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Language Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Immigrant Integration: A Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary

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Language Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Immigrant Integration: A
Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

Immigrant integration can be complicated by multiple factors like language, ethnicity, culture, and population size. While macro-level language-in-immigration policies continue to conceptualize these variables and immigrant integration as monolithic, micro-level integration practices of immigrants are often multidirectional, multidimensional, and multiplex. These practices are further complicated by the emergence of ethnic networks that continue to grow stronger, denser and agile, and often impact the ways immigrants settle and integrate in a host society. Although South Asians have emerged as the biggest ethnic minority in Alberta and have shown tendency towards co-ethnic integration, there is scarcity of research on how they use official and ethnic languages for settlement and integration in Alberta and the type of integration taking place within their ethnic networks. Filling this gap, this study reports findings from a critical analysis of Canada' federal language-in-immigration policy about skilled immigrants and perceptions about language usage for integration of a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. In addition to reporting a disconnect between integration conception in policy (i.e., monolingual) and integration achievement in practice (complex, broader, and selective), the study calls for enacting meso-level policies that reflect macro-level policy goals and micro-level practices of diverse immigrant communities. The study has implications for immigrant settlement and integration policies, programs, services, and research.

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Shukriya! شكريه

Dedication

امی تے ابو جی! اے مقالہ تواڈے دوواں دے ناں۔ ماں جی' تسی اچ میرے نال نہی او پر تواڈیاں تے ابو جی دیاں دعوواں امیدیاں تے حوصلے ہمیشہ میرے نال رہے۔ تواڈے دوواں دی حلا شیری نال ای میں اپنے خاندان وچ پہلا وکیل بنیا' ایم اے انگریزی کیتا تے امریکا جا کے پڑھیا۔ تے اچ خاندان دا پہلا پی ایچ ڈی ڈاکٹر بن گیا۔ اے تحریر میرے مقالے دا سب نالوں اوکھا حصہ سی کیوں کہ تواڈی شفقت' پیار تے اعتماد دا شکریہ لفظاں وچ ادا نہی ہو سکدا۔ رب ساریاں نوں تواڈے ورگے ماں پیو دیوے۔ آمین

Ami and Abu Ji! This dissertation is for you! Maan ji, you are not with me today but your and Abu Ji's prayers, wishes and encouragements have always been with me. It was because of your motivation that I became the first lawyer in my family, did an MA in English and went to the US to study. Today, I have become the first PhD Doctor in my family. This dedication was the most difficult part of my dissertation because your care, love and confidence cannot be described in words. May God bless everyone with parents like you. Ameen!

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Definitions

Settlement

Settlement is the period during which immigrants achieve certain goals such as housing, healthcare, employment, education, community networking, businesses, parenting, and other settlement related needs.

Integration

Integration can be defined as the development of “communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities” (UK Government’s Integrated Communities Strategy, 2018, p. 10)

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a collective group identity shaped by shared physical, linguistic, cultural, and environmental attributes (Brumfield, 2001).

Policy

The term ‘policy’ is often used to refer to rules and guidelines that delineate a path of action to achieve desired objectives, goals and agendas (Reynolds, 2019; Ricento, 2019).

South Asians

People from a subregion of Asia that originate from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka are referred to as South Asians. They are also known as *Desi* or *Browns*.

Multilingualism and Translingualism

Some scholars (e.g., Canagarajah, 2017) differentiate multilingualism from translanguaging where the former is defined as the ability to speak many languages proficiently, however, not always perfectly and the latter is switching between and employing multiple linguistic repertoires for communication. For me, the shared objective behind these terms (i.e., the recognition of diverse linguistic repertoires as resources) is more important than their distinction. For this reason, I have often used them together in this study to describe multi/translingual South Asian immigrants.

Ethnic Network

In this study, I define ethnic networks as support groups that share cultural capital, languages, ethnicity, immigration history, and geographical location and may play a significant role in immigrant integration.

Skilled Immigrant

There are many programs through which immigrants can come to Canada and the term *immigrant* is often used as an umbrella term to cover any person who moves from one country to another temporarily or permanently (Capstick, 2021; Chiswick, 2008); however, in this dissertation, I use the term *skilled immigrants* to refer to a specific sub-group of immigrants that immigrate to Canada through one of the Express Entry programs and are linguistically diverse, literate, and internationally experienced.

Newcomer

The term ‘newcomer’ in this study refers to permanent residents of Canada who moved from a different country during the last five years.

First Generation

The term 'first generation' refers to individuals who were born outside of Canada and are permanently settled in the country as permanent residents or citizens.

Language Ideology

A language ideology is “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvin, 1989, p. 255).

Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIMI	Canadian Index for Measuring Integration
CST	Critical Social Theory
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
PBS	Points Based System

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Complexities of Immigrant Integration and the Role of Language and Ethnic Networks

This chapter provides an overview of the context and background information about the topic of this dissertation to situate the three manuscripts (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) and the conclusion chapter (Chapter 5). It begins with a review of research on immigrant integration and the role of language and ethnic concentrations in this process. Then it discusses the objectives, rationale and significance of this research, followed by a discussion on the theoretical framework that guided this study. Methodological framework, data collection and analysis details, and ethical considerations are provided towards the end of this chapter.

Integration of multilingual immigrants in host countries, especially in regard to how language plays a role in this process, has been an area of interest for sociolinguists, sociologists of language, language policy analysts, applied linguists, and immigration studies specialists (e.g., Capstick, 2021; Fishman, 1971; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Earlier research has looked at the ways immigrant integration is conceptualized in macro-level language policies by governments and state institutions (e.g., Canagarajah, 2017). In addition to highlighting the embedded language ideologies within language policies, this body of research points to the dominance of monolingual ideologies in top-down policies that view the use of a single language like English as an easier strategy to administer immigration and integrate diverse immigrant communities in the host society (e.g., Ricento, 2021). As “an ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, consciously or unconsciously held, which reflects or shapes understandings or misconceptions of the social and political world” (Freeden, 1998, para. 1), a language ideology is “the cultural (or

subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvin, 1989, p. 255).

Researchers have also explored language practices of immigrants during settlement and integration processes to understand the linguistic composition of their communicative practices and how these interactions shape social relations, immigration experiences, and integration practices (see Canagarajah, 2017; Capstick, 2021; Hynie et al., 2011). Findings from such research reveal multilingual settlement and integration practices where dominant languages like English and immigrant languages such as Bangla, Mandarin, Punjabi and Spanish are reported to play significant roles (e.g., Ferdous et al., 2018; Li & Li, 2016; Shuva, 2021). A noticeable proposal in this body of work has been to rethink integration as a complex, multilingual, multidimensional, and multidirectional phenomenon (e.g., Macleod, 2021) and align macro-level policies with micro-level practices to foster broader and deeper integration of immigrants (e.g., Ravichandiran et al., 2022).

Such tensions between language policies and practices resonated with my own observations and experiences as a researcher, an academic and a multilingual immigrant who has lived in four different contexts (Pakistan, USA, Qatar and Canada). This motivated me to study this topic for my doctoral dissertation. As a researcher and academic, I have observed, read about and experienced varying levels of disconnects between macro-level policies and micro-level practices. For instance, when I immigrated to Canada in 2019 and went through the immigration, settlement and integration (still ongoing) processes, I had the opportunity to experience and understand the federal immigration policy that emphasizes the knowledge of English and/or French for immigration and settlement. I also noticed that a similar policy is also employed in other countries like Australia, England and New Zealand that require higher proficiency in

English for successful immigration as it is considered important for settlement and integration in the host country (Papademetriou & Hooper, 2019). Similarly, during settlement and integration, I also observed that *other* languages such as Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu were used by immigrants at individual and social levels to perform socio-politico-economic activities such as connecting with people, buying products, performing jobs, earning money, and accessing healthcare. These *other* languages were also being used by government agencies and immigration services providers in the form of translation and interpretation to facilitate immigrant settlement (e.g., The City of Calgary, 2018). What interested me was to explore how social multilingualism vis-à-vis official bilingualism impacted settlement and integration experiences of immigrants in Canada, and what integration outcomes are produced by the use of different languages.

For this reason, I decided to look at the federal immigration policy to understand how it represents official (English and French) and immigrant languages at the macro level (Chapter 2). To contain the scope of policy analysis, I limited my research to federal immigration programs related to skilled immigrants because that is where language skills were incorporated as one of the selection criteria. Additionally, I conducted a case study of a sub-group of South Asians (Bangladeshis, Indians and Pakistanis) in Calgary to understand their perceptions of language usage as they settle and integrate in Northeast Calgary (Chapters 3 and 4). Since South Asians have emerged as a visible ethnic minority in Northeast Calgary (Government of Alberta, 2018) and are reported to live within their ethnic concentrations because of economic, religious or socio-cultural reasons (Hiebert, 2014; Shuva, 2021), I was interested in exploring how South Asian networks and multilingualism mediate their settlement and integration and whether it aligns with the macro-level conception of immigrant integration. Besides, Bauman (1999)

pointed out that, “the most powerful feature of contemporary life is cultural variety of societies, rather than variety of cultures in society” (p. xlii). Thus, by using the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic, and health) outlined in the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI), data were collected through surveys (n=493) and interviews (n=19) to explore the ways South Asians use official and ethnic languages to settle and integrate in Calgary.

The four dimensions are used to evaluate the performance of the newcomers (born outside Canada) against the Canadian born population to make an estimate of how well immigrants are settling and integrating in different Canadian provinces (CIMI, 2020). For instance, the economic dimension is used to understand the economic gap by looking at indicators such as wages, labor force participation, employment status, and use of non-official language at work. Similarly, social dimension includes pointers like friends and sense of belonging to local community, province, and Canada to evaluate social integration. Civic and democratic participation focuses on volunteering and voting practices to evaluate political engagement. Lastly, the health dimension includes having a regular medical doctor, perceptions about health care and life stress services and satisfaction with life. However, instead of focusing on the achievement of these dimensions and indicators, I was interested in exploring how language mediates their accomplishment. For this reason, survey¹ and interview questions asked the participants to share their perceptions of using English and ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu) to achieve the indicators under the four dimensions (also see Chapters

¹ The wording of the survey questions where each statement began with “I am able to...” was intentional, and the aim was to maintain consistency across the questions. Additionally, participants were informed in the introductory paragraph of the survey that this is a study about their perceptions of language use to achieve the four dimensions of integration outlined by the CIMI.

3 & 4). My intention was to understand how immigrant integration is conceptualized in federal level policies and how it is taking place at the social level among South Asian immigrants.

However, instead of simply collecting the data and reporting the findings, I decided to take a critical approach to the theories and concepts I was using to develop the design of my study as well as collecting and reporting the results. The three concepts that were central to my study were immigrant integration, ethnic networks, and the role of language in both of these concepts. Before discussing my methodological framework and research questions, I want to provide an overview of these concepts and how I have used them in this study.

Integration is a complex practice that is multidirectional and multidimensional (Harder et al., 2018; Macleod, 2021; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Multidirectionality refers to the involvement of multiple actors that contribute to the overall integration of immigrants. These actors can include state institutions, settlement agencies, local community members, and immigrants themselves (see Guo & Guo, 2016; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Multidimensionality points to various factors such as economy, politics, health, society, and host country language skills that are considered significant in the integration of immigrants (see Harder et al., 2018). However, as a student and researcher of language, I am more interested in the relationship between language and the multidirectional and multidimensional achievement of integration goals. For instance, I adopted the CIMI tool to understand how South Asians use official and ethnic languages to achieve the four dimensions of integration (i.e., economic, social, political, and health) and how their ethnic network contributes to their language use that may impact the achievement of the four dimensions. Since my objective was to unpack the relationship between the language practices of South Asians and the type of integration taking place across the four dimensions of integration, instead of observing language use and performing a linguistic analysis that often

focuses on the formal properties of language (Egbert & Baker, 2020), I decided to ask participants about their perceptions of language usage for the four dimensions and how this may impact their overall integration.

My review of the literature on immigrant integration in Canada and other countries pointed to the role of co-ethnic members during settlement and integration. These ethnic members may share common languages, cultural values, immigration experiences, or sometimes similar interests (e.g., religion, heritage, and settling in the host country) (Hynie et al., 2011). These can influence immigrants' decisions about choosing their initial, and sometimes permanent, place of residence, which could be closer to their ethnic communities (Baur et al., 2003; Rural Development Institute, 2015; Zucchi, 2007) and may influence the type of integration that takes place among immigrants. Such decisions of residing in particular geographical locations result in the emergence of visible ethnic concentrations, drawing attention of researchers, policymakers and administrators who are interested in understanding the formations, roles and outcomes of these concentrations (e.g., Hiebert, 2014).

An overview of the literature on the topic revealed three commonly used terms for such concentrations: *Ethnic/immigrant enclaves* (Espinoza-Kulick et al., 2021; Portes & Manning, 1986; Wilson & Portes, 1980), *immigrant colonies* (Park, 1915), and *social networks* (Hynie et al., 2011). Immigrant enclave theory (Portes & Manning, 1986), for instance, defines such practices and their outcomes as “the concentration and localization of immigrants in a specific geographic area” for “mutual support, collective power and beneficial social relationships” (Osaghae & Cooney, 2019, p. 2086). Similarly, Park (1915) claimed that “in the immigrant colonies which are now well established in every large city, foreign populations live in an isolation” (p. 596). These isolations are marked by distinct social rituals, values and moral orders

that originate from the home countries of immigrants and do not often align with host community environments. In addition, Hynie et al. (2011) stated that social networks provide social support and social capital. The former includes instrumental help (e.g., childcare, financial aid, and food), informational assistance (e.g., advice about everyday issues), and emotional support (e.g., motivation, counselling, stress relief). The latter, social capital, on the other hand, is the ability “to invest resources in relationships that are marked by reciprocity and trust and to possess the cultural knowledge necessary to build these relationships” (p. 28).

These three terms and the work developed around them enhanced my understanding of immigrant settlement and integration processes in host countries. They also helped me understand the significance of geographic locations, socio-political values and social capital and how they can impact social relations, communal harmony and cooperation among different ethnic groups. As I continued to conceptualize the role of language in society (Fishman, 1971), with immigrants and their integration in host communities in mind, I observed that the three terms did not provide the lens (i.e., multilingualism as a social capital) that was necessary to examine the research phenomenon I intended to investigate. Similarly, the negative connotations attached with some of these terms (e.g., geographic isolation with enclave and dominance and control with colony) invited me to problematize these terms with the objective of providing a respectful but constructive critique to extend this area of scholarship and practice with a newer concept. The term ethnic/immigrant enclave, for instance, was introduced by Wilson and Portes (1980) to refer to the clustering of Cubans in Miami who were found to employ co-ethnic members into ethnic businesses. Later study of this concept focused on the support provided by enclaves to their group members against a *hostile* majority that attempts to suppress immigrants and ethnic minorities (Espinoza-Kulick et al., 2021). Geographical locations and boundaries

where ethnicities concentrate for mutual support are a distinguishing characteristics of ethnic enclave theory. However, I observed that the concept of geographical isolation has become less significant today with increasing mobility and interconnectivity through digital transformation (Steger, 2020). This makes traditional conception of enclaves less applicable to contemporary ethnic concentrations that are continuously in connection with other ethnicities, groups and people (Guo & Guo, 2016). Similarly, the historical understanding of colonies that are marked by illegal invasion, dominance, exploitation and control by the settlers or colonizers does not define contemporary Canadian immigration policies that are a result of mutual agreement between the sending and receiving countries and provide socio-politico-economic benefits to both sides (Government of Canada, 2020). Zucchi (2007) confronted such views in Canada by arguing that:

our [Canadian] notions of ethnic neighbourhoods have also been influenced (and some would say constructed) over the years by American perceptions of their own ethnic neighbourhoods and by governments, agencies, media reports, opinion leaders and legislation regarding ethnic enclaves. In the late nineteenth century, for example, Canadian politicians and journalists worried about an immigrant tide that might gravitate to the cities and reproduce the tenements and slums of cities to the south. (p. 1)

For me, the concept of social network comparatively provided a better picture of the support and capital offered by the social members for settlement in the new country and for maintaining cultural knowledge and identity of the home country (Hynie et al., 2011). However, it did not treat ethnicity and language as the deciding factors for networking and support that I aimed to investigate as part of my study (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). By extending this concept with the inclusion of multilingualism (speaking many languages proficiently, however,

not always perfectly), translingualism (switching between and employing multiple linguistic repertoires for communication [Canagarajah, 2017; Garcia, 2009]), and ethnicity (collective group identity shaped by shared physical, linguistic, cultural and environmental attributes [Brumfield, 2001]) that characterize the multilingual immigrant population that I intended to study, I proposed *ethnic networks* as an alternative term. I believed that *ethnic networks* was a better term to define contemporary South Asian immigrant concentrations in Calgary that may reside or work in different geographical areas, are able to communicate with each other through a mixture of different languages or dialects, identify as an ethnicity, and tend to live in close proximity. Since ethnicity is a fundamental component of ethnic networks, the concept required unpacking because of the multiple interpretations and understandings associated with it as well as to clarify how I defined the term and South Asians in this study.

Many social anthropologists (e.g., Brumfield, 2001; Eriksen, 2010; Shneiderman & Amburgey, 2022) describe ethnicity as an identity marker at individual and/or collective levels that shapes human behavior. The former refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a group through shared origin or bloodline and the latter distinguishes groups from each other based on physical, linguistic, cultural, and environmental characteristics (Eriksen, 2010). Although the terms *identity* and *belongingness* share some characteristics (e.g., values, beliefs, and practices), scholars (e.g., Anthias, 2018) also differentiate between the two. According to Anthias (2018), identity is a possessive characteristic, denotes the self (i.e., being), and is used by individuals or groups to categorize themselves or be categorized by others as different or distinct. Belonging, on the other hand, is about shared or common values, cultures, languages, ethnicity, or nationhood that create emotional attachment to a place or a group of people. "We can treat the issue of belonging as inclusion (formal and informal), within the polity, within networks, within

the state, or intersubjectively” (Anthias, 2018, p. 146). Since I adopted the items from the CIMI toolkit that uses ‘sense of belonging’ to the local community, province, and Canada to measure social integration of newcomers (CIMI, 2020), I used the term belonging to conceptualize and report findings about ethnic networking of South Asians. Similarly, I was more interested in similarities and commonalities that created feelings of group belonging and networking and then impacted integration at a collective, rather than individual, level.

However, the real tension is not in defining concepts such as ethnicity or group belonging but rather in interpreting whether they are permanent constructs, characterized by homogenous attributes such as similar linguistic or geographical backgrounds or changeable and heterogenous but collective identities consisting of diverse cultures, languages, geographical origins, and physical characteristics within an ethnic group. Conceptions of ethnic groups as permanent, hierarchical, and biological types are often influenced by Darwinian ideas of biological determination of human behavior where certain biological categories think, act, or perform in particular ways because of their monogenic characteristics (Rose, 2009). This approach to categorize contemporary human populations has been problematized by many researchers who argue that the diversity (cultural and linguistic plurality), hybridity (racial and cultural mixing), transnationalism (interconnectivity) and changing size (population) that characterize today’s ethnic groups do not make them a ‘mono’ or ‘homogenous’ population anymore (Eriksen, 2010; Rose, 2009; Sandfur et al., 2004). Agreeing with this perspective, I believe that ethnicity is a sense of belonging or peoplehood where a group or its members are connected with each other through shared linguistic (languages or dialects), physical ²(skin color or bloodline), cultural

² Physical features such as skin color or hair texture are often used to ascribe certain racial identities to people (e.g., White, Black or African or Chinese, etc.). As a social construct, the concept of race has been criticized for fostering systems of oppression, power imbalance, and privilege for certain groups. Although race and ethnicity are

(religions, food, clothes) and environmental (geographical area or origin) characteristics. These characteristics are not always homogenous or permanent and can change or develop over time.

Similarly, feelings of ethnicity may also become stronger or weaker based upon the socio-politico-economic incentives or challenges faced by an ethnic group (Eriksen, 2010). For instance, South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan once shared the same geographical region, known as the Indian Sub-Continent, where they practiced their diverse languages, cultures, and religions but were connected through shared socio-cultural resources. Following the British colonialism and its divide and rule policy in the Sub-Continent, newer varieties of languages were created which were later associated with different religions (Durrani, 2012). An example of this is the Urdu-Hindi controversy and their association with Hinduism and Islam in India and Pakistan. Although stronger linguistic division can be observed in India and Pakistan where attempts are made to differentiate between Urdu and Hindi because of political and/or religious reasons or feelings, language speakers from both languages can and do communicate with and understand each other because of shared histories, cultures, and geography. Although Bangladeshis speak Bangla and other local languages, they are sometimes able to converse with Urdu and Hindi speakers in a mixed variety of both languages.

For me, these shared similarities (histories, cultures, languages, and environments) connect and create a sense of belonging between Bangladeshis, Indians and Pakistanis and give them a collective identity (i.e., South Asians), despite belonging to different languages, cultures, geographical areas, or religions today. However, this collective identity can also be impacted by the subcultures and socio-politico-economic and religious tensions that exist within South Asian

sometimes used interchangeably, the former is understood as a biological feature and the latter as a cultural phenomenon (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007).

countries and diaspora, creating individual and complex identities at sub-group level (e.g., Bangladeshis, Indians, and Pakistanis keeping their individual identities). I have noted these tensions in Chapter 2 and have called for a careful usage of the marker *South Asian* that should not dismiss the diversity within the South Asian diaspora. Since I was more interested in the shared characteristics of the South Asians that shape their collective identity and create a sense of belonging, I have carefully grouped them together in this study while acknowledging the lingo-cultural diversity that marks their individual identities and subcultures. This was the reason why I believed that ethnic network was a better way to conceptualize their ethnic networking and the use of ethnic languages for socio-politico-economic purposes. I used this perspective and term to develop my theoretical framework to study the concentration of South Asians in Northeast Calgary. Although my understanding of the existence and working of the ethnic networks was initially supported more by my personal observation as a researcher and a member of the South Asian community as well as my dialogues with co-ethnic members than empirical data, the evidence that I collected as part of this study reinforced the existence, functioning and role of these networks in South Asian immigrants' integration (see Chapter 4).

Since ethnic networks play a significant role in immigrant settlement (e.g., Shuva, 2021) and continue to grow with increasing immigration and mobility (see Qadeer et al., 2010), they require continuous investigation to understand the type of integration they are influencing and how their role can be further enhanced (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Chakraborty & Schüller, 2022). With an understanding that language is a defining factor of ethnicity and identity (Capstick, 2021; Edwards, 2012) and a fundamental component of immigrant concentrations (Danzer et al., 2022; Fong & Shen, 2011; Hynie et al., 2011), I was interested in exploring how multilingualism is practiced within ethnic networks and how these practices influence socio-politico-economic

integration of immigrants. This required investigating the use of multiple languages in places where immigrants constitute a major section of the population and ethnic networks are continuously emerging. In addition, a narrowed focus on a particular ethnicity or group such as South Asians provided a better understanding of their language practices within their networks and how these practices impact their socio-economic integration in the host country community.

Purpose and Research Questions

There were four main objectives of my study. First, I was interested in learning how immigrant settlement and integration is conceptualized in macro-level policy in Canada (Chapter 2). Secondly, I aimed to investigate how multilingual South Asians use English and ethnic languages for social, economic, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes (the four dimensions of integration identified by the CIMI) (Chapters 3 & 4). Thirdly, since research showed that the use of non-official languages is higher within ethnic networks, I wanted to learn how these networks encourage multilingual interactions in an English-dominant province (Alberta). A particular emphasis was paid to the multilingual competence of the South Asians who were able to *shuttle* between different languages and dialects (Canagarajah, 2018), despite belonging to languages that are claimed to be different but share similar lexical or syntactic characteristics (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu). Finally, earlier research on ethnic concentrations has pointed to both positive and negative impact of these concentrations on immigrant settlement and integration. I was interested in learning how such networks impacted South Asians' integration in Alberta across the four dimensions, the type of integration they were influencing, especially when multiple languages were involved (ethnically focused integration promoting parallel lives where immigrants live in isolation from the mainstream society or ethnic support that fosters socio-politico-economic well-being of the newcomers leading to integration

in the bigger Albertan or Canadian society), and what can the researchers, policymakers, immigration services providers and provincial/federal governments learn from these findings to improve immigration and settlement policies and services. Overall, this was a study of multilingualism in practice in ethnically concentrated areas and how this could contribute to immigrant integration in the host country. With this objective, the research questions that guided my investigation were:

- 1) How do macro-level language-in-immigration policies represent the linguistic diversity of immigrants to Canada?
- 2) How do South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?
- 3) How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health)?
- 4) To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asian settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta?

Rationale and Significance

Answering the “so what” question, the findings from my study may be useful in four ways. Firstly, earlier research on ethnic groups and their integration in Canadian context has mainly taken place in bigger provinces like Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec and metropolitan cities like Toronto, Mississauga, Vancouver and Montreal (Etowa et al., 2021; Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011; Jiang, 2021). This was primarily because these places (especially Ontario and BC) have historically remained popular destinations for newcomers

because of immigration policies, higher immigrant population, ethnic density and employment opportunities (Canada Direct, 2022). However, over the past decade, Alberta has attracted a considerable portion of immigration population in the province. For instance, in 2020, Alberta was the third top destination for permanent residents admitted under the economic class (after Ontario and BC) (Government of Canada, 2021). According to Statistics Canada (2017) projection, Alberta's socio-demographic data will significantly change by 2036 with immigrants making 31% of provincial population, out of which Asians will be 59.4% to 63.4%. The diversity indicators also show that "Alberta would remain the most ethnoculturally diverse Prairie province in 2036" and "between 25.5% and 31.6% of people would have neither English nor French as their mother tongue (19.1% in 2011)" (p. 69). This increasing diversity and immigration population invites understanding of how official and non-official languages are used in the province and how they are impacting newcomer integration within different ethnic groups. Therefore, my research aimed to provide a unique contribution to understanding Alberta's increasing linguistic diversity and its implications for the province as well as its local and immigrant population. By focusing on a particular ethnic group (South Asians), the study provided data on how multilingual South Asians utilize multiple languages within their networks to achieve the four dimensions of integration. Similarly, it explained how these language practices construct their communicative practices and socio-politico-economic activities within an English-dominant province and the ways these practices lead to complex integration patterns (i.e., nested-broader [multicultural and beyond ethnic network] and nested-selective [narrowed and co-ethnic focused]). This may have implications for the long-term socio-economic integration of South Asians into mainstream Albertan economy and society.

Secondly, this study also made important contributions to the theory of multi/trans-lingualism, language policy and immigration studies. By proposing *ethnic networks* as an approach to study language practices of multi/trans-lingual South Asians in an English-dominated province, it helped understand how the use of multiple languages impacted immigrant integration and what language policies were needed to support diverse linguistic groups while ensuring successful settlement and integration. For me, successful integration is not just the achievement of the four dimensions on the CIMI index but the ability to socialize, work and live with diverse Albertan population from different languages, ethnicities, and groups.

Thirdly, CIMI was a newly developed instrument to examine immigrant performance across the four dimensions of integration against Canadian-born citizens. There have been calls to test this tool in different regions and identify areas for improvement (Canadian Index for Measuring Integration, 2020). My study aimed to examine immigrant integration across the four dimensions by focusing on the role of language and how multiple languages can be used to achieve the four targets. The findings of the study provided insights into improving services in the four areas by looking at the ways immigrants used official and ethnic languages for social, economic, civic & democratic, and health purposes, what difference this made in their performance in these areas, and what policy revisions were required to provide multilingual services for immigrants. Since the study pointed to complex integration patterns, this may have implications for current understanding and measurement approaches of immigrant integration in Alberta and Canada.

Finally, since the provincial government continues to emphasize on English language training for socio-economic integration, we also found out that English was not enough to integrate South Asian populations across the four dimensions in Alberta. Although it was

reported as a major language in South Asian integration, it did not provide the social capital that was necessary to integrate economically, socially, politically and in health category. This study has provided exemplars of how and why multi/trans-lingual South Asians used different languages for social, economic, civic & democratic, and health purposes and the type of integration these language practices were promoting. The findings also provided insights for the provincial government, settlement agencies, researchers and policymakers to benefit from this linguistic ability and multilingual skills transferability to diversify training and skills development programs for South Asians and other multilingual immigrant communities.

Theoretical Framework and Researcher Assumptions

Critical social theory (CST) provides a lens to examine social attributes such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and language, and how they may contribute to the creation of particular social structures and organizations (Box, 2005; Leonardo, 2004). For CST scholars, social problems are generated by social structures rather than individuals. This is why CST-based studies reveal and challenge power structures, critique their contribution to social division or segregation, and propose solutions to address social issues (Box, 2005). In the field of language and immigration, for example, CST scholars have examined the role of different languages (e.g., official and non-official) in settlement and integration of immigrants, the way these languages shape social identities, sense of belonging, and citizenship ideologies – allegiance and fidelity to a particular country characterized by legal and social rights, duties, participation, and identity (Delanty, 1997; Guo & Guo, 2021), and the implications these practices may have for individuals, communities and society (e.g., Canagarajah, 2018; Capstick, 2021).

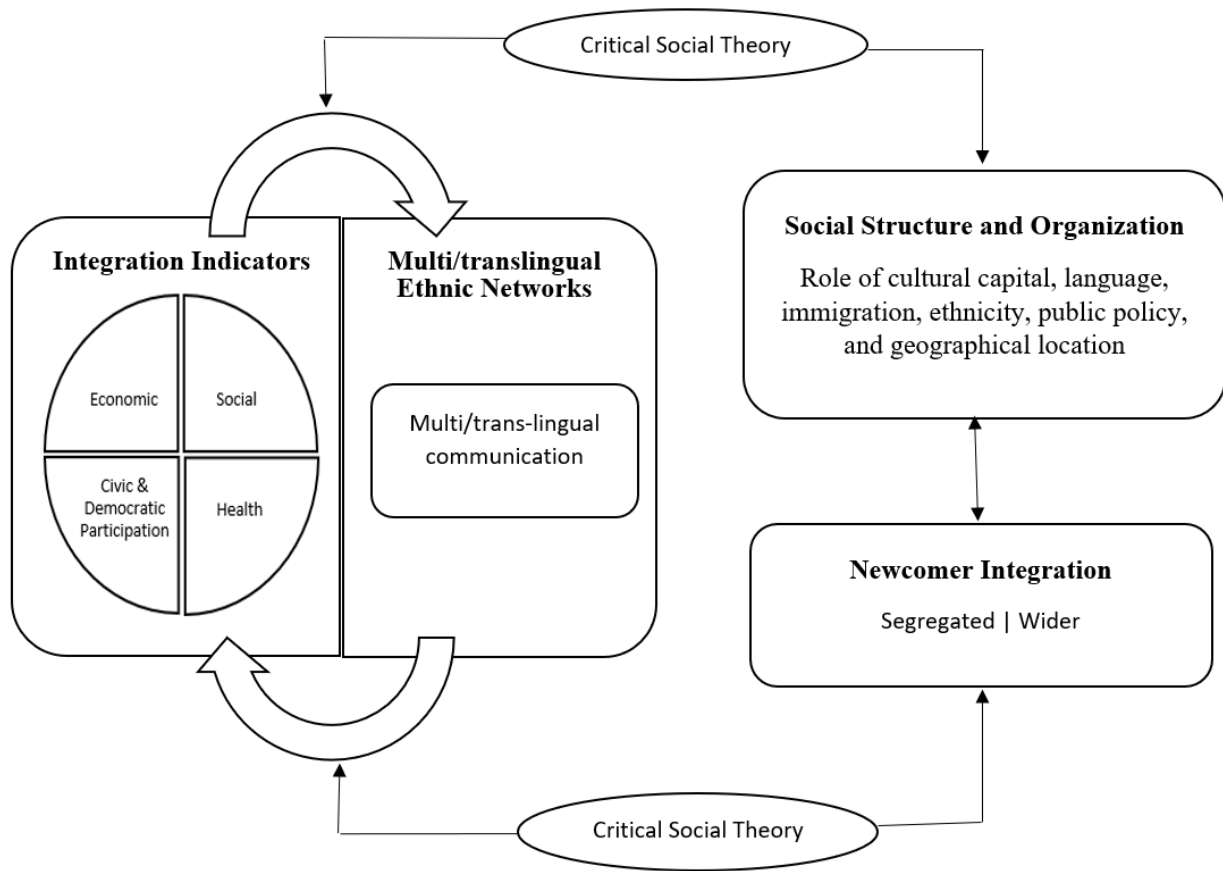
Although critical approaches have existed in language studies for a long time, Pennycook's (1990) call for the critical turn in applied linguistics reminded researchers to take

up political and ethical projects with a critical lens to examine the relations between social concepts (e.g., language ideologies, gender issues, racism, etc.) and language practices in different spaces (e.g., society, classroom, media, etc.). Following this, critical applied linguists have been studying the relationship between language such as English and broader social, cultural and political systems that support the spread and dominance of English (e.g., Capstick, 2021; Ricento, 2021). By focusing on certain areas (e.g., language and immigration), researchers such as Canagarajah (2017) have examined how skilled immigrants from Africa resisted neoliberal ideologies in English-dominant workplaces in Australia, South Africa, UK and USA and drew upon their translingual repertoire to create mutual ethnic bonding, develop in-group spaces, and share knowledge. Others (e.g., Capstick, 2021) have looked into the relationship between multiculturalism and interculturalism and how they shape social relations, sense of belonging and integration patterns of immigrants at the micro-level in Europe. A dominant focus in these studies has been the tension between top-down language policies that often adopt monolingual approaches to control immigration flow or shape integration practices and the micro-level language practices of immigrants that are complex and multilingual (Canagarajah, 2017; Capstick, 2021).

Since integration is a social phenomenon and language is a social practice, I drew upon CST and sociology of language (Fishman, 1971) to develop the theoretical framework (see Figure 1) for this study that helped me investigate the conceptualization of immigrant integration in the federal language-in-immigration policy and micro-level integration practices of South Asians in Calgary. In view of this, applying CST and sociology of language in this study of social networking has enabled me to develop a better understanding of the underlying dynamics and implications of language use at the micro-level. Similarly, I was also able to explore the

ways official and ethnic languages contribute to South Asian integration and the type of integration taking place within their ethnic network.

Figure 1
Theoretical Framework



For this study, I positioned social integration of multilingual South Asians within discourses of globalization and language policy. Globalization has had unequal influences on social structures and organizations across the globe but has also increased ethnolinguistic awareness where calls for ethnic language maintenance and usage have emerged (Canagarajah, 2004). My review of the literature on language and immigration revealed that a major development in this regard has been the emergence of ethnically concentrated areas or networks in host countries like Canada (Zucchi, 2007). These networks offer support systems for co-ethnic

members through ethnic languages that help them settle and integrate in the host country. However, researchers, policymakers and immigrant settlement agencies have also been concerned with the type of integration these networks foster (Agarwal, 2013; Baur et al., 2003; Chakarborty & Schüller, 2016), what can be learnt from these networks and their services to improve immigration policies (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Hiebert, 2014), and how the role of these networks can be enhanced to align their functioning with the macro and meso level policies (Jiang, 2021; Oshagae & Cooney, 2019).

Based upon my review of the literature on ethnic networking, one of my assumptions in the beginning of the study was that South Asian integration is nested within their ethnic networks (Liston & Carens, 2008) where they are able to integrate in Calgary by using different languages; however, this integration may be more selective and inclined towards their co-ethnic members than the broader society. Social networking theories point to the development of social relations and structures that are shaped by the ways people associate with each other at the individual level or with institutions at the social level (Gamper, 2022). This association impacts the type of relations people develop with others or institutions and thus establish overall social structures (Klärner et al., 2022). While examining the language practices of South Asian multilingual immigrants across the four dimensions of integration in their networks, I was also interested in exploring the role of these networks in this process, i.e., communicative patterns, thus test my assumption about social integration. While the data have pointed to both broader and selective integration practices (see Chapter 4), using CST-based approach has also allowed me to identify the strengths and areas for improvement for these networks and thus implications for future research on South Asian networks and other ethnic networks in Canada and beyond.

In terms of immigrant integration, I observe that knowledge of resources, policies and services is vital for their settlement and integration in the host country. The medium through which this knowledge is acquired and utilized is language, which is what positions it within the social world. As Sealey and Carter (2004, p. 2) argued, “Most kinds of knowledge is linguistically mediated. This accounts for the unique status of language, as both an object of knowledge and the means by which knowledge is comprehended, expressed, and discussed”. With this understanding, I was interested in learning how language is used during immigration processes, how it is used as a means for accessing knowledge at the social level, and the implications the use of certain languages can have for multilingual South Asians and their integration in Calgary. Since CST practitioners are concerned with the dynamic forms of social relations, the factors that contribute to these relations, and how they impact society as a whole (Box, 2005), it aligned with the lens through which I aimed to approach the language practices of South Asians in their networks and how they impacted their integration in Calgary. In this regard, sociology of language that focuses on society in relation to multilingualism and how social dynamics are impacted by individual and group language use (Fishman, 1971) allowed me to examine what South Asian languages are used for social, economic, political and health purposes and under what conditions, and how they influence South Asian integration in Calgary. This informed the construction of my research questions and theoretical framework (see Figure 1) that focused on the analysis of federal language-in-immigration policy and the language practices of multilingual South Asians within their network and their implications for their settlement and integration in Calgary, Alberta, and Canada.

Methodological Framework

The purpose of my research was to study 1) the representation of official and non-official languages in federal language-in-immigration policy and 2) perceptions about the language practices of a sub-group of South Asian immigrants from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan who may live/work in their networks in the Northeast area of Calgary and may utilize their multilingual skills for the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) on the CIMI index. My aim was to understand how immigrant integration is conceptualized in macro-level language policy and how it is achieved at the micro-level by South Asians within their networks.

Since this study focused on the language policy for skilled immigrants at the macro-level and perceptions about the language practices of a particular group of immigrants at the social level, it required an in-depth investigation of policy and practice. For this purpose, a mixed methods sequential explanatory case study design was used to collect quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) to answer my research questions. While case study allowed me to bound the data around the most suitable sources (Merriam, 2009), mixed-methods sequential explanatory approach, where quantitative data is collected and analyzed to further unpack it during qualitative data collection and analysis (Ivankova et al., 2006), helped me to collect data over a period of time (December 2022 to February 2023) through surveys and individual interviews.

Starting with document analysis, I developed a general understanding of the macro-level language policy, how different languages are represented in the policy, and the type of integration conceptualized through this representation (Chapter 2). Following policy analysis was data collection from a sub-group of South Asians (Bangladeshis, Indians, and Pakistanis) in

Calgary through an online survey (n=493) and its analysis using percentages, means, and standard deviation (Chapter 3). Data revealed overall multilingual (English and ethnic languages) integration across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic, and health) and sparked curiosity about the type of integration (narrowed/ethnic-focused or broader) taking place. These results were used to guide the qualitative stage where individual interviews were conducted with a subsample of the participants from the survey stage that represented the three groups to further interpret and clarify survey findings as well as develop a better understanding of the topic (Chapter 4). Survey participants were asked to indicate if they would like to take part in the next stage of data collection (i.e., interviews) and those who showed interest were invited to participate. In total, 19 interviews were conducted via Zoom (Chapter 4). Thematic analysis was performed to analyze qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006) that pointed to two types of integration practices mediated by multilingualism: *nested-broader* and *nested-selective*. Although both types of integration practices emphasized the role of ethnic networks as *nests* during settlement and integration (Liston & Carens, 2008), the latter integration practice was mainly restricted to co-ethnic members and did not stretch beyond ethnic networks. This was followed by a triangulation of results from both quantitative and qualitative stages to draw final results in Chapter 5 (Merriam, 2009; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2018).

In order to explain how I settled on this methodological framework, this section provides an explanation of mixed methods case study design, its selection for my research, and what assumptions I brought to this methodology as a researcher. Then a discussion on the methods of data collection and analyses and how they were deemed appropriate for this study is provided. The section will end with an explanation of the ethical considerations in the selection of the methodological framework and how I maintained objectivism and validity throughout the study.

My Positionality and Methodological Choices

Before moving on to describing my methodological framework, I wanted to clarify my positionality as a researcher in relation to the choices I made and the assumptions I brought to this study. As a critical researcher, I took a critical approach to analyze the language-in-immigration policy and the language practices of multilingual immigrants. I intended to understand how immigrant integration is conceptualized in macro-level language policy and how it is achieved at the micro-level by immigrants, how and why people use different languages for the four dimensions of integration at the social level, the type of integration these communicative practices foster, and what implications these may have for immigration and language policies in Alberta and Canada. With this objective, the role of language policy and ethnic networks and how they impact socio-politico-economic integration of immigrants was of particular interest to me.

As noted earlier, research has identified both positive and negative effects of ethnic networks (e.g., Agarwal, 2013; Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011), especially when their role is evaluated against the use of official versus non-official languages for integration (e.g., Baur et al., 2003; Danzer et al., 2022). My case study was unique in the sense that I assumed that my participants were multi/trans-linguals who can use English and ethnic languages for communication as well as communicate with each other in a mixed variety of language that can consist of multiple languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Bangla, Pashto, etc. (ontological position). Blommaert (2010) referred to this linguistic ability as “polyglot repertoires” that cannot be described as one language or variety of it but allow multilinguals to switch between different known languages. What required understanding was how such multi/trans-lingual practices impact South Asians’ integration (epistemological inquiry), especially when they are

performed in the ethnic networks that have received criticism for promoting segregated ethnic economies and communities (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019). The critical approach I took to this study helped me answer these questions.

Since I intended to study the federal language-in-immigration policy to understand the context and perceptions about the language practices of a particular sub-group of South Asians to examine language practices for integration, mixed methods case study design allowed me to bound relevant data around the topic and subjects and select the most suitable data to provide in-depth evidence to understand my case. The three methodologists (Robert Yin, Sharan Merriam, and Robert Stake) I followed to employ case study as a methodology had different perspectives with their strengths and weaknesses. However, instead of strictly adhering to a single perspective, I followed Yazan's (2015) approach of consulting multiple methodologists for my study. For instance, I delineated my research design (e.g., methodology selection, data source identification and data analysis plan) before the onset of the study (see Table 1) so that I could stay focused; however, certain changes needed to be made to adjust the design (see Table 2), which is where I consulted Simons (2009) to make some changes. For instance, I planned to collect quantitative data from newcomers who had moved to Calgary or Canada in the last five years to understand their language practices for integration (Table 1). However, I faced difficulty in finding newcomers to participate in the study, possibly because of their busy routine that is filled with efforts to settle in their new home. To increase participation, I expanded the scope of the study to first generation immigrants from South Asia and invited them to share their perceptions of using English and ethnic languages for integration (Table 1).

Similarly, I had planned to conduct focus groups to unpack the quantitative data (Table 1). Feedback from the candidacy exam and the ethics board encouraged me to consider

individual interviews instead. Since focus groups run the risk of unequal participation, are difficult to facilitate, and may be uncomfortable for some participants to share their views, replacing them with individual interviews allowed me to discuss the quantitative findings in detail and provide a safer space for the participants to share their views individually (Table 2).

Table 1

Summary of Proposed Research Timeline and Methods

Stage	Research Stage	Data Collection and Analysis	Timeline
REB application	REB application preparation and approval		Nov. 2022 – Jan. 2023
Survey study	RQ1: How do newcomer South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?	Survey data from 300 participants Mean and standard deviation	Feb. 2023 – Mar. 2023
Focus group discussions	RQs 2 & 3: How do translingual ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health)? To what extent do these language practices and translingual ethnic networks impact newcomer settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta?	Three focus groups Thematic analysis	Apr. 2023 – May 2023
Triangulation	RQs 1-3	Triangulation of data from stages 1 and 2	June 2023

Table 2***Summary of Adjusted Research Timeline and Methods***

Stage	Research Stage	Data Collection and Analysis	Timeline
REB application	REB application approval		Dec. 12, 2022
Survey pilot	Survey pilot and revision	Survey data from 49 participants Means and standard deviation	Dec. 12-20, 2022
Survey study	RQ1: How do South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?	Survey data from 493 participants Mean and standard deviation	Dec. 20, 2022 – Jan. 20, 2023
Individual interviews	RQs 2 & 3: How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health)? To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asians' settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta?	19 interviews Thematic analysis	Jan. 23 – Mar. 3, 2023
Triangulation	RQs 1-3	Triangulation of data from documents, survey and interviews	Apr. 2023
Defense	Thesis defense		Sept. 20, 2023

Research Site and Participants

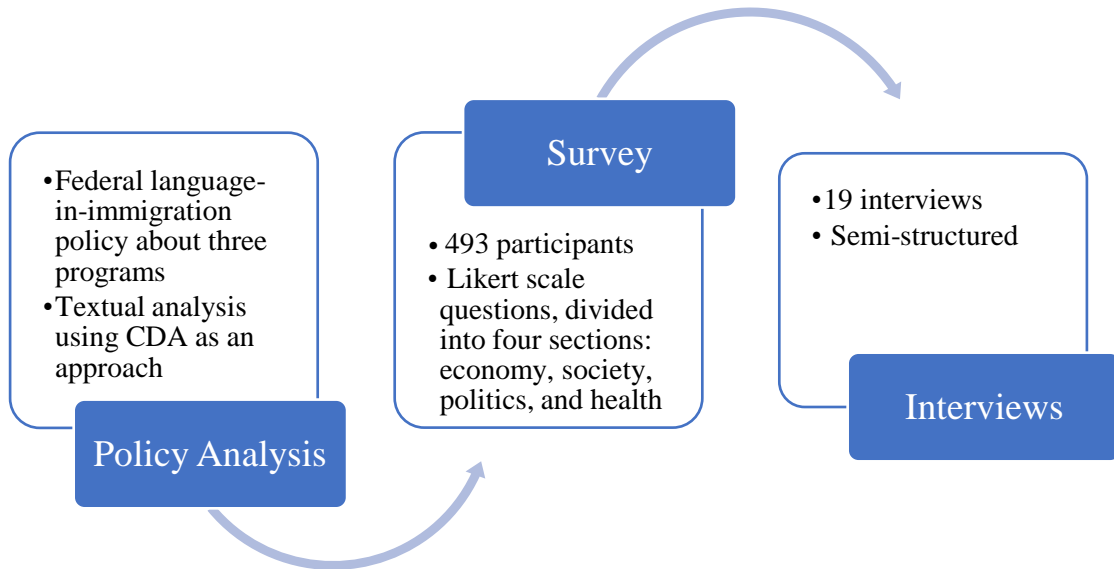
The main reason for choosing federal language-in-immigration policy for skilled immigrants was because it includes language as a selection criteria. The aim was to understand how immigrant integration is conceptualized through this policy so that an understanding of the context can be developed. Similarly, Northeast Calgary as a research site and a sub-group of South Asian multilingual speakers from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan as participants were chosen because South Asians are a visible ethnic group in the area and are known to use their languages for socio-economic purposes such as business, employment, healthcare, education, and social networking. For instance, Alberta Provincial Electoral Divisions report on Calgary Northeast (Government of Alberta, 2018) showed that there were 12 visible minorities in the area, among which South Asians were the biggest minority group, comprising 8,005 (36%) out of total visible minority population of 40,300. The same report also showed that among the six major non-official languages spoken in Northeast Calgary, Punjabi is spoken by 2,145 out of 9,495 people, which made it the second most spoken language in the area after Tagalog. These data proved the existence of South Asian ethnic concentrations and multilingualism in the area and sparked curiosity about language practices within these ethnic networks and their contribution to the integration of South Asians into broader Calgarian and Albertan society. As a speaker of Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and English, I was able to discuss the topic with the participants and understand their multi/trans-lingual communication.

Figure 2 provides a visual summary of the data collection stages. The first stage included policy analysis where I collected textual data about the three immigration programs from the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada's (IRCC) website (see Chapter 2). Using CDA as data analysis methods, I focused on three elements of the text: nominalization, presupposition,

and collocation. This allowed examining lexical choices in the text to describe the policy, interpret the relationship between the text and social interaction, and explain the meanings they may create for immigrants and their integration (Fairclough, 1995). Following this was the survey study where I collected data through an online questionnaire and asked participants to share their perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for the four dimensions of integration. Table 3 provides a summary of participant demographics.

Figure 2

Data Collection Stages



The findings from the survey stage were used to develop semi-structured interview questions for individual interviews where participants were asked to respond to the survey findings and share examples of using English and/or ethnic languages for integration. This stage also invited participants to discuss the impact of using different languages for socio-political-economic and health activities, the role of their ethnic network in this regard, and the type of integration taking place within their network.

Table 3***Demographic Details of Survey Participants***

Age Range	Level of Education	Languages Spoken or Understood
18-20 = 4	Less than high school = 15	Balochi = 31
21-29 = 239	High school or equivalent = 97	Bangla = 233
30-39 = 199	Some college but no degree = 189	Burmese = 71
40-49 = 42	Bachelor's degree = 189	Chittagonian = 34
50-59 = 7	Master's degree = 59	Dhakaiya Kutti = 19
60+ = 2	Doctorate (PhD) degree = 10	English = 362
Gender	Immigration Status	Gujarati = 22
Female = 208	Permanent Resident of Canada = 280	Hindi = 134
Male = 285	Canadian Citizen = 212	Marathi = 41
Other = 0	Other = 1	Noakhaila = 33
Length of Stay in Canada	Immigration Category	Pashto = 94
1-12 months = 46	Economic Class = 170	Eastern Punjabi (India) = 58
2-5 years = 199	Family Class = 277	Western Punjabi (Pakistan) = 50
6-10 years = 125	Humanitarian and Compassionate Immigrants = 44	Seraiki = 19
10+ = 123	Other = 2	Sindhi = 23
Country of Origin		Sylheti = 11
Bangladesh = 246		Tamil = 41
India = 110		Telugu = 31
Pakistan = 106		Urdu = 103
Other = 31		Varendri = 9
		Other = 6

Ethical Considerations

Although case study methodology allows researchers to understand a case in detail by utilizing multiple data sources to enrich an understanding of the phenomenon (Merriam, 2009; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2018), they must justify why case study was the best methodology for their phenomenon, how data were collected and administered/stored from different sources, and what processes were followed for collection, analysis, and results formation (Yazan, 2015). These are ethical/axiological questions that increase the quality of a study and are answered below.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Confidentiality of the data should be the main priority of a researcher. Participants' views are their personal experiences and observations which may not always align with others in their workplaces or community. Although sharing personal views about any topic should not lead to any consequences in today's democratic world; however, to ensure that their participation does not bring any workplace or social consequences, participants' identity should be kept confidential. For this study, the identity of the participants was kept confidential in two ways. Firstly, I did not collect any information such as names, designations, and home or work address that can identify the participants easily. Secondly, any information that could lead to revealing their identity was not shared with anyone. For this purpose, pseudonyms were used when storing data and writing the results to maintain confidentiality (Josselson, 2013). Data was stored in my password protected computer and only I had access to this data. To ensure that participants feel confident about being part of this study, their consent (see Appendices 1 and 2) was sought before data collection and they were informed of their right to withdraw or not participate at any stage of the study (Merriam, 2009).

Recruitment Procedures

Participation in this study was voluntary. Participants were selected from a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan using the inclusion and exclusion criteria discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Participants in both stages were informed that they did not have to answer all the questions. They could refuse to answer any questions that might be psychologically or emotionally uncomfortable. For the convenience of transcribing the interviews, I sought participant permission to audio record our conversation. However, this recording was merely for transcribing purposes as Zoom uses the recording to provide a verbatim transcription, which I later double checked after listening to the recording multiple times. Despite recording their voices, their

identity was kept confidential when writing the findings, and a pseudonym was used to save the interview recording in my computer. In two weeks after the interview, I emailed them a verbatim transcript of the interview to verify the text and check if they would like to make any changes or additions to their responses. During and after interviews, I identified participants as Participant # 1, 2, 3, etc. This numbering helped organize information during transcription and validate information with relevant participants. Participants were given 7 days to review the transcript and suggest any changes. Their edits, suggestions, or explanations were incorporated into the text before I began analyzing the data. Survey participants were told that they could withdraw from the study before submitting their responses. Similarly, interview participants were informed that they can withdraw at any stage before data analysis. None of the participants requested to withdraw from the study during both stages.

Informed Consent

Participants were provided with a detailed informed consent form at both stages (survey and interview) that included information about the study, the researcher, the supervisor, the purpose of the study and research questions, procedure for participation, benefits and risks involved in participation, confidentiality and management of data, their right to withdraw, and the results of the study. They were asked to sign the consent form only if they agreed to participate in the study. Two separate consent forms were used for survey and interview (Appendices 5 and 6). Both were provided in Bangla, English, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu.

Balancing Harms and Benefits

There were no known harms in this study; however, extra efforts were made to avoid any discomfort. Participants were informed that there was no monetary or other benefit of

participating in the study. However, they were encouraged to contribute to the study to help understand their language practices for integration in Alberta.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to the accuracy with which content analysis is performed and reported by researchers. Its aim is to build rigor within the study by ensuring that each stage of data collection, analysis, and reporting of results is consistent and replicable, so that the readers are well-informed of how each stage was performed by the researcher(s). As the proponents of the term “trustworthiness”, Lincoln and Guba (1985) initially included four criteria to evaluate trustworthiness of a qualitative study: Credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability. They later added a fifth criterion, authenticity, in 1994 to expand the list. I have explained each of these criteria below followed by a discussion on how I addressed them during data collection and analysis.

The credibility of a study depends upon the accuracy with which data and participants are identified and described. Details about the document analysis, survey and interview participants, discussion questions, selection of the participants, and rationale behind their selection have been discussed previously and in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. I have also explained how the survey instrument (Chapter 3) and interview questions (Chapter 4) were piloted and revised before collecting the actual data. In terms of the strategies for maintaining credibility, I have triangulated data from all three sources (policy, surveys, and interviews) to draw final results in Chapter 5.

Dependability refers to the consistency of findings over time and under different conditions. This allows a fair audit trail where auditors, fellow researchers, or readers evaluate the transparency followed in conducting the study. Each stage of data collection and analysis has

been discussed in detail and appendices have been provided that explain the research design for this study.

Confirmability is about the accuracy and confirmation of results through a neutral platform or researcher. To ensure confirmability in data analysis, researchers use different software and programs to double-check their findings. When drawing results for survey, SPSS was used to calculate mean and standard deviation. Similarly, thematic analyses were performed manually during the interview stage of data collection and analysis (Simons, 2009). To make sure that the themes reflect the participants' views or align with the documents, NVivo software was used to validate the quotes. Interview transcripts were imported to NVivo to auto-code the text by paragraph. Nodes were merged to avoid repetition or create more reflective codes. A librarian at the University of Calgary was consulted to make sure that I had followed the protocol of using the software and validating the findings. Following the above steps allowed me to draw results that had minimal objectivism or researcher bias in selecting quotes or finalizing themes and can be verified later (Yin, 2018).

In terms of transferability, this study aimed to contribute to the body of knowledge theoretically and practically. Theoretically, its main purpose was to problematize monolingual and reductionist conceptions of immigrant integration and highlight the role of multilingualism and ethnic networks that make integration a complex, multidirectional and multidimensional practice. This may allow applied linguists, language policy analysts, immigration studies specialists, and policymakers to view integration from a multilingual lens and explore the ways multilingualism can contribute to the broader integration of immigrants in host countries. Practically, the study's findings present a case study of a specific group of multilingual immigrants to Canada to share their experiences of using official and non-official languages for

settlement and integration. This may help understand the linguistic practices of multilingual immigrants, how they contribute to their integration, and what can be learnt from these examples to improve settlement and integration policies and programs.

Dissertation Organization

There are five chapters in this dissertation. This first chapter provided an overview of the dissertation and discussed the context and background information of the topic to situate the three manuscripts into the discussion. The first manuscript (Chapter 2, Paper 1) provided a general understanding of the language-in-immigration policy to set the context for the next two papers. Taking a critical approach to language policy analysis, I unpacked the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the policy that shapes macro-level conception of immigrant integration. The second manuscript (Chapter 3, Paper 2) provided baseline quantitative data on the language practices of South Asians across the four dimensions of integration (i.e., economic, social, civic & democratic, and health). These findings helped develop the interview questions to further unpack the quantitative data and understand integration patterns among South Asians and how their language practices and ethnic networks facilitate their integration in Calgary (third manuscript, Chapter 4).

The second chapter consists of a published article entitled *Linguistic Outcomes of Language Accountability and Points-Based System for Multilingual Skilled Immigrants in Canada: A Critical Language-in-Immigration Policy Analysis*. This article provided a critical analysis of the language-in-immigration policy about three federal immigration programs related to skilled immigrants and answered the first research question: *How do macro-level language-in-immigration policies represent the linguistic diversity of the skilled immigrants to Canada under the points-based system?* This article was published in a peer reviewed and SCOPUS indexed

journal, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, and copyright clearance has been sought from the journal to include the article in this dissertation (Appendix 3). Since this was a co-authored paper where my supervisor, Dr. Catherine Chua, provided conceptual input and editorial feedback, I have attached a letter of copyright/permission clearance that allows me to include the paper in this dissertation (Appendix 4).

The third chapter is focused on the published article *Integrating Better but Multilingually: Language Practices of South Asian Immigrants for Settlement and Integration in Canada*. This article was based upon the quantitative data and answered the second research question: *How do South Asians in Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic and democratic participation, and health purposes?* The article provided baseline data about the language practices of South Asians in Calgary and pointed to multilingual integration practices across the four dimensions of integration. It also reinforced the multicultural and multilingual engagement strategy of the Government of Calgary (The City of Calgary, 2018) that aims to accommodate the linguistically diverse population of the province. This article was published in a peer reviewed and SCOPUS indexed journal, Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies, and copyright clearance has been sought from the journal to include the article in this dissertation (Appendix 4).

The fourth chapter centers on the publication ready manuscript *Linguistic Interpretation of Immigrant Integration Patterns: A Case Study of South Asians in Calgary, Alberta*. This manuscript is based upon the qualitative data and answers three research questions: 1) *How do South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?* 2) *How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic &*

democratic participation, and health)? 3) To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asian settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta? This manuscript provides examples of how South Asians use different languages across the four dimensions and points to complex, multidimensional and multiplex integration patterns among South Asians that are nested within their ethnic networks and can be selective (co-ethnic focused) or broader (multicultural). The article is currently under review by a peer reviewed and SCOPUS indexed journal, *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* (submitted June 07, 2023). Copyright clearance will be sought from the journal to include the article in this dissertation if the article is accepted for publication.

The fifth chapter concludes the dissertation by providing an overview of the findings from the three manuscripts and how they contribute to theory and practice. It also includes (de)limitations of the study and outlines areas for future research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey Consent Form

Communicative Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Integration: A Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary

Study Context: This study is aimed at investigating perceptions about language practices of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. They may live or work in Northeast Calgary and use English and/or ethnic languages (Bangla, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Tamil, Urdu, etc.) for the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) identified by the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI).

Should you take this survey? You should take this survey if you are 18+, live or work in the Northeast area of Calgary, a permanent resident or citizen of Canada who immigrated to Canada/Alberta as a first generation immigrant and came under one of the three immigration categories: Economic Class (skilled workers and business people); Family Class (close family members of Canadian residents); and Humanitarian and Compassionate Immigrants (spouses, live-in caregivers, protected persons, and temporary resident permit holders).

Survey Details: There are four parts of this survey. Each part focuses on one of the four dimensions of integration: economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health. There are 41 questions related to these dimensions followed by nine demographic questions. This survey should not take more than 40 minutes.

Researcher: Kashif Raza, Doctoral Candidate, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary. Email: kashif.raza@ucalgary.ca

Research Results: The results of this study will be used for my doctoral dissertation. A complete dissertation will be available on the official library website of the University of Calgary. The results of the study may also be published in academic journals or presented at conferences. My supervisor, Dr. Catherine Chua, may co-author or co-present the findings of the study.

This study has been approved by the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (REB22-1430). If you have any questions or concerns about the study or my conduct as a researcher, you can contact the Research Ethics Analyst, Research Services Office, the University of Calgary at (403) 220-8640, or (403) 220-6289, or by email at cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

SIGNED CONSENT

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the description provided above:

- I have had an opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered.
- I am willing to participate in the study.

Signature

Date

Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form



Graduate Programs in Education
Werklund School of Education
Email: gpe@ucalgary.ca

Research Participant Consent Form- Multilingual Integration

Project Title: Communicative Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Integration: A Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary

Researcher: Kashif Raza, Doctoral Candidate, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary.
Email: kashif.raza@ucalgary.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Catherine Chua, Associate Professor, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary.

Phone: (403) 210-7557; Email: catherine.chua@ucalgary.ca

Research Purpose and Questions: This study is aimed at investigating language practices of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani immigrants who may live or work in Northeast Calgary and use English and ethnic languages (Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, etc.) for different purposes. The Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) proposes evaluation of immigrant performance in four areas (economic, social, civic and democratic participation, and health) to understand how well they are settling and integrating in their regions/cities/provinces. Adopting these dimensions, the main objective of this study is to understand how different languages are used to achieve these four dimensions and how they contribute to immigrant integration in Calgary and Alberta.

The findings of the study will be helpful in understanding how well immigrants are doing in Alberta, especially when they live in Northeast Calgary among their co-ethnic members and may use official (English) and non-official (ethnic) languages for integration. Additionally, the results may be used by settlement and integration service providers, city and provincial governments, and immigration Canada to improve their services, programs, and support.

The three research questions that inform the study are:

- 5) How do South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?
- 6) How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health)?
- 7) To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asian settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta?

Procedure for Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. Participants are being selected from a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Formal emails and social media announcements are sent to participants to invite them to be part of the study. Their refusal to participate or

withdraw at any stage before data collection or analysis will not impact my relationship with them. If you would like to withdraw from the study even after you have committed to participate in it, you will be free to do so. However, you may not be able to withdraw from the study after the data has been analyzed (post July 2023).

After you have confirmed your participation, I will invite you to **an individual interview**. The time and place of the interview will be mutually agreed between us; however, if we cannot agree on a physical place to meet, we can schedule an online interview through Zoom. A Zoom interview may also be considered if the current COVID-19 pandemic continues to require social distancing. The total duration of the interview will be a maximum of 60 minutes, and the language used will be English. However, if you would like to use a mixed variety of ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, etc.) that can be understood by both of us, you will not be interrupted.

During the interview, you will be asked four main open-ended questions followed by sub-questions only if needed. These questions will include: (1) How do you explain or make sense of the findings from the survey? (2) What languages do you use for each of the four dimensions of integration? (3) How do you think your integration across the four dimensions is impacted in Alberta because of your place or work/residence in Northeast Calgary and the use of multiple languages? (4) Do you think your ethnic languages can be used for settlement and integration of newcomers from South Asia (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) in Alberta? You do not have to answer all the questions. You can refuse to answer any questions that may be psychologically or emotionally uncomfortable. For the convenience of transcribing the interview later, I will ask your permission to **audio record our conversation**. Your identity will be kept confidential, and a pseudonym will be used to save the recording in my computer and report the findings. In two weeks after the interview, I will email you a verbatim transcript of the interview to verify the text and whether you would like to make any changes or additions to your responses. You will be given 1 week (7 days) to do so. Your edits, suggestions, or explanations will be incorporated into the text before I begin analyzing the data.

Benefits of Participation: There are no monetary benefits of participating in this study. However, your perspective could help understand how official and non-official languages help immigrant integration in Alberta and how these practices can improve immigration and integration policies and services.

Risks of Participation: There are no potential risks involved in this study. Your responses to research questions will not be shared with anyone except the researcher (Kashif Raza) and his supervisor (Dr. Catherine Chua). When sharing the findings of this study, pseudonyms will be used for the participants to hide their identity.

Confidentiality: Since pseudonyms (e.g., Participant 1, 2 or 3) will be used for all the participants, your identity will not be revealed to anyone at any stage of the study. If you would like to choose a pseudonym for yourself, you can indicate that on the last page of this consent form. I will ensure that this pseudonym is used for saving the recording of our interview, verbatim transcript, as well as other notes I make during the interview. Only the researcher (Kashif Raza) will have access to the data. This data will not be shared with anyone at any stage of the study.

Storage of Research Data: The data will be stored in my personal, password protected computer. I will be the only person to have access to this data. Although my supervisor may have access to the data, I will use pseudonyms to conceal your identity. A copy of the data will also be stored in a detachable hard drive to ensure that in case of loss of data from the computer I have another copy to complete the study. This hard drive will be password protected and will be placed in a locker at my home. No one will have access to this hard drive except myself.

Appendix 3: Copyright Clearance Letter 1

Our Ref: Perm/03400704

27/09/2023

Dear Kashif Raza

Licensed Content: Full Article:

Kashif Raza & Catherine Chua (2022) Linguistic outcomes of language accountability and points-based system for multilingual skilled immigrants in Canada: a critical language-in-immigration policy analysis, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, DOI: [10.1080/01434632.2022.2060242](https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2060242)

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Appendix 4

Co-Author/Copyright Permission Letter

Faculty of Graduate Studies
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May 13, 2023

To whom it may concern:

I, Catherine Siew Kheng Chua, grant Kashif Raza permission to include the below listed co-authored article in his dissertation titled "*Communicative Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Integration: A Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary*" in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Raza, K., & Chua, C. (2022). Linguistic outcomes of language accountability and points-based system for multilingual skilled immigrants in Canada: A critical language-in-immigration policy analysis. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2060242>

I confirm that Kashif Raza is rightfully the first author of this paper and that I, as his primary dissertation supervisor, provided conceptual input and feedback and editorial suggestions for manuscript improvement.

Sincerely,

Catherine Siew Kheng Chua

Dr. Catherine Siew Kheng Chua
Associate Professor, Werklund School of Education
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Appendix 5: Copyright Clearance Letter 2

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The Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies (JECS) is pleased to offer the published article below and its content to be included in a thesis or dissertation free of charge.

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Author: Kashif Raza

Publication: Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies

Publisher: Center for Ethnic and Cultural Studies

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Sincerely,



Hasan Aydin, PhD
Editor-in-Chief- *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*
Center for Ethnic and Cultural Studies
Fort Myers, FL, USA 33967

Chapter 2: Paper One

Linguistic Outcomes of Language Accountability and Points-Based System for Multilingual Skilled Immigrants in Canada: A Critical Language-in-Immigration Policy Analysis

This paper was published in the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development and was authored by Raza and Chua (2022). A Microsoft Word version of the paper is provided here. The title and content of this paper are identical to the version published in the journal and permission has been sought from the journal to include this paper in this dissertation. This article should be cited as:

Raza, K., & Chua, C. (2022). Linguistic outcomes of language accountability and points-based system for multilingual skilled immigrants in Canada: A critical language-in-immigration policy analysis. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2060242>

Abstract

Despite recognizing multilingualism as a reality and multilingual workforce as an advantage, language policies continue to favor certain languages over others. Using a case study of Canada's language-in-immigration policy related to three federally administered immigration programs, the present study is an attempt to understand how the macro-level policy represents Canada's official languages (English and French) *vis-à-vis* the linguistic diversity that skilled immigrants bring to the country. A particular emphasis is given to the role of the Canadian points-based system and how it has emerged as a device to create power relations between the official languages and other languages. The findings reveal a disconnect between the macro policies and the social realities where a linguistic imbalance and inclusion of accountability measures have created a narrow model of social integration that expects multilingual skilled workers to integrate into the socio-economic culture through one of the official languages of Canada. Disregarding the multilingual reality of the Canadian society and not utilizing the linguistic diversity of the multilingual workforce is a missed opportunity to benefit fully from these skilled workers and requires rethinking the current model of integration from a multilingual perspective.

Keywords: multilingual workforce; skilled immigrants; points-based system; language-in-immigration policies, Canada

Introduction

Research on language and mobility indicates that language plays a pivotal role in immigration, especially during voluntary immigration where skilled workers plan to move from their country of origin to another country in search of better socio-politico-economic and educational opportunities. Whether it is needed as a medium of communication or instruction during the immigration process (before arrival) or considered as a skill for successful integration into the host country (after arrival), immigrants are expected to have a certain proficiency level of the language that is dominant in the host country either as an official language (e.g., English/French in Canada, English in Australia/New Zealand/UK, French in France, Swedish in Sweden) or an unofficially dominant language (e.g., English in the US). To ensure this language competence, host countries often integrate language skills into their immigration policies (Papademetriou & Hooper, 2019).

Over the years, many countries like Australia, Britain, Canada, Italy and New Zealand have adopted a new mechanism, points-based system (PBS), to evaluate different skills of interested immigrants such as language, work experience, level of education, age, and arranged employment. Language skills have recently taken an important role in these PBSs with countries like Canada making it mandatory to have certain proficiency level of English or French, Canada's two official languages, before arriving. Such policy enactments showcase language ideologies at social and administrative levels that knowledge of local languages such as English is necessary for successful socio-politico-economic integration.

Although language is not the only determinant in successful immigration to the host country, its incorporation into immigration policies and its influence on the assessment of other skills can have implications for immigrants; a concern that has attracted sociolinguistics,

language policy analysts, and researchers to investigate the linguistic outcomes of immigration (Capstick, 2020) and how language-in-immigration policies represent the multiple languages with which skilled immigrants move to host countries. Since top-down macro level policies influence the way meso and micro level policies are visualized, formed and implemented, researchers are interested in exploring the ways such policies contribute to creating systems that shape language ideologies, practices and performances of skilled immigrants who come to host countries with multiple languages, with English mostly being part of it, but become mono/bilingual speakers as they attempt to meet the linguistic expectations of the new country and society for successful integration (Cummins, 2014).

Using Canada's federal immigration policy, i.e., the three programs under the Skilled Immigration Class [the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), Canadian Experience Class (CEC), and the Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP)] as a case study, the present study is an attempt to understand how the macro-level language-in-immigration policy represents Canada's official languages (i.e., English and French) *vis-à-vis* the linguistic diversity that skilled immigrants bring to the country. This is done through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the policy texts related to the three programs to describe, interpret and explain (Fairclough, 1989) the underlying ideologies that form the policy. A particular emphasis is given to the role of the Canadian PBS and how it contributes to power relations between the official languages of Canada and the linguistic diversity of the skilled immigrants where the former become more important and valuable for educational, economic and social affairs than the latter. Drawing from research on pluri/multi/-lingualism, this paper discusses how the focus on supporting particular languages against others reinforces monolingual ideologies and threatens the linguistic diversity that Canada promises to sustain. The main research question that informs this study is:

- How do macro-level language-in-immigration policies represent the linguistic diversity of the skilled immigrants to Canada under the points-based system?

Canadian PBS and Federal Immigration Programs

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) introduced an online platform called ‘Express Entry’ (EE) in 2015 to administer three types of federal immigration programs: FSWP, CEC and FSTP. Working under a PBS, each of these programs has its eligibility criteria to apply for permanent residence, and a candidate who meets it can submit an Expression of Interest (EOI) to enter the pool of candidates where they are assigned a score based upon different selection factors like age, education, work experience, employment and English and/or French language skills. Following a round of invitations by IRCC, which could be (bi)monthly, candidates who meet the minimum score receive an invitation to apply for permanent residence. Although some requirements may differ from program to program (e.g., CEC and FSTP not requiring any education while FSWP requiring at least secondary education), language skills are a shared eligibility criterion for all three programs, which is the main reason why they are selected for this study.

FSWP is designed for foreign skilled workers. As shown in Table 1, a candidate who scores 67/100 points or higher may qualify for the program and is suggested to submit a profile to the EE pool where they are given a score out of 600. Table 1 outlines the score distribution used for this program. In terms of demonstrating language skills, an applicant must take an approved language test such as IELTS or CELPIP for English and TEF Canada for French.

Table 1***FSWP Requirements***

Factor	Maximum Points	Further Details
Language Skills (English or French)	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Language skills are assessed through a standardized language test that is approved by the IRCC. These tests include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>English</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP) • International English Language Testing System (IELTS) <i>French</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Test d'évaluation de français (TEF) • Test de connaissance du français (TCF)
Education	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ If Canadian education, a candidate must have a certificate, diploma or degree from a Canadian: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution ▪ If foreign education, it should be evaluated by a designated organization to assess its equivalency against Canadian education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution
Work Experience	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimum 30 hours per week of full-time work experience or • Minimum 15 hours per week of part time employment for 24 months
Age	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under 18 = 0 • 18-35 years = 12 (followed by a point loss for every year until the age of 46) • 47 years = 0
Arranged Employment in Canada	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full time employment of at least 30 hours per week • Should be a continuous job for at least 1 year
Adaptability	10	<p>Factors that count:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Applicant or partner's English or French language level ▪ Previous education in Canada ▪ Previous employment in Canada ▪ Arranged employment in Canada ▪ Relatives in Canada

The second program is called CEC which is designed for candidates who have Canadian work experience. Table 2 shows that the minimum requirements for this program which include language skills in English and/or French and work experience in Canada that should be gained while working legally as a temporary resident. Language proficiency is assessed in all four skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking) and the test score should not be more than 2 years old. Although education is not a requirement for this program, a candidate who wants to improve their ranking in the EE pool can submit educational credentials from a Canadian institute or a foreign school but after evaluation from a designated educational assessment organization.

The last program, FSTP, is for skilled trade workers. According to Table 3, the minimum requirements for this program include language skills, minimum 2 years of full-time work experience in a skilled trade, meeting job requirements for that skilled trade, and having a valid job offer or a certificate of qualification. For language skills, a candidate must take an approved language test to show a level of Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) 5 in speaking and listening and 4 in reading and writing. Just like the other two programs, the test results should not be more than 2 years old.

Canada' Multiculturalism/Multilingualism Model vs. Official Bilingual Policy

In 2016, the number of people in Canada who identified themselves as speakers of more than one language at home was 19.4% (GC, 2017), and this number is continuously rising with more and more immigrants coming to Canada. To administer this diversity and to create a balance between the dominant culture (also known as the Canadian culture), the Indigenous culture, and the culture of the immigrants, Canada adopted a multicultural/multilingual model in the 1960 that allows people to practice their cultural as well as linguistic skills at social level.

Table 2***CEC Program Requirements***

Factor	Requirement	Further Details
Language Skills (English or French)	-CLB 7 for NOC 0 and A jobs -CLB 5 for NOC B jobs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Language skills are assessed through a standardized language test that is approved by the IRCC. These tests include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>English</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP) • International English Language Testing System (IELTS) <i>French</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Test d'évaluation de français (TEF) • Test de connaissance du français (TCF)
Education	Not required; Optional	<p>No education requirement for the CEC; however, candidates have two options to improve their ranking in the EE pool:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. If Canadian education, a candidate must have a certificate, diploma or degree from a Canadian: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution ii. If foreign education, it should be evaluated by a designated organization to assess its equivalency against Canadian education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution
Work Experience	Minimum 1 year in the last 3 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Candidates have three options to meet this requirement: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full-time at 1 job: Minimum 30 hours/week for 12 months = 1-year full-time (1560 hours) • Full-time at multiple jobs: Minimum 30 hours/week for 12 months = 1-year full time (1560 hours) • Part-time: Minimum 15 hours/week for 24 months = 1-year full time (1560 hours) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This work experience should be gained while working legally in Canada as a temporary resident

However, at the state level, an official bilingual policy has been adopted with English and French being the official languages of the country (GC, 1982).

This bilingual policy is practiced in different spheres of federal administration such as law enforcement, immigration and other public services. In terms of the three federal immigration programs mentioned above, English and French are used to create and disseminate information about the programs, eligibility criteria, application portal as well as evaluate candidates' eligibility against language requirements and other selection factors. Although IRCC collects information about the mother tongues of the candidates, these language skills do not give them any advantage in immigrating to Canada. In other words, the current immigration system gives importance to English and French speaking applicants and considers them important for successful integration; thus, empowering these two languages compared with others. Research on language issues of immigrants in Canada reports the implications of this approach which include missing immigrant voices in policy discourse (Galiev, 2013), loss of interest in heritage language (Ahmed, 2016; Shariff, 2008), giving preference to English/French over prior languages (Cummins, 2014; Galiev, 2013), linguistic discrimination towards non-Canadian varieties of English/French and poor labor outcomes for immigrants (Lopez, 2007; Tani, 2014). Such situations often result either in promoting monolingualism (Ahmed, 2016; Galiev, 2013) or creating confrontation or *power relations* in Foucauldian language (Foucault, 1982) between the dominant and immigrant languages (Raza, 2021); thus, threatening linguistic pluralism or disintegrating the society based upon linguistic diversity. For instance, Ahmad's (2016) study on Pakistani Canadians in Ontario revealed that despite parental interests and efforts in maintaining heritage languages, second generation Pakistani-Canadian youth are becoming monolingual English speakers. Similarly, Shariff (2008) highlighted the issues of identity construction among

South Asian Canadians because of their accents who often face unwanted questions like “Where are you *really* from?” “You don’t look Canadian.” (p. 67). More importantly, by not utilizing the linguistic diversity with which skilled immigrants come to Canada, the country is missing an opportunity of making full use of its multilingual workforce for socio-politico-economic progress. This calls for investigating how language-in-immigration policies affect social integration, retention of immigrants, and their maximum contribution to the Canadian economy.

It is therefore, according to Lo Bianco (2010), necessary to develop language policies that support the retention of minority languages, which include both Indigenous and immigrant languages. Language policies convey information not only in the form of text but also through discourse and systems that are produced by these policies (Author 1; Reynolds, 2019). These systems often create environments where certain languages enjoy more importance and support than others, thus result in power relations between different languages and language groups (Ball, 2008). For instance, the PBS adopted by many host countries is claimed to be transparent in terms of stating the selection criteria clearly and including factors such as language and work experience that are considered essential for settlement (Papademetriou & Hooper, 2019); however, these systems have also received criticism for being too selective, vague, and authoritative. Tani (2014) noted that the PBS focuses too much on observable skills such as level of qualification, work experience and language test score than on unobservable skills like innate characteristics and good behavior. Consequently, this can give advantage to a certain immigrant class or profession over others. Similarly, Lopez (2007) took an economic approach to analyze Canadian PBS to understand the factors that are contributing to immigrants’ failure to become part of the labor market. She concluded that the focus on highly educated workers and lack of a

category for vocational immigrants are resulting in the flow of immigrants that cannot meet the labor-market demands and are, thus, struggling economically.

Continuing along the same lines, the current study focuses on the language component of the Canadian PBS to unpack the representation of the skilled immigrants' linguistic diversity in macro-level policies (i.e., their moral positioning in the policy) and how this can contribute to their (un)successful integration. For this purpose, the study uses critical policy theory as a framework to expose the contradictions between what Canada's federal policy says about skilled immigrants and what this policy actually does.

Methodological Framework

In terms of policies, critical policy analysts provide ideological critique and critical analysis of how policies are developed, whose voices are on the table, and who benefits more from these policies (Fairclough, 1989; Hyatt, 2013). This can be done by analyzing the language used in the policy texts and how this language creates certain realities, facts, ideologies, powers, and practices that may benefit some over others (Ball, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Raza et al., 2021; van Dijk, 2015). Critical theory argues that there are multiple realities out there which are socially constructed (Crotty, 1998), constantly changing, are not stagnant, have multiple layers, and are historically bounded; thus, they require constant investigation as well as consideration of multiple perspectives to develop a sustainable understanding of the phenomenon. For instance, in policy enactment, certain factors (social, political, economic, religious, cultural, educational, ethnic, linguistic) are involved that influence the way certain realities are constructed as well as projected as neutral (Wodak & Meyers, 2001; Raza, 2021). Understanding these factors allows us to see what power relations are created by these policies that may not always be visible to everyone (Apple, 2010; Ball, 2008).

Table 3***FSTP Requirements***

Factor	Requirement	Further Details
Language Skills (English or French)	CLB 5 in speaking and listening, and CLB 4 in reading and writing	<p>iii. Language skills are assessed through a standardized language test that is approved by the IRCC. These tests include:</p> <p><i>English</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP) • International English Language Testing System (IELTS) <p><i>French</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Test d'évaluation de français (TEF) • Test de connaissance du français (TCF)
Education	Not required; Optional	<p>No education requirement for the CEC; however, candidates have two options to improve their ranking in the EE pool:</p> <p>iv. If Canadian education, a candidate must have a certificate, diploma or degree from a Canadian:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution <p>v. If foreign education, it should be evaluated by a designated organization to assess its equivalency against Canadian education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary institution (high school) or • Post-secondary institution
Work Experience	Minimum 2 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 years of full-time work experience or equal amount of part-time in a skilled trade <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Should be within the last 5 years - Must be paid work - Must be after a candidate became qualified to practice the occupation
Arranged Employment in Canada	Job offer or a certificate of qualification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A candidate has two options: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. A valid full-time job offer for at least 1 year ii. A certificate of qualification that the person is qualified to work in a skilled trade in Canada

Working within the critical paradigm, this study uses case study as a methodology (Merriam, 2009) and CDA as a method of analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Hyatt, 2103) to understand how the macro-level language-in-immigration policies represent the multilingual immigrants under the federal level policies and how this reinforces the hegemony of particular languages over others. To understand the ideological construction of the discourses that administer the three programs, case study helped in bounding the data, collect information from multiple sources that were related to the main research phenomenon (e.g., IRCC website and webpages linked to it), and draw results to answer the main research question. Similarly, CDA was employed to understand the embedded power relationships in this discourse that empower official languages over immigrants' multilingualism. Working along the same lines and in order to analyze the lexical resources, the formation of social division because of their usage, and the presentation of this division as a fact, this study used Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional analysis of discourse for data analysis. The three dimensions proposed by Fairclough include:

- i) The object of analysis (e.g., verbal, visual or a mix of both texts/languages)
- ii) The processes used by humans in the production and dissemination of the object (e.g., writing, speaking, watching, listening)
- iii) The socio-historical situations that control these processes

Although inter-related but distinct, each of these textual dimensions requires a discrete analytical strategy, which according to Fairclough (1989, 1995) are description (textual analysis), interpretation (process analysis), and explanation (social analysis). In description, also referred to as the micro-level analysis, the focus of this study was on the formal linguistic features in the text like nouns, pronouns, metaphors, modalities, and agency. During interpretation, the meso-level analysis, the focus turned to how certain words, terms, idioms, metaphors and other

linguistic features were used to create meanings. Following Hyatt's (2013) suggestions, the questions that informed this stage of analysis included "What does this term mean in this sentence?" "What particular purpose does its use serve?" "Does this metaphor create a positive or negative identity of a certain group of people?" Questions like these allowed to turn to the real agenda behind the lexical selection made in the language used in the policy discourse. The final stage, explanation, also referred to as the macro-level analysis, revealed the ideological, contextual and social factors that shaped the construction of the particular text/language in that society or community.

Data Collection and Analysis

As most of the information about the three immigration programs is available on the IRCC's website, the webpages related to these programs and the linked pages were chosen for the analysis of the policy texts (see appendix 1). Although most of the information was retrieved directly from the relevant webpages; however, if pdf file were available, they were downloaded and studied for data collection. These resources provided details about the programs and included information about the selection criteria (who can apply), minimum requirements (work experience, language ability, education level, proof of funds, age), application process (where and how to apply), and settlement opportunities once inside Canada. During data collection, phrases and sentences related to language skills/requirements were coded. The data extracts were later added on a separate sheet for analysis (see appendix 2 and Table 4).

We found that the four categories where the knowledge of official languages was presented as significant were language ability, education, work experience, and adaptability. A candidate who had good or strong knowledge of official languages could get a higher score. Our next step was to do a textual analysis to understand how this was achieved discursively. For this,

we focused on the three elements of the text: nominalization — replacing verb processes with nouns; presupposition — implying meaning without being overtly stated; and collocation - a word sequence occurring more often than expected.

Table 4

Data Collection and Critical Discourse Analysis

<u>Nominalization</u>	<u>Presupposition</u>	<u>Collocation</u>
Eligibility	First Official Language	Language skills
Must	Second Official Language	Language abilities
Proof	Approved language test	Language proficiency
Abilities	Standardized language test	Eligible candidate
Skills	Assessment of language	Language proof
Test	competence	Test results
Results	Language abilities	Standardized test
Adaptability	Language skills	Language level
Education	Proof of language skills	Skilled workers
Factors	Improve official language	Designated organization
Work	skills	Highest-ranking candidates
Experience	Relatives in Canada	Minimum score
Assessment/Evaluation	Applicant or partner's	
Equivalency	English or French language	
Employment	level	
Speaking	Required language levels	
Listening	Minimum language level	
Reading		
Writing		
Requirement		

The aim was to explore the language choices made in the policy text, the assumptions inherent in these language choices, and the ways these linguistic choices create and shape the reality about different languages and language speakers (Fairclough, 1995). For interpretation and explanation, the policy texts and findings from the descriptive analysis were analyzed in light of the literature on discourse analysis (Hyatt, 2013) and multilingualism as well as

Canada's model of integration. Although discourse analysts recommend using a systematic textual analysis where each stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis can be completed separately, our analysis started from the first stage (description) where meaning-making frequently happened as we looked for nominalization, presumption and collocation strategies. Similarly, during interpretation and explanation stages, we have been going back and forth to make better sense of the discourse and draw results that continued to emerge. These analyses led to the emergence of three major themes that are discussed in the next section.

Findings and Discussion

Data analysis revealed different findings which are categorized under three main headings depending upon their relevance to debates in the literature on language and immigration. A discussion on these findings in the light of existing research and their implications for multilingual immigrants are also provided followed by recommendations for future research.

Language, Power and Immigration Under PBS

The incorporation of English and French as mandatory language skills in all three programs reveals that for an applicant to be considered an *eligible* skilled worker, they must possess language skills in one of the official languages of Canada. Referring *language skills*, *language abilities*, and *language proficiency* (collocations) (Fairclough, 1995) to English/French, the policy posits that only these two languages are used, recognized and required as part of the federal immigration process. Similarly, limiting the use of the collocations above to the two languages, the policy discourse does not recognize or acknowledge other languages and language skills that skilled immigrants bring with them. It states, "To be eligible for Express Entry, you

must [emphasis added] prove your English or French language ability” (GC, 2020b, Section 1). As Fairclough (1995) argued, language, as a social practice, plays a pivotal role in shaping knowledge, either through the reinforcement of existing concepts, positionalities or realities, or generating fresh ones. Hence, the modal “must” indicates clearly that it is a requirement that an immigrant must have resulting in more privilege for English/French immigrant speakers. Thus, despite the linguistic diversity, level of education, expertise in the field, and work experience, a person who does not speak English and/or French at an expected level, as mandated by the PBS, is not welcomed in Canada. A further controversy created by the use of the collocations *First Official Language* for English and *Second Official Language* for French is that even within an officially bilingual policy, there is a priority for one language over the other. Such prioritization further reinforces the hegemony of English, adds to the English-French controversy, and creates confusing language ideologies for newcomers to Canada. Such policy decisions result in power relations (Foucault, 1982) between the languages spoken in the host countries and the other languages brought by the immigrants with them as part of their identity (Reynolds, 2019), thus creating realities of language dominance and subordination (Apple, 2010; Ball, 2008; Raza et al., 2021).

The significance of knowing the dominant language(s) of the host country cannot be denied, especially in terms of securing socio-economic opportunities; however, mandating language tests for all skilled workers (e.g., university lecturers, engineers, doctors, plumbers, businessmen, and investors) to demonstrate and maintain their language ability is the real concern as it requires preparation for a standard exam and bearing the financial burden to take the test especially when the “test results must be less than two years old when you submit your application for permanent residence” (GC, 2020b). Furthermore, regardless of their score in

other categories like age, education, work experience or adaptability, as a system, the PBS functions as a tool for controlling migratory flow where those who meet the language requirements of the neoliberal market are hailed as skilled workers while others are kept away and are considered ‘inferior’. Even for those who have been accepted into Canada, after they have observed the importance of English/French during the immigration and settlement processes, this may shape their perceptions about the significance of certain languages over others and thus influence learning or loss of (new) languages. Galiev (2013), for instance, explored the perceptions, experiences and practices of immigrant students in Alberta and observed that their enrollment in French classes was influenced by their understanding that French language skills will increase their employment opportunities. Although existing literature on the language issues of immigrants in Canada points to different factors that contribute to developing new language ideologies and practices or changing existing (e.g., Ahmed, 2016; Raza, 2020), future work in this area can explore the role of language-in-immigration policies, especially PBS, at macro, meso and micro levels in influencing language related perceptions, experiences and practices of multilingual immigrants. In particular, studies that focus on the economic benefits of utilizing language skills of bi/pluri/multilingual workforce can also be explored to see how provinces and territories can better facilitate their needs and thus benefit fully from their diverse linguistic competence, experiences, and skills.

Standardized Language Testing Under PBS

Standardized language tests (SLTs) have emerged as an integral part of the PBS and language-in-immigration policies. Such policy decisions are legitimized by arguing that SLTs are a faster and reliable way to assess language abilities of speakers who do not speak a language (e.g., English) as their mother tongue or as a first language. These policy agendas reinforce the

ideologies that non-native speakers of a language like English are less equal, should demonstrate their linguistic competence to qualify for immigration, employment, and education, and SLTs are important, reliable and effective for these purposes. As Shohamy (2006) argued that a balanced policy analysis should include observations of the declared policy as well as undeclared strategies that influence language practices, a critical analysis of the policy discourses related to language testing in the three immigration programs being studied here reveals certain stated and unstated policy agendas which interplay to create certain assertions (Fairclough, 1995). For instance, lexical choices like language *abilities, skills, test, requirements, results, and proof* carry strong meanings for applicants. They indicate that English/French, spoken as a second/additional/foreign language, needs to be tested to assess one's language competence in that language: "You *must* prove your language skills by taking an approved language test" (GC, 2020b, Language Testing Section). Driving their roots from the ideologies of "nativity" and "non-nativity", such policy decisions create a social division where English/French as first language speakers stand higher as owners of the language from those that speak it as a foreign, borrowed language (Jenkins, 2014). As Haque and Patrick (2014) have noted, the practices of maintaining standardized English language 'norms' within Canadian immigration policies continue to strengthen racialized hierarchy in Canada.

Similarly, the inclusion of SLTs in such accountability decisions postulates that a particular score on the exam is reflective of a person's actual linguistic competence and performance. In addition, the policy discourse also reinforces the presumption that SLTs are a fair way to assess one's language ability. For instance, despite the fact that language tests like IELTS have received wide criticism for lacking reliability and validity in language assessment (Jenkins, 2014), it is presented as an *approved* language test in the policy discourse to claim

objectification in the evaluation process (Fairclough, 1995). Similarly, the abstract concepts of language ‘abilities’ and ‘skills’ are included as assessable characteristics that are not only needed for immigration but also required for successful adaptability; thus, legitimizing language skills assessment (Ball, 2008). The policy states, “We will use the test results as proof of your language skills” (GC, 2020b, Language Testing Section).

As current immigration data show (GC, 2020a), about 58% of permanent residents to Canada arrived under the economic class. These skilled immigrants bring linguistic diversity as well as different varieties of English with them. For instance, immigrants coming from Asian countries like Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, and Singapore bring their local varieties of English, some of which are recognized as *World Englishes*. In some of these countries (e.g., India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Singapore), English is an official language and is heavily used in socio-politico-economic and educational sectors. These local varieties differ from the dominant American, Australian, British, Canadian and other varieties in terms of formality and function (Kachru, 1998) and their speakers do not enjoy the status of ‘native English speakers’. As a result, they are asked to showcase their English language proficiency through an SLT score. The current Canadian language-in-immigration policy at federal level further reinforces this linguistic discrimination that does not give native English speaker status to people from countries other than the dominant English-speaking countries like Australia, New Zealand, the US, and UK and asks for proof of English language competence in the form of SLT. This is despite the fact that some of the skilled immigrants may have graduated from an English-speaking country like the US or UK or have studied their major in English in their home country; however, since they do not originate from an English-speaking country, they are required to prove their linguistic competence through a language test. Such policy decisions reinforce

native-non-native ideologies where English language speakers from the outer circle can never attain a pure native status (Kachru, 1998).

Narrow Model of Social Integration

While skilled immigrants choose to come to Canada to seek better economic opportunities, Canada expects immigrants to contribute to the development of its population, economy and culture (GC, 2020a). This is the reason that Canada puts a lot of focus on the socio-economic integration of the skilled workforce. However, the current model of integration adopted at the federal level is very narrow in the sense that it perceives integration through English/French language skills only. Referring to the settlement facilities provided by the provincial and territorial stakeholders in collaboration with the federal government, the 2020 Annual Report to the parliament states, “Together, these organizations deliver a broad range of settlement services, which help newcomers to acquire knowledge about living and working in Canada, improve their official language skills, prepare for labour market entry, and form connections in their communities” (GC, 2020a, p. 13). As an example of monolingual ideologies functioning at the macro-level to shape language policies (Shohamy, 2006), the emphasis on English/French as mandatory skills for integration conflicts with the linguistic diversity of the country and the multicultural/multilingual framework that Canada has adopted at micro (social) level. This framework acknowledges that there are many languages spoken in Canada other than English and French, which are recognized as ‘other languages’ and categorized into ‘aboriginal’ and ‘immigrant’ languages (GC, 2017). The federal and provincial governments have been taking several initiatives to support these ‘other languages’ but, at the same time, continue to ignore linguistic diversity as a skill when it comes to language-in-immigration policies. As Cardinal and Léger (2018) rightly noted, “... the federal language policy provides minimal

guidance for the recognition and accommodation of linguistic diversity” (p. 30), and thus contributing to linguistic inequalities.

This finding about federal language-in-immigration policy reinforcing the dominance of English/French is supported by the fact that language skills in these two languages not only give points in the *language* category but also contribute to points increase in the *education, work experience* and *adaptability* sections under FSWP, as an example. For instance, an applicant whose “spouse or common-law partner has a language level in either English or French at CLB 4 level or higher in all 4 language abilities” (GC, 2020b) can get a maximum of 5 points in *adaptability* section. Similarly, if an applicant has a relative in Canada who is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident, they can also get extra 5 points under the same category. This indicates that having a Canadian relative increases chances of adaptability and integration as the newcomer will find cultural, linguistic, and emotional support. In terms of language, the policy presumes (Fairclough, 1995) that since the two may share a common language, in addition to other similarities, finding information related to factors that contribute to successful settlement may be easier. However, these languages (which may be other than English and French) that immigrants and their relatives share are neither recognized nor credited in the existing PBS employed at the federal level for the three programs.

This lack of consistency between the federal immigration policy and emphasis on English/French as necessary skills for integration seems to follow a narrow model of integration where only English/French speaking Canadians are the focus. This may have implications for those (especially family members of the main applicant, if any) who do not possess or develop any of these two languages during their settlement in Canada and may be exposed to linguistic discrimination, lack of employment, and racism.

The Way Forward

This study finds a disconnect between the macro-level English-dominated bilingual policy that uses the PBS to maintain the hegemony of English/French and the micro-level social multilingualism where linguistic pluralism is dominant in the form of official languages, Indigenous languages and immigrant languages. As a result, the current top-down policy runs the risk of creating linguistic imbalance, mandates language testing as a proof of English/French language proficiency and promotes a narrow integration model that is restricted to the use of official languages for settlement. To embrace linguistic diversity as an asset, encourage inclusivity in different fields, and promote social justice, the current language-in-immigration needs to be revisited.

Firstly, to bridge the gap between the two poles (macro-level English dominated bilingual policy and social multilingualism), a meso-level policy needs to be developed where stakeholders from the federal and provincial governments work closely with the representatives from different communities to develop a linguistically inclusive integration model that ensures representation of different languages. Such a model would build upon collaboration rather than competition between languages (Raza et al., 2021; Reynolds, 2019) and would require active participation of all parties in identifying language related challenges, delineating strategies to address these issues, developing a multilingual integration framework, and implementing it with the help of local organizations and assistance from federal and provincial governments. Instead of simply providing translations and interpretations in different languages, the bilingual immigration system adopted by the federal government for skilled immigrants can be expanded to include other languages in administering the immigration processes. An example of such a system is developed by the United Kingdom where applicants can access visa and immigration

services in English and 18 other languages such as Chinese, Hindi, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Urdu, and Vietnamese. This provides applicants with a bilingual platform in English and another language, thus celebrating and utilizing languages other than English for immigration purposes. Another example is from the State of Qatar where the health ministry utilized Arabic, English and other major immigrant languages in the country to spread awareness about the COVID-19 pandemic and government services through multilingual pamphlets, audio-video recordings, and interviews with key stakeholders and doctors (Ahmad & Hillman, 2020). These examples show that it is possible to utilize official and non-official languages to facilitate the diverse population in a country, hence linguistically inclusive integration.

Secondly, to diminish competition and emergence of power relations between official and immigrant languages, the PBS needs to be revised to provide equal representation to English and French or their different varieties as well as other common languages. For example, multilingual immigrants who speak multiple languages and can utilize them in socio-politico-economic and educational affairs should be given credit for their linguistic competence, so that they can continue to use their multilingual skills after settlement in Canada. Similarly, the different varieties of English which have emerged as World Englishes or as local varieties of English (Kachru, 1998) should be recognized and acknowledged. This can start by giving language test exemption to English speakers who originate from countries like India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Singapore where English is an official language and is heavily used in education, politics, economy, and media, or graduates from English speaking countries like USA, UK, and Australia. This will not only decrease the gap between Native English Speakers and Non-Native English Speakers but also promote acceptance for different varieties of Englishes in Canada at social as well as policy levels.

Conclusion

The incorporation of language as a mandatory part of the PBS that many countries have adopted globally is contributing to the formation of screening processes that allow host countries to control immigration flow, scrutinize candidates to select skilled immigrants that serve the neoliberal agendas, and reinforce the hegemony of certain languages over others. In addition to producing and reproducing power relations, the PBS is also becoming a threat for multilingual speakers who are failing to sustain their multilingualism as they attempt to integrate into the mainstream socio-economic frameworks of their new countries. Resulting in linguistic discrimination, these systems are maintaining the hegemony of colonial legacies that are always reluctant to share language ownership and do not recognize other languages or varieties equivalent to their own. Canada, as an immigrant country, is manifesting many of these practices through its language-in-immigration policy at the macro level, which is not only in conflict with the multilingual social reality of the country but also a missed opportunity to utilize the diverse skills, expertise and knowledge that skilled multilingual immigrants bring to the country. For Canada to benefit fully from this workforce and the linguistic diversity of the country, it has to reconsider its integration framework that is focusing on English/French speaking Canadians only and disregarding other language speakers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Webpages About the Three Federal Immigration Programs

Federal Skilled Worker Program: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/eligibility/federal-skilled-workers.html>

Federal Skilled Trades Program: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/eligibility/skilled-trades.html>

Canadian Experience Class: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/eligibility/canadian-experience-class.html>

Comparison of All Three Programs: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/eligibility/compare.html>

How Express Entry Works: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/express-entry/works.html>

Appendix 2: Data Extracts for Descriptive Analysis

- Data extracts from the description of the three federal immigration programs related to language skills, education, work experience, and adaptability.

a. Language Skills

Step 1: Data Extracts

- take approved language tests in English or French for:
 - writing
 - reading
 - listening
 - speaking
- Your language tests are valid for 2 years after the date of the test result. They must be valid on the day you apply for permanent residence.
- You must take **an approved language test** to prove your language level.
- It's very important to be able to communicate in 1 or both of Canada's official languages. Knowing English, French or both helps you in the Canadian job market.
- You can get up to 28 points for your language skills in English and French.
- You must get a minimum level of **CLB 7 or NCLC 7** for 1 official language in all 4 language areas. To get points for the second official language, you must meet the minimum level of **CLB 5 or NCLC 5** in all 4 language areas

Step 2: Lexical choices related to language competence in official languages

Use of words like 'language skills', 'language tests', 'language level', 'proof of language skills', 'First official language [English]', 'Second official language [French]', 'language ability', 'Speaking+Listening+Reading+Writing', 'validity'

b. Education

Step 1: Data Extracts

- If you have foreign education, you must have:
 - an Educational Credential Assessment (ECA) report for immigration purposes from a designated organization showing that your education is equal to a completed certificate, diploma or degree from a Canadian:
 - secondary institution (high school) or
 - post-secondary institution

- Your report **must** show that your foreign credential is valid and equal to a **completed** Canadian secondary school (high school) or post-secondary credential. [This means equivalence of education received in English or French].
- With good/strong official languages proficiency and a post-secondary degree, [candidates can get up to] 50 [points]. With lower official languages proficiency, their points may decrease in this category].
- For people in trade occupation, with good/strong official languages proficiency and a certificate of qualification, [they can get up to] 50 [points]. With lower official languages proficiency, their points may decrease in this category].

Step 2: Lexical choices related to language competence in official languages

Educational equivalence; Canadian credentials; medium of instruction; must; good/strong official languages proficiency

c. Work experience

Step 1: Date Extracts

- To get selection factor points, your work experience will count if it was:
 - in Canada or abroad
 - while you were studying
 - while being self-employed
- With good/strong official languages proficiency (Canadian Language Benchmark [CLB] level 7 or higher) **and** foreign work experience, [a candidate can get up to] 50 [points]. With lower official languages proficiency, their points may decrease in this category].
- Foreign work experience – with good official language proficiency (Canadian Language Benchmark Level [CLB] 7 or higher gives additional points.

Step 2: Lexical choices related to language competence in official languages

Good/strong official languages proficiency; higher points; foreign work experience; Canadian Language Benchmark Level; additional points

d. Adaptability

Step 1: Date Extracts

- Additional points: French language skills [if a candidate chooses to submit English language score] can be up to 50 additional points.
- Brother or sister living in Canada who is a permanent resident or citizen will give extra 15 points.

- Adaptability (how well you're likely to settle here)

Step 2: Lexical choices related to language competence in official languages

Language level in either English or French, language abilities, adaptability; additional points

Chapter 3: Paper 2

Integrating Better but Multilingually: Language Practices of South Asian Immigrants for Settlement and Integration in Canada

This paper was published in the Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies and was authored by Raza (2023). A Microsoft Word version of the paper is included here. The title and content of this paper are identical to the version published in the journal and permission has been sought from the journal to include this paper in this dissertation. This paper should be cited as:

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Abstract

Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) is used by researchers, policy analysts, and government agencies to evaluate newcomer performance against the local-born population across four dimensions: economic, social, political, and health. Despite recognizing integration as a multidimensional and complex phenomenon, the index mainly evaluates the achievement of the four dimensions but without looking at how they are achieved (e.g., the role of different languages) and the type of integration (narrowed or broader) taking place. One underlying assumption can be that since Canada is a bilingual country, one of the official languages must be used for settlement and integration. However, as this study finds, this may not reflect the social reality of the Canadian society where diverse immigrant populations capitalize on official and non-official languages for settlement and integration. Utilizing the four dimensions with language as an additional variable, this quantitative study reports findings from 493 participants from a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan who are able to settle and integrate better when English and ethnic languages are used for socio-politico-economic and health integration. In addition to reporting micro-level multilingual integration supported by ethnic concentrations, this study calls for further investigation of the type of integration in ethnic concentrations and its long-term implications for the Canadian society.

Keywords: Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI), multilingualism and integration, settlement and integration, South Asian immigrants.

Introduction

Immigrant, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) utilizes an index called Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) to evaluate newcomer (born outside of Canada) performance against the local population (Canada born). This index includes four dimensions: economic (40%), social (30%), civic and democratic participation (20%), and health (10%). These dimensions further include multiple indicators (e.g., employment status in the economic dimension, having friends in social integration, volunteering in civic and democratic participation, and having a doctor in health) that are used to evaluate newcomer achievement of the four dimensions and highlight areas where their performance is weaker compared to the local population. The CIMI uses quantitative data from multiple sources, such as the Canadian Census, National Household Survey, and General Society Survey, and works as an instrument for researchers and policy analysts to get an estimate of newcomers and their performance in the four areas (e.g., Etowa et al., 2021).

CIMI is appreciated for recognizing integration as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon (Guo & Guo, 2016) and drawing results from multiple data sources. However, it focuses on the achievement of the four dimensions of integration, without looking at how these dimensions are achieved by the newcomers (e.g., the role of different languages in their achievement) and the type of integration taking place at the social level among diverse immigrant populations (e.g., broader social integration with diverse communities or narrowed integration that is tilted towards co-ethnic members). This calls for problematizing its conception of integration (happening through English or French only) and its impact on understanding and interpreting integration of newcomers for possible policy revisions or new initiatives.

This paper is concerned with the first observation (i.e., the role of different languages in achieving the four dimensions of integration) but also points to future research to investigate the second concern (i.e., the type of integration taking place at the social level). In this paper, the main theory that informs the problematization of the CIMI and its conception of integration (that does not include language as an important component of integration) is the sociology of language (Fishman, 1971) where language is a social value and shapes human behavior not only about a particular language but also about its users (Severo & Görski, 2017). This means that social dynamics such as relationships, social status, and sense of belonging are impacted by individual and group language use and require investigation to understand how individuals or groups associate themselves with certain languages or language groups (Fishman, 1971).

For immigrants, for instance, this would mean exploring their language practices to understand how they are using different languages to settle and integrate in their new home (Abdulrahim & Baker, 2009), the type of integration taking place, and the impact this may have for the broader society and the country (Raza & Chua, 2022). Since language is an important component of immigrant settlement and integration (e.g., Abdulrahim & Baker, 2009; Capstick, 2021) as it provides a medium through which immigrants interact with the resources (e.g., immigration policy, settlement services, and people) in their new home, I employ Fishman's (1971) theory of the sociology of language that "focuses on the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behavior, including not only language use per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviors towards language and toward language users" (p. 217). With this theoretical lens, the intention is to understand how English and other languages are used by immigrants for social, economic, political and health purposes and how they influence immigrant integration across the four dimensions of integration in Canada.

Although CIMI includes non-official language usage at work as an indicator in the economic dimension, it does not investigate the use of Canada's official (English and French) and other languages for other indicators or dimensions. An underlying assumption in the CIMI could be that since Canada is a bilingual country and newcomers, especially skilled immigrants, showcase their official language skills through language testing (Raza & Chua, 2020), they may be using one of the official languages to settle and integrate in the country. However, the literature on immigrant settlement and integration and an overview of the provincial policies and initiatives for language support in Alberta (where this study took place) (e.g., *Multicultural Strategy for Communications and Engagement* by the City of Calgary, 2018) show that language is a significant variable and may impact settlement and integration of immigrants.

Literature on immigrants in Canada (e.g., Ferdous et al., 2018; Hynie et al., 2011; Li & Li, 2016; Vahabi & Lofters, 2016) indicates that language (whether knowledge of official languages or usage of non-official languages) impacts newcomer settlement and integration (positively and negatively). For instance, Ferdous et al. (2018) identified a lack of official language competence as one of the significant barriers to cervical cancer screening and health maintenance among immigrant women in Canada, who showed a tendency towards similar lingo-cultural physicians because of the linguistic and cultural support. Similarly, Hynie et al. (2011) concluded that many immigrant women tended to join their co-ethnic networks for mental and social support, friendships, and information-sharing because of shared linguistic repertoires and lower English language skills. Shuva's (2021) study on newly arrived Bangladeshi immigrants in Ontario found the use of ethnic community social media forums for settlement purposes such as housing, job, and lifestyle in Canada. Such networks are additional to

governmental services and platforms and are often preferred because of ethnic language support (e.g., Capstick, 2021).

Different provincial and city governments in Canada also recognize the significance of providing access to information in different languages. For instance, in Alberta, the City Government of Calgary initiated the *Multicultural Strategy for Communications and Engagement* in 2017 to accommodate the linguistic diversity of its immigrant population by translating important information about key topics like taxes and transportation in major immigrant languages such as Arabic, Indian Punjabi, Mandarin, Spanish, and Tagalog. Additionally, City staff are provided in-person and online training about the project to enhance its impact (The City of Calgary, 2018).

For these reasons, it is important to learn how immigrants are using their linguistic repertoire to achieve the four dimensions of integration, the type of integration taking place, its outcomes for the Canadian society, and whether there is a need to revisit the current integration approach. Since one objective of this paper is to argue for the inclusion of language as an indicator for measuring integration across diverse immigrant communities, it is aimed at providing empirical evidence about the use of different languages during settlement and integration to understand the extent to which official languages are used to integrate, whether integration is happening beyond the official languages, and how different languages are used to achieve the four dimensions of the CIMI index. This paper is part of a bigger doctoral study that is aimed at answering all these questions by doing a mixed-methods explanatory case study of a sub-group of South Asian diaspora from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan; however, the current paper reports the first part that uses quantitative methods to collect baseline data about the language practices of the sub-group. As the survey (Appendix 1) included specific questions that

measured the use of different languages (official and non-official) across the four dimensions of integration outlined by the CIMI, the findings will help understand how multilingualism helps this group of immigrants settle and integrate. The main research question that guided the survey study was: How do South Asians in Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic and democratic participation, and health purposes?

Literature Review

Language, Economy, and Integration

Research on language and economy points to the ways language can impact the economy and vice versa (Grin, 2003). The perspective of language use in economic activities derives from language as a human capital or human capital theory. In the Bourdieusian world, this capital can be a resource, a linguistic capital, where social, cultural, or economic values are associated based on competence and expertise in certain linguistic resources (Swartz, 2012). This often defines a language speaker's employment prospects and earnings. In terms of newly arrived immigrants in Canada, especially the family members of principal applicants who can accompany them to Canada but are not required to take the IELTS exam to qualify for residency, research has shown that proficiency in the official language(s) is one of the challenges in finding employment (e.g., Fong & Shen, 2011). This often results in finding work within ethnic economies as an alternative, which has shown mixed results regarding the economic integration of newcomers. For instance, Fong and Shen (2011) compared concentrations of Chinese workers in industrial sectors in Calgary, Toronto, and Vancouver to examine the impact of the ethnic economy on the employment of co-ethnic employees. Their findings revealed an over-representation of Chinese businessmen and workers in certain fields like textile, clothing, and food preparation. This over-representation is maintained by cheap co-ethnic labor that is attracted to these ethnically

dominated sectors because of unrecognized educational qualifications in the mainstream economy, the use of ethnic languages in business operations, and shared socio-cultural backgrounds.

Similar results are reported by Agarwal (2013) about Filipinos in health sector (e.g., nurses, health technicians, and health support service providers) where their ethnic concentration has produced positive results. While such ethnic economies or concentrations provide employment opportunities for co-ethnic members of a particular group (e.g., Chinese or South Asians), other groups and ethnicities (e.g., Africans, Mexicans) may be underrepresented in some sectors, resulting in unequal work opportunities for different groups. Additionally, the economic support that ethnic concentrations provide also varies across different groups depending upon which sector they are in the majority. For example, while Chinese and Filipino workers received support in the sectors mentioned above, “there is little benefit to concentrations of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis doing manual labour, janitorial work, service jobs or shift work in manufacturing and administrative support and waste management sectors” (Agarwal, 2013, p. 26). Similarly, Li and Li (2016) used ‘language used at work’ as a variable to measure the earnings difference between Chinese workers in Canada who work in the mainstream economy (where the official language [English] was used) versus immigrant ethnic economies (where Mandarin was the main language of communication). Their findings indicated that although workers in the ethnic economies earn lesser than their counterparts in the mainstream economy, “connections to the immigrant economic enclaves provide a cushion for immigrants to lessen the relative earnings disadvantage in the enclave produced mainly by unequal returns to human capital” (Li & Li, 2016, p. 149).

Although these findings show that ethnic enclave economies provide alternative employment opportunities to newcomers with less human capital, such as lower proficiency in the official language (English or French) (also see Hynie et al., 2011), they also invite studying how other language skills (i.e., ethnic languages) are used as alternatives or additional languages for work and the impact this may have on the economic integration of different ethnic groups, especially when they earn lesser than their counterparts in the mainstream economy (Li & Li, 2016) and result in the over-representation of particular ethnicities in certain fields (Agarwal, 2013; Fong & Shen, 2011). Similarly, although such practices may create better work opportunities for co-ethnic members, they may result in stronger ethnic economies and further segregation of society (Osaghae & Cooney, 2019).

Language, Society, and Integration

Since language is a social practice, it plays an important role in shaping social interactions and relations. People connect with each other through language to form social networks that consist of formal and informal relationships comprising family, friends, and community (Milroy, 1980). Sociolinguistics and sociologists of language are particularly interested in the ways language shapes these relationships and the implications these relationships may have for society and its members (Fishman, 1971). For this, there is always a need to explore the use of language in a particular context, such as the settlement of newcomers in the host country and the use of language to create and/or join social groups for integration where their ethnic languages are used (Capstick, 2021; Hynie et al., 2011).

Research on ethnic networks has revealed that certain ethnic groups, especially Chinese and South Asians, tend to live near their co-ethnic members because of high levels of social capital (Hiebert, 2014; Qadeer et al., 2010). For example, Agarwal and Kurtz (2019) have noted

that Edmonton and Calgary have become top destinations for Chinese and South Asian immigrants because of the social and cultural institutions (e.g., faith centers, ethnic stores, and ethnic schools) that contribute to their settlement in Alberta. Portes (1998) defined social capital as a combination of trust, embedded relationships, and support networks. Since language and its use is of interest to applied linguists, they are interested in studying how language contributes to social capital, especially in relation to developing trust, relationship, and networking among social actors such as friends, family, local community, and the mainstream society (Milroy, 1980).

In terms of newcomers in Canada, research has revealed the use of ethnic languages for creating and benefitting from social networking for settlement and integration. Hynie et al. (2011) explored the sources of informal support available to newcomer women in Toronto through their social networks across seven different cultural-linguistic communities such as Spanish-speaking Latinos, Urdu-speaking Pakistanis, and Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. Their findings revealed that in addition to support from governmental agencies, five informal sources of support were helpful during the initial years of settlement: “immediate family, transnational family, friendship networks, close friends, and community” (p. 35). Similarly, Shuva’s (2021) study of Bangladeshi immigrants in Toronto revealed the use of online resources such as co-ethnic community forums, YouTube videos, and immigration-related blogs in Bengali and English to learn about Canadian life, immigration policies, Bengali community, and employment opportunities. These studies show the importance of ethnic languages in connecting newcomers to their family, friends, and community for emotional and settlement support (Hynie et al., 2011).

Language, Civic and Democratic Participation, and Integration

The civic and democratic participation of foreign-born citizens, especially those who live in ethnically concentrated places, has become an area of interest for political scientists and immigration studies specialists. A 2015 United Nations report on migrants and their socio-economic integration associates social participation through volunteering with developing a sense of belonging to the new community as well as creating communal harmony across different ethnic groups (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe [UNECE], 2015). This can have a greater impact on the social integration of newcomers. A report by Vezina and Houle (2017) on the settlement patterns and social integration of newcomers in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver showed that “residents of neighbourhoods where the population with an immigrant background is moderately concentrated (50% to 70% of the total population) are more likely to be part of an immigrant or ethnic organization than their counterparts” (p. 41) outside immigrant concentrations. This shows that ethnocultural associations and immigrant organizations continue to remain the places of volunteering and mutual support among newcomer volunteers. The same report also revealed that “89% of the population with an immigrant background reported a somewhat strong or very strong sense of belonging with people who have the same mother tongue, compared with 85% for attachment to people of the same ethnicity or culture” (Vezina & Houle, 2017, p. 42). This means that shared lingo-cultural characteristics are stronger reasons for group belonging and social integration among immigrants who live in their concentrations.

In terms of political engagement, a lower turn-out among foreign-born immigrants, especially visible minority groups like Chinese and South Asians, was also reported in Canada during 2000 and 2004 elections (Tossutti, 2007). According to Tossutti (2007), “eligible voters from Chinese, South Asian and black backgrounds voted at lower rates in the previous federal,

provincial and municipal elections compared to non-visible voters (primarily of European origin) from the same birthplace group” (p. 19). Factors that result in such lower political participation include political experiences in country of origin, negative attitude towards immigrants, and language barrier (Li, 1998; Tossutti, 2007). What remains a curiosity is that despite electoral outreach initiatives in multiple languages (e.g., initiatives during the 2006 federal elections such as the publication of *Voter Information Guide* in 26 languages, multilingual advertisements in 95 minority languages, multilingual call centers in 100 languages, and ethnocultural community liaison officers) (Elections Canada, 2006), immigrant participation in elections is still unsatisfactory. Since language barrier has been reported as one of the factors for lower political engagement (e.g., Tossutti, 2007), it calls for investigating how such a barrier can be broken to increase the political participation of diverse communities in Canada.

Language, Health, and Integration

Mental and physical health are considered pivotal for the sustainable integration of newcomers. In this regard, having a family doctor, doing necessary tests and follow-up visits, and maintaining good health are used as indicators of health integration in the host country. Research (e.g., Cunningham et al., 2008) indicates that there is a higher tendency of immigration among healthier people; however, they are vulnerable to higher health risks if they fail to adjust themselves according to host country environmental conditions, food habits/restrictions, local diseases, and other medical conditions. Earlier research has pointed to health-related challenges faced by newcomers in host countries. These include environmental risks, detrimental lifestyle habits, “stress of resettlement, discrimination, and ‘othering’” (Lebrun, 2012, p. 1065), and poor knowledge of illnesses and treatment options (Clarke & Isphording, 2016). In order to cope with

these challenges, knowledge about the health facilities in the host country as well as utilization of health services and resources are necessary.

Since language is the medium through which knowledge about health services can be gained and utilized, researchers have investigated how proficiency in the host country's language impacts newcomers' mental and physical health (Abdulrahim & Baker, 2009; Ferdous et al., 2018). Lebrun (2012) examined the impact of length of stay and official/dominant language proficiency on health care experiences of immigrants in Canada and the U.S. Data analysis from 2007-2008 Canadian Community Health Survey and the National Health Interview Survey revealed that while access to healthcare was better in Canada, shorter length of stay and language proficiency were barriers in both countries. Alba and Sweningson (2006) analyzed data from the 2000 National Health Interview Survey and found that "low English language proficiency is a barrier to receive a recommendation for Pap smear [a cervical cancer screening test] among Hispanic women not up to date with cervical cancer screening" in the United States (p. 292). Similar results are reported by Ferdous et al. (2018), where a lack of proficiency in the official languages of Canada (English/French) resulted in lower cervical cancer screening of immigrant women.

Realizing the language barrier among diverse immigrant populations, certain initiatives have been taken in different Canadian provinces and cities to provide services in dominant immigrant languages. For instance, Alberta Health Services (AHS) provides interpretation and translation services in many languages, such as Arabic, Mandarin, Punjabi, Spanish, and Urdu (AHS, 2023). Such services mitigate the language barrier for non-English/French speaking patients as they can access health care services in ethnic or non-official languages.

Ravichandiran et al. (2022) reported that 15.6% of the respondents to the Canadian Community

Health Survey 2015-2016 who regularly visited their health care providers used a non-official language for communication. Other studies (e.g., Ferdous et al., 2018; Vahabi & Lofters, 2016) have also reported immigrants' preference for same language health care providers in the Canadian context. This calls for further investigating how a multilingual healthcare system contributes to the integration of newcomers to Canada and how people use official and non-official languages to access healthcare facilities.

Context of the Study

This study took place in Calgary, Alberta. The province of Alberta was chosen because of its emergence as one of the top destinations for newcomers to Canada. As per the 2022 Annual Report to the Parliament on Immigration, 40,041 (9.9%) Permanent Residents were admitted in Alberta in 2021, which made it the fourth top destination after Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec (Government of Canada, 2022). In addition to bringing socio-politico-economic benefits to Alberta and Canada, these immigrants also bring different social practices, cultures, and languages. The top ten languages identified by immigrants to Alberta in the 2016 census were (in order of higher to lower ranking) Tagalog, German, French, Punjabi, Cantonese, Spanish, Mandarin, Arabic, Urdu, and Vietnamese. In addition, the percentage of immigrant mother tongues spoken in Alberta has gone higher over the years, from 20.6% in 2011 to 22.3% in 2016, an increase higher than any other Canadian province (Government of Alberta, 2018). The 2016 census also revealed that although English is still the most common language spoken at home, with 82.6% speaking it alone, Tagalog has emerged as the second most common language spoken solely at home by Albertans (12.0%), followed by Punjabi (1.3%), and Cantonese (1.0%). What is interesting to note in this census report compared with the previous one is a 72.9% increase in bilingual speakers who speak English and another language at home. Although

the report does not provide any information about Albertans who speak more than two languages at home, it acknowledges that the increase in bilingual speakers is due to the recent growth of non-official languages in the province.

Although English is a dominant language in Alberta, the provincial and city governments have started to realize that equitable access to resources could be enhanced by providing services in English as well as immigrant languages. An example of such realization is the *Multilingual Communications and Engagement Initiative* (The City of Calgary, 2018) which is aimed at accommodating the linguistic diversity of the city's diverse immigrant population by translating important information into major immigrant languages. As a starting point, information about topics such as taxes and transportation is being translated into top four non-official languages (Chinese, Punjabi, Filipino, and Latino). Similarly, AHS (2023), Calgary Police (Calgary Police Service, 2023), and other government bodies provide services in different languages. However, there is little information available about the effectiveness of such initiatives and how they impact newcomer integration. This study is aimed at filling this gap by providing empirical evidence about the use of different languages during settlement and integration in Calgary, Alberta, through an investigation of the language practices of a sub-group of South Asians who may live or work in the Northeast part of Calgary.

The main reason for choosing Northeast Calgary as a research site and a sub-group of South Asian multilingual speakers from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan as participants was because they are a visible ethnic group in the area (Government of Alberta, 2018) and are known to live with their co-ethnic members where they can use their languages for socio-economic purposes such as business, employment, healthcare, education, and social networking (Hiebert, 2014; Qadeer et al., 2010; Shuva, 2021). For instance, the Alberta Provincial Electoral Divisions

report on Calgary Northeast (Government of Alberta, 2018) shows that there are 12 visible minorities in the area, among which South Asians are the biggest minority group, comprising 8,005 (36%) out of a total visible minority population of 40,300. The same report also shows that among the six major non-official languages spoken in Northeast Calgary, Punjabi is spoken by 2,145 out of 9,495 people, which makes it the second most spoken language in the area after Tagalog. These data prove the existence of South Asian ethnic concentrations and multilingualism in the area and spark curiosity about language practices within these ethnic networks and their contribution to the integration of South Asians into broader Calgary and Albertan society. Although this study has grouped Bangladeshis, Indians, and Pakistanis together to provide baseline data about their language practices for integration, it does not intend to project them as a homogenous group, nor does it undermine the lingo-cultural diversity that characterizes these populations.

Methodology

This quantitative study used survey methods to measure patterns of language use among South Asians across the four dimensions of integration. As a descriptive research study (Mertler, 2016), it was aimed at describing how the participants use English and/or ethnic languages for economic, social, political, and health purposes. Since my review of the literature pointed out a scarcity of research on South Asians and their language use for settlement and integration, especially in the context of Alberta, descriptive research that uses survey for data collection to describe behaviors, practices, and other characteristics of groups or individuals (Creswell, 2005; Fraenkel et al., 2012) was deemed appropriate to collect baseline data on the language practices of the participants. This allowed understanding how South Asians use English and/or ethnic languages for integration as they live or work in Northeast Calgary.

Instrument

A questionnaire was developed by modifying the description of the four dimensions of integration and the indicators provided on the CIMI website (CIMI, 2020) by focusing on the language used to achieve these indicators. For instance, the economic dimension includes eight indicators such as wages, employment rate, and use of non-official languages at work. The description of these indicators explains their link with economic integration. For example, *Labour Force Participation* (indicator # 3) “refers to the percentage of individuals who are active in the labour force, either employed or unemployed-but looking for work” (CIMI, 2020, p. 6). Since this indicator relates to employment status, modifying this description to highlight the role of language, survey questions 4-7 in Part 1 of the survey (see Appendix 1) asked the participants about their use of official and/or non-official languages to find/do work in Northeast Calgary. Questions in the other three categories (i.e., social, political and health) also followed this method. In developing the questionnaire, I consulted seven community members who were aware of the socio-politico-linguistic characteristics and practices of their community members in Northeast Calgary. They were asked to provide feedback on the language (clarity) and organization (order) of the questions. Following their feedback and suggestions that required minor changes, revisions and adjustments were made to the language for clarity, duration of the survey, and numbering of the questions.

The questionnaire included 50 questions and was divided into five sections: language use for economic integration (11 questions); language use for social integration (12 questions); language use for political integration (10 questions); language use for health integration (8 questions); and demographic questions (9 questions). The first four sections used a four-point Likert scale (*strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree*) to evaluate participants’

perceptions of language use across the four dimensions of integration. The last section included demographic questions related to immigration category, country of origin, gender, age, etc.

Data Collection and Analysis

Microsoft Forms was used to create and administer the survey. A web-based survey was considered because of the comparative cost, faster data collection timing, and convenience of data analysis (Creswell, 2005; Mertler, 2016). In terms of the inclusion and exclusion criteria for survey participation, there were three benchmarks. Firstly, participants should be 18+, born in Pakistan, India, or Bangladesh, and live or work in the Northeast area of Calgary. Secondly, they should speak at least one language from their country of origin other than English or French so that they can qualify as bi/multi-linguals. Thirdly, they should have arrived as permanent residents to Canada under one of the three immigrant categories: Economic Class (skilled workers and businesspeople), Family Class (closer family members of Canadian residents living in Canada), and Humanitarian and Compassionate immigrants. Although international students, refugees and visitors also qualify as immigrants, they were not included in the study because of their temporary status or being beyond the scope of the study. These criteria were included in the consent form and participants were invited to read this information before taking the survey.

Following the inclusion/exclusion criteria and invitation methods for the actual survey, the survey instrument was piloted with 49 participants to check language clarification and instrument reliability and validity. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated using SPSS 29.0 to check internal consistency across the questions, which was 0.926. Sekaran and Bougie (2003) stated that a score of 0.70 on Cronbach's alpha coefficient is considered acceptable, while above 0.8 is good. This means that items in the survey showed higher reliability and consistency. This was followed by calculating mean and standard deviation using SPSS 29.0. After finalizing

results from the pilot stage and making possible revisions to the instrument, the survey link was sent to the intended participants for actual data collection through emails, social media announcements (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp) (Appendix 2), and personal visits to Northeast Calgary where I handed over paper copies or bar codes to interested participants. Reminders were posted every week. The survey was open for 3 weeks. In total, 526 responses were received. After deleting incomplete responses, 493 responses remained. Participants were 58% (n=285) male and 42% (n=208) females, mostly aged between 21-29 (n=239), holding bachelor's degrees (n=189), and originating from Bangladesh (n=246), India (n=110) and Pakistan (n=106). The majority were permanent residents (n=280) and came to Canada within the last 2-5 years (n=199). Data were downloaded as an Excel file and transported to SPSS 29.0 to calculate mean and standard deviation (SD) for descriptive analysis. An overview of SD (see Tables 1-4) showed that it was lesser than 1 in all cases, which meant that the data were clustered around the mean and were reliable.

Results

Table 1 provides a summary of the language used for economic integration among the sub-group of South Asians. As can be seen, the majority of the respondents are able to use English and ethnic languages for economic activities such as real estate, selling/buying products like insurance and food, and filing taxes. Further, the use of multiple languages seems to make a positive impact on their economic integration. For instance, responding to language use at work, the total percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed indicates that 87.9% can use both English and ethnic languages, and this multilingualism helps them perform their work better (85.4%) and earn more money (76.4%). Similarly, multiple languages allow consumers to make better economic decisions (83.6%), find better work opportunities (82%), and rent or buy houses

(82.3%). These numbers are comparatively lower in English-only work environments (71.8%), employment opportunities (70.2%), and renting/buying houses (70%). In summary, the majority of the respondents (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 82.6%) are able to economically settle/integrate into Alberta/Canada because of using English and ethnic languages, compared with English-only integration, where the response rate was 66.5% (16.1% lower than multilingual economic integration). These results indicate that multilingual economic integration is taking place among South Asian immigrants who work or live in Northeast Calgary.

Table 1

Language Use for Economic Integration

#	Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for economic integration.	SA	A	D	SD	M	SD
1	I am able to use both English and my ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Pashto) at my work (examples of work include real estate, sales, business, security, restaurant).	32.9%	55%	10.8%	1.4%	3.19	.676
		<i>Total = 87.9%</i>					
2	I am able to perform work related tasks better when I use both English and my ethnic languages.	31.6%	53.8%	14.2%	0.4%	3.17	.669
		<i>Total = 85.4%</i>					
3	I am able to earn more money when I use both English and my ethnic languages at my work.	24.1%	52.3%	21.9%	1.6%	2.99	.725
		<i>Total = 76.4%</i>					
4	I am able to perform economic activities (e.g., buying insurance, paying taxes, purchasing food, etc.) better when I use only English.	17.4%	54.4%	26.2%	2%	2.87	.708
		<i>Total = 71.8%</i>					
5	I am able to perform economic activities (e.g., buying insurance, paying taxes, purchasing food, etc.) better when I use both English and ethnic languages.	27.2%	56.4%	15.2%	1.2%	3.10	.682
		<i>Total = 83.6%</i>					
6	I am able to find better work/job/employment by using only English.	19.3%	50.9%	26.8%	3%	2.86	.752
		<i>Total = 70.2%</i>					
7	I am able to find better work/job/employment by using both English and ethnic languages.	27.4%	54.6%	16.4%	1.6%	3.08	.706
		<i>Total = 82%</i>					
8	I am able to rent or buy a house (e.g., searching online, speaking to landlord/realtor/bank) by using only English.	18.1%	51.9%	28.8%	1.2%	2.87	.708
		<i>Total = 70%</i>					
9	I am able to rent or buy a house (e.g., searching online, speaking to landlord/realtor/bank) by using both English and ethnic languages.	24.3%	58%	16%	1.6%	3.05	.683
		<i>Total = 82.3%</i>					
10	Overall, I am able to economically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada when I use only English.	16.6%	49.9%	30.6%	2.8%	2.80	.741
		<i>Total = 66.5%</i>					
11	Overall, I am able to economically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada when I use both English and ethnic languages.	28.6%	54%	16.4%	1%	3.10	.694

Note. SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree; M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation

Table 2***Language Use for Social Integration***

#	Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for social integration.	SA	A	D	SD	M	SD
1	I am able to use only English when talking to close friends (not relatives) for help, fun or other reasons.	15.3%	45.6%	36.3%	2.8%	2.72	.743
		<i>Total = 60.9%</i>					
2	I am able to use both English and ethnic languages when talking to close friends (not relatives) for help, fun or other reasons.	27.2%	56.4%	15.8%	0.6%	3.10	.667
		<i>Total = 83.6%</i>					
3	I am able to use only English when talking to local community members (not close friends) for help, fun or other reasons.	14.8%	48.5%	34.3%	2.4%	2.76	.728
		<i>Total = 63.3%</i>					
4	I am able to use both English and ethnic languages when talking to local community members (not close friends) for help, fun or other reasons.	21.1%	57.2%	20.1%	1.6%	2.98	.691
		<i>Total = 78.3%</i>					
5	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging (e.g., feelings of acceptance, security, etc.) to my local community when I use only English.	13.4%	52.3%	30.2%	4.1%	2.75	.733
		<i>Total = 65.7%</i>					
6	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging (e.g., feelings of acceptance, security, etc.) to my local community when I use only ethnic languages.	17%	50.9%	29.4%	2.6%	2.82	.735
		<i>Total = 67.9%</i>					
7	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging (e.g., feelings of acceptance, security, etc.) to my local community when I use both English and ethnic languages.	24.7%	55.6%	18.7%	1%	3.04	.688
		<i>Total = 80.3%</i>					
8	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use only English.	14.8%	48.3%	34.1%	2.8%	2.75	.736
		<i>Total = 63.1%</i>					
9	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use only ethnic languages.	14.2%	51.7%	32%	2%	2.78	.705
		<i>Total = 65.9%</i>					
10	I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use both English and ethnic languages.	26.4%	54.8%	18.3%	0.6%	3.07	.683
		<i>Total = 81.2%</i>					
11	Overall, I am able to socially settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using only English.	15.6%	54%	28.2%	2.2%	2.83	.707
		<i>Total = 69.6%</i>					
12	Overall, I am able to socially settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using both English and ethnic languages.	29.4%	50.9%	17.6%	2%	3.08	.740
		<i>Total = 80.3%</i>					

Note. SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree; M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation

Data about language use for social integration are summarized in Table 2. Participants were asked to indicate the language(s) they use for social activities and the impact this may have on their social integration in Alberta/Canada. As can be seen, the majority of the respondents (i.e., the sum of agreed and strongly agreed) are able to communicate in English and ethnic languages with their friends (83.6%) and community members (78.3%), compared with English-only for friends (60.9%) and community (63.3%). Similarly, their sense of belonging to the local

community is mainly happening through English and ethnic languages (80.3%), not through English-only (65.7%) or through ethnic languages only (67.9%). A similar case can also be observed about their sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada, where both English and ethnic languages are heavily used (81.2%), compared to English-only (63.1%) or ethnic languages only (65.9%). When asked about the overall social integration in Alberta/Canada, 69.6% opted for English-only, whereas 80.3% chose both English and ethnic languages, showing a difference of 10.7%. These results show that South Asians are able to socially integrate with their friends and local community and develop a sense of belonging to their local community and Alberta/Canada through multiple languages (with English being part of it). This indicates multilingual social integration taking place among South Asians within their community.

Findings about language use for civic and democratic participation are provided in Table 3. In this section, participants were asked to indicate their ability to use English and/or ethnic language for political activities such as volunteering, joining organizations, and participating in provincial/federal politics, and the impact these languages may have on their overall political integration. As can be seen in Table 3, the majority of the participants (i.e., the sum of agreed and strongly agreed) are able to volunteer for unpaid work in both English and ethnic languages (82.6%), compared with English-only (47.3%) or only ethnic languages (50.8%). Further, 84.7% are able to join organizations of religious, political, or social nature and community or political groups by using both English and ethnic languages, whereas such activities in only English (71.2%) or only ethnic languages (72.6%) are comparatively lower. When it comes to participating in provincial or federal politics, 52.9% indicated only English use but 81.2% chose both English and ethnic languages option. Finally, when asked about overall political settlement/integration in Alberta/Canada, 83.6% indicated their ability to use both English and

ethnic languages, which is 20.7% higher than English-only (62.9%) political integration. It can be summarized that both English and ethnic languages are playing a significant role in the political integration of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.

Table 3

Language Use for Civic and Democratic Participation

#	Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for political integration.	SA	A	D	SD	M	SD
1	I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in only English.	11%	36.3%	47.3%	5.5%	2.53	.761
				Total = 52.8%			
2	I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in only ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Pashto).	11.4%	39.4%	44.2%	5.1%	2.57	.758
				Total = 49.3%			
3	I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in both English and ethnic languages.	20.1%	62.5%	17.2%	0.2%	3.02	.618
		Total = 62.5%					
4	I am able to involve in organizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use only English.	12.2%	59%	26.2%	2.6%	2.81	.673
		Total = 71.2%					
5	I am able to involve in organizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use only ethnic languages.	16.6%	56%	25.4%	2%	2.87	.697
		Total = 72.6%					
6	I am able to involve in organizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use both English and ethnic languages.	28.3%	56.4%	14%	1%	3.13	.672
		Total = 84.7%					
7	I am able to learn about or participate in provincial/federal politics in only English.	9.5%	43.4%	44.8%	2.2%	2.60	.690
				Total = 52.9%			
8	I am able to learn about or participate in provincial/federal politics in both English and ethnic languages.	19.5%	61.7%	17%	1.8%	2.99	.662
		Total = 81.2%					
9	Overall, I am able to politically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using only English.	13.4%	49.5%	34.1%	3%	2.73	.725
		Total = 62.9%					
10	Overall, I am able to politically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using both English and ethnic languages.	28.4%	55.2%	14.8%	1.6%	3.10	.698
		Total = 83.6%					

Note. SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree; M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation

The last section of the study was focused on language use for health integration. As shown in Table 4, the majority of the respondents (i.e., the sum of agreed and strongly agreed) are able to have a medical service provider who speaks both English and ethnic languages (77.5%), and 85.4% of participants are able to benefit from the multilingual health care services. Similarly, 83.4% also

indicated benefiting from multilingual life stress support services such as mental health or suicide prevention, compared with English-only, where the percentage was 57.2%. When asked about overall health maintenance, 85.6% (26.9% higher than English-only) indicated that they are able to maintain good health when they can use both English and ethnic languages to utilize health services. This difference is the biggest among all four dimensions being investigated in this study. These results indicate that South Asians tend to use multilingual health care services and are able to integrate better when they can use both English and ethnic languages.

Table 4

Language Use for Health Integration

#	Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for health integration.	SA	A	D	SD	M	SD
1	I am able to have a service provider (e.g., medical doctor, pharmacist, psychologist) that speaks only English.	13.4%	45.8%	37.5%	3.2%	2.69	.739
	<i>Total = 59.2%</i>						
2	I am able to have a service provider (e.g., medical doctor, pharmacist, psychologist) that speaks both English and ethnic languages.	21.1%	56.4%	20.3%	1.8%	2.98	.701
	<i>Total = 77.5%</i>						
3	I am able to benefit from health care services (e.g., hospital facilities, emergency services, medical treatment) in a better way when they are available in only English.	10.5%	46%	40%	3.4%	2.64	.716
	<i>Total = 56.5%</i>						
4	I am able to benefit from health care services (e.g., hospital facilities, emergency services, medical treatment) in a better way when they are available in both English and ethnic languages.	29%	56.4%	14.2%	0.4%	3.14	.655
	<i>Total = 85.4%</i>						
5	I am able to benefit from life stress support (e.g., mental health support, suicide prevention support) when they are available in only English.	10.1%	47.1%	40%	2.8%	2.65	.700
	<i>Total = 57.2%</i>						
6	I am able to benefit from life stress support (e.g., mental health support, suicide prevention support) when they are available in both English and ethnic languages.	26.2%	57.2%	15.8%	0.8%	3.09	.668
	<i>Total = 83.4%</i>						
7	Overall, I am able to maintain good health in Alberta/Canada because of medical support available in only English.	10.8%	47.9%	37.7%	3.7%	2.66	.717
	<i>Total = 58.7%</i>						
8	Overall, I am able to maintain good health in Alberta/Canada because of medical support available in both English and ethnic languages.	28.8%	56.8%	13.2%	1.2%	3.13	.672
	<i>Total = 85.6%</i>						

Note. SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree; M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation

Discussion and Conclusion

This study is concerned with understanding the use of English and ethnic languages by a sub-group of South Asians in achieving the four dimensions of integration outlined by the CIMI and the role different languages play in this regard. The findings from all four sections reveal that the participants are able to use multiple languages for economic, social, political, and health purposes within their community or where they live. These findings align with earlier research on multilingual immigrants in different parts of Canada (e.g., Fong & Shen, 2011; Hynie et al., 2011; Li & Li, 2016; Qadeer et al., 2010; Vezina & Houle, 2017) and point to multilingual workplaces, social settings, political activities, and health care services in Calgary. Since South Asians are the biggest visible minority in Northeast Calgary (Government of Alberta, 2018), these findings align with their ethnic concentration in the area, the presence of social multilingualism at micro-level, and empirical evidence about the usage of South Asian languages for socio-politico-economic and health purposes. Although this study investigated the language practices of South Asians from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan and grouped them together because of shared historical, social, and linguistic characteristics (Agarwal, 2013), it did not intend to dismiss the cultural and linguistic diversity that exists within and among these three populations. Future work may look at the three groups separately or in comparison with each other to study their language practices and how they contribute to their settlement and integration in Canada. Similarly, the study investigated *when* and *where* South Asians use multiple languages for integration but did not answer *why* they tend to do so. This would require further investigation to understand the factors and motives for multilingual interactions.

Research on language and immigration (e.g., Capstick, 2021; Ferdous et al., 2018; Hynie et al., 2011) shows that access to resources and services in multiple languages impacts immigrant

well-being, settlement, and integration. The findings from this study further endorse such literature by providing empirical evidence on how official (English) and non-official (immigrant) languages contribute to newcomer settlement and integration. Economically, multilingual workplaces enhance work performance, provide opportunities for better economic decision-making, and increase chances of employment (e.g., see Fong & Shen, 2011; Li & Li, 2016). Socially, multilingualism extends opportunities for broader social interactions and relations where people are able to communicate with their friends and the local community in multiple languages, create a sense of belonging to multilingual neighborhoods and geographical locations, and integrate with linguistically and culturally diverse communities (Hynie et al., 2011; Shuva, 2021). Politically, multiple languages offer higher chances of volunteering, involvement in religious, political, social, or community organizations or groups, and participation in broader civic and democratic activities as responsible citizens (e.g., Venzina & Houle, 2017). In terms of health, the findings show that multilingual populations are able to benefit from health care services when they are available in both dominant (e.g., English) and immigrant (e.g., South Asian) languages. Since lack of proficiency in English has been reported as a language barrier for immigrant populations in Canada (e.g., Ravichandiran et al., 2022), multilingual health care services provide opportunities for patients to avail services in the language of their choice or comfort to maintain better health. Since the provincial and city governments in Alberta offer many services such as health (AHS, 2023), police (Calgary Police Service, 2023), and others (The City of Calgary, 2018) in multiple languages to accommodate linguistically diverse Albertan populations, the findings of this study provide support for these initiatives by showcasing their contribution in the settlement and integration of multilingual South Asians.

Since the study collected data from South Asians who may live or work in Northeast Calgary where they have emerged as the biggest visible ethnic community (Government of Alberta, 2018), the findings of this study also highlight the role of ethnic networks that provide opportunities for multilingual settlement and integration (e.g., Hynie et al., 2011; Shuva, 2021) in the form of social capital (Fishman, 1971; Portes, 1998; Swartz, 2012). Although the participants have indicated that they are able to better integrate across the four dimensions (i.e., economic, social, political, and health) by using both English and ethnic languages, it should be noted that such opportunities are mainly available in ethnically concentrated areas, which may make such places attractive and permanent dwellings for newcomers. As research on ethnic concentrations has pointed to both advantages (e.g., linguistic, cultural, and social support; Hynie et al., 2011; Li & Li, 2016) and disadvantages (e.g., stronger co-ethnic feelings, exploitation, lower economic benefits; Agarwal, 2013; Fong & Shen, 2011), further research is needed to explore the role of multilingual ethnic networks in the settlement and integration of South Asians and other ethnicities, the type of integration such networks shape (broader integration with multicultural/multilingual ethnicities or narrowed integration focused on co-ethnic members) (e.g., Oshaghae & Cooney, 2019), and the implications this may have for the Canadian society in the long run (e.g., see Tossutti, 2007).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent Form and Survey

Communicative Practices of Multilingual Immigrants and Their Impact on Integration: A Case Study of South Asians in Northeast Calgary

Study Context: This study is aimed at investigating perceptions about language practices of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi immigrants in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. They may live or work in Northeast Calgary and use English and/or ethnic languages (Bangla, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Tamil, Urdu, etc.) for the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) identified by the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI).

Should you take this survey? You should take this survey if you are a permanent resident or citizen of Canada who immigrated to Canada/Alberta as a first generation immigrant and came under one of the three immigration categories: Economic Class (skilled workers and business people); Family Class (close family members of Canadian residents); and Humanitarian and Compassionate Immigrants (spouses, live-in caregivers, protected persons, and temporary resident permit holders).

Survey Details: There are four parts of this survey. Each part focuses on one of the four dimensions of integration: economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health. There are 41 questions related to these dimensions followed by nine demographic questions. This survey should not take more than 40 minutes.

Researcher: Kashif Raza, Doctoral Candidate, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary. Email: kashif.raza@ucalgary.ca

Research Results: The results of this study will be used for my doctoral dissertation. A complete dissertation will be available on the official library website of the University of Calgary. The results of the study may also be published in academic journals or presented at conferences. My supervisor, Dr. Catherine Chua, may co-author or co-present the findings of the study.

This study has been approved by the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (REB22-1430). If you have any questions or concerns about the study or my conduct as a researcher, you can contact the Research Ethics Analyst, Research Services Office, the University of Calgary at (403) 220-8640, or (403) 220-6289, or by email at cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

SIGNED CONSENT

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the description provided above:

- I have had an opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered.
- I am willing to participate in the study.

Signature

Date

Part 1: Language Use for Economic Integration

There are eleven (11) questions in this section. These questions ask about your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for economic settlement/integration in Northeast Calgary. Ethnic languages can include Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, etc.

Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages in Northeast Calgary.

1. I am able to use both English and my ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Pashto) at my work (examples of work include real estate, sales, business, security, restaurant).
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. I am able to perform work related tasks better when I use both English and my ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. I am able to earn more money when I use both English and my ethnic languages at my work.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. I am able to perform economic activities (e.g., buying insurance, paying taxes, purchasing food, etc.) better when I use only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. I am able to perform economic activities (e.g., buying insurance, paying taxes, purchasing food, etc.) better when I use both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. I am able to find better work/job/employment by using only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. I am able to find better work/job/employment by using both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
8. I am able to rent or buy a house (e.g., searching online, speaking to landlord/realtor/bank) by using only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
9. I am able to rent or buy a house (e.g., searching online, speaking to landlord/realtor/bank) by using both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
10. Overall, I am able to economically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada when I use only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
11. Overall, I am able to economically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada when I can use both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Please list other examples of how you use English and/or ethnic languages for economic settlement/integration in Northeast Calgary.

Part 2: Language Use for Social Integration

There are twelve (12) questions in this section. These questions ask about your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for social settlement/integration in Northeast Calgary.

Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages in Northeast Calgary.

1. I am able to use only English when talking to close friends (not relatives) for help, fun or other reasons.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. I am able to use both English and ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Pashto) when talking to close friends (not relatives) for help, fun or other reasons.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. I am able to use only English when talking to local community members (not close friends) for help, fun or other reasons.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. I am able to use both English and ethnic languages when talking to local community members (not close friends) for help, fun or other reasons.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging (e.g., feelings of acceptance, security, etc.) to my local community when I use only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to my local community when I use only ethnic languages (no English).
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to my local community when I use both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
8. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
9. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use only ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
10. I am able to feel a strong sense of belonging to Alberta/Canada when I use both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
11. Overall, I am able to socially settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
12. Overall, I am able to socially settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using both English and ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Please list other examples of how you use English and/or ethnic languages for social settlement/integration in Northeast Calgary.

Part 3: Language Use for Civic and Democratic Participation

There are ten (10) questions in this section. These questions ask about your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for civic & democratic participation in Northeast Calgary. Ethnic languages can include Bangla, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, etc.

Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages in Northeast Calgary.

1. I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in only English.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

2. I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in only ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Pashto).

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

3. I am able to volunteer for unpaid work in both English and ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

4. I am able to involve inorganizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use only English.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

5. I am able to involve inorganizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use only ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

6. I am able to involve inorganizations (e.g., religious, political, social) and groups (e.g., community, political) that allow me to use both English and ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

7. I am able to learn about or participate in provincial/federal politics in only English.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

8. I am able to learn about or participate in provincial/federal politics in both English and ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

9. Overall, I am able to politically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using only English.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

10. Overall, I am able to politically settle/integrate in Alberta/Canada because of using both English and ethnic languages.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Please list other examples of how you use English and/or ethnic languages for civic & democratic participation in Northeast Calgary.

Part 4: Language Use for Health Integration

There are eight (8) questions in this section. These questions ask about your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages for civic & democratic participation in Northeast Calgary. Ethnic languages can include Bangla, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, etc.

Please answer the following questions based on your perceptions of using English and/or ethnic languages in Northeast Calgary.

1. I am able to have a medical doctor that speaks only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. I am able to have a medical doctor that speaks both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. I am able to benefit from health care services in a better way when they are available in only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. I am able to benefit from health care services in a better way when they are available in both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. I am able to benefit from life stress support (e.g., mental health support, suicide prevention support) when they are available in only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. I am able to benefit from life stress support (e.g., mental health support, suicide prevention support) when they are available in both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. Overall, I am able to maintain good health in Alberta/Canada because of medical support available in only English.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
8. Overall, I am able to maintain good health in Alberta/Canada because of medical support available in both English and ethnic languages.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Please list other examples of how you use English and/or ethnic languages for civic & democratic participation in Northeast Calgary.

Demographic Questions

There are nine (9) questions in this section.

1. Your age range
 - a) 18 – 20
 - b) 21 – 29
 - c) 30 – 39
 - d) 40 – 49
 - e) 50 – 59
 - f) 60 or older

2. Your gender
 - a) Female
 - b) Male
 - c) Other

3. Your highest level of education
 - a) Less than high school degree
 - b) High school degree or equivalent
 - c) Some college but no degree
 - d) Bachelor's degree
 - e) Master's degree
 - f) Doctorate (PhD) degree

4. Language(s) you can speak or understand. You can select more than one option.
 Balochi Bangla Burmese Chittagonian Dhakaiya Kutti English Gujarati