immigrants from Visible Minority Groups Residing Within the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community

Study Researcher:

Suzanne Huot, PhD Candidate
Health and Rehabilitation Sciences
University of Western Ontario

Thesis supervisor: Dr. Debbie Laliberte Rudman
School of Occupational Therapy
University of Western Ontario

As you are in a setting where a research participant is being observed, I am providing this letter of information to make you aware of the on-going study. I am a doctoral student in the Occupational Science field of the Health and Rehabilitation Sciences program at the University of Western Ontario and the information I am collecting will be used in my thesis. I seek to learn about the lives of immigrants in order to raise awareness of the challenges they face in doing what they need and want to do in daily life, how their identities change as a result of migration, and how integrating into a new society is experienced.

I am conducting observations while taking part in routine activities with research participants. This involves taking notes about the setting (e.g. time of day, location) and activities (e.g. what is being done, who is involved) during the observation sessions. Although your presence and interactions may be recorded in these notes, no identifying information will be kept in the notes. Notes from the observation sessions will be included in future publications and presentations and will be identified using code numbers or fictional names. Personal details will be changed to ensure anonymity of people observed.

Are there any risks or discomforts?

There are no known risks associated with taking part in this research.

What are the benefits of taking part?

First-hand experience of international migration is important information that only immigrants have. Information shared will be presented to others through publications and at conferences and meetings. The results of this study may help influence the services, programs, and policies that are put in place for people immigrating to Canada.

What happens to the information that you collect?

All identifying information will be removed from observation notes taken. You are free to request not to be included in the observation notes, which will be locked in a secure place at the University of Western Ontario. All information transferred

into typed format and digital files will be password protected. All information will be erased after 10 years.

Other Information about this Study:

You do not have to be observed as part of this study if you do not wish to be. You can request that observational notes concerning you be removed from the study. If you have any questions or want any additional information, you may contact me: Suzanne Huot.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact: the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Western Ontario.

This letter is for you to keep.

Appendix G – Occupation-focused in-depth interview guide

This guide will be modified for each individual participant. In addition to broad questions listed, questions stemming from stage 1 (narrative interview) and stage 2 (observation and description) that require clarification or interpretation will also be asked.

1. Tell me about what a typical day is like for you.
 - a. What kinds of things do you do now?
 - b. Are there things you would like to do, but cannot? What makes it difficult for you to do these things?
2. How does your life in London differ from the life you had in [source country and other intermediate destinations]?
 - a. What kinds of things did you do in [source country]?
 - b. [If relevant] What kinds of things did you do in [areas of destination prior to settling in London]?
3. When the time came to choose the city where you were going to settle, how did you come to make your decision?
 - a. How important was the role of language in this decision?
4. What places are important to you?
 - a. Why?
 - b. What do you do there?
5. Have your experiences of migration influenced how you see yourself?
 - a. How so?
6. Have your experiences of migration influence how you think others see you?
 - a. How so?
7. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix H – Integration-focused in-depth interview guide

1. Do you feel as though you are a member of the Francophone community in London, Ontario?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. Do you want to be a member of the Francophone community in London, Ontario?
 - c. Why or why not?
 - d. Are you involved in/with any French-speaking organizations?
 - i. If yes, which ones? How did this come to be?
 - ii. If no, why not?
2. What does the concept of integration mean to you?
 - a. Do you feel that you have ‘integrated’ into London, Ontario, Canada?
 - b. What would it mean to be ‘successfully integrated’?
 - c. Do you intend to stay in London? Why or why not? For how long?
3. In your opinion, what would make your community more appealing or less appealing for Francophone newcomers?
4. What helped your migration experience? (What opportunities did/do you gain?)
 - a. In your opinion, what could be done to improve or facilitate the integration process for newcomers to Canada?
 - i. What are the biggest language needs?
5. What hindered your migration experience? (What challenges did/do you face?)
 - a. What would you like to tell other francophone immigrants that are interested in moving to London, ON?
6. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix I – Guide for in-depth interviews with representatives from governmental and community organizations

1. Please describe the organization for which you work (or are a member).
 - a. What is your mandate?
 - b. What are your main activities?
2. Do you have employees [members] that were born outside of Canada?
 - a. Members of your board of directors?
3. What are the circumstances or areas of intervention that usually lead you to deal with Francophone newcomers?
4. How would you describe your relations with Francophone newcomers?
 - a. Do you think you have been able to reach them?
 - b. Do you think they are aware of the services your organization is able to provide for them?
5. What, in your opinion, are the main obstacles Francophone newcomers face as they try to integrate into the Francophone community? Into London?
6. What are the main obstacles the francophone community currently faces in trying to help Francophone newcomers integrate?
7. What other information would you like to share in regard to this issue?

VITA

Name: Suzanne N. Huot

Date of Birth: February 18, 1980

Post-Secondary Education and Degrees: The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
1999-2003 B.A. Geography with Distinction

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2003-2005 M.A. Geography

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2006-2011 Ph.D. Health and Rehabilitation Sciences

Honours and Awards: Social Sciences and Humanities Research of Canada Doctoral Award (2009-2010)

Ontario Graduate Scholarship (2009-2010)

School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
Graduate Scholarship (2008-2009)

Ontario Graduate Scholarship (2007-2008)

Edward G. Pleva Fellowship in recognition of outstanding academic achievement (2004)

The National Council for Geographic Education and American Association of Geographers Award for excellence of scholarship to an outstanding geography student (2003)

Related Work Experience: Sessional Instructor
Faculty of Health Sciences
The University of Western Ontario
2010-2011

Research Coordinator
 School of Occupational Therapy
 The University of Western Ontario
 2008-2009

Executive Director for the Canadian Society of
 Occupational Scientists
 2006-2009

Research Trainee for Dr. D. Laliberte Rudman
 School of Occupational Therapy
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Publications

Laliberte Rudman, D., & **Huot, S.** (In press). Conceptual insights for expanding thinking regarding the situated nature of occupation. In M. P. Cutchin & V. A. Dickie (Eds.), *Rethinking Occupation: Transactional Perspectives on Doing*. Springer.

Huot, S., & Laliberte Rudman, D. (2010). The performances and places of identity: Conceptualizing intersections of occupation, identity and place in the process of migration. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 17(2), 68-77.

Huot, S., & Dodson, B. (2010). Doing it for the children: the importance of family in migrant decision making. In B. Hallman (Ed.), *Family Geographies*. Oxford University Press.

Laliberte Rudman, D., **Huot, S.**, Klinger, L., Leipert, B., & Spafford, M. (2010). Viewing occupation through a lens of risk: the experiences of older adults with low vision. *OTJR: Occupation, Participation and Health*, 30(2), 87-96.

Spafford, M., Laliberte Rudman, D., Leipert, B., Klinger, L., & **Huot, S.** (2010). When self-presentation trumps access: Why older adults with low vision go without low vision services. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 29(5), 579-602.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Dodson, B., & Magalhaes, L. (2010). *The Challenge of 'Successful Integration' into the London, Ontario Francophone Minority Community*. Current Research Compendium on Francophone Immigration in Canada. Metropolis, Canada.

Laliberte Rudman, D., **Huot, S.**, & Dennhardt, D. (2009). Shaping ideal places for Retirement: occupational possibilities within contemporary media. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 16(1), 18-24.

Laliberte Rudman, D., Dennhardt, S., Fok, D., **Huot, S.**, Molke, D., Park, A., & Zur, B. (2008). A vision for occupational science: reflecting on our disciplinary culture. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 15(3), 136-146.

Presentations

Huot, S., Dodson, B., & Laliberte Rudman, D. (2011, April). *The challenge of successful integration for Francophone immigrants within minority communities*. Poster presented at the Western Migration Conference Series, London, ON.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., & Magalhaes, L. (2010, October). *What Bourdieu would have learned from Occupational Science: occupation as a bridge to understanding the role of 'habitus' in immigrant integration*. Paper presented at the Canadian Association of Occupational Scientists and the Society for the Study of Occupation: USA Joint Annual Conference, London, ON.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., & Magalhaes, L. (2010, May). *Occupation, Immigration and integration: Negotiating language, 'race' and gender*. Paper presented at the World Federation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT) XV Congress, Santiago, Chile.

Huot, S., & Laliberte Rudman, D. (2009, October). *Critical ethnography: 'Doing' research on occupation*. Paper presented at the Society for the Study of Occupation: USA (SSO:USA) 2009 Annual Conference, New Haven, CT.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Dodson, B., & Magalhaes, L. (2009, June). *Occupation in immigrant settlement and integration: Intersections of race, gender and language*. Paper presented at the Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists (CAOT) 2009 Annual Conference, Ottawa, ON.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Dodson, B., & Magalhaes, L. (2009, April). *Immigration and Francophone Minority Communities - Negotiating language, race and gender through occupational engagement and place-making*. Paper

presented at the Centre for Excellence in Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS) Graduate Student Symposium, Toronto, ON.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Dodson, B., & Magalhaes, L. (2008, October). *Settlement and integration within Francophone Minority Communities: Intersections of race, gender and language*. Paper presented at the Immigration and Settlement Studies Graduate Student Conference, Toronto, ON.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., & Dodson, B. (2008, June). *The Intersections of identity, migration and occupation*. Paper presented at the Eight International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations, Montreal, PQ.

Huot, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., & Dodson, B. (2008, May). *The intersections of place, occupation and international migration*. Paper presented at the Fourth Canadian Occupational Science Symposium, Thunder Bay, ON.

Huot, S., Dodson, B., & Laliberte Rudman, D. (2008, April). *The Intersections of place, international migration, and occupation*. Paper presented at American Association of Geographers (AAG) Annual Conference, Boston, MA.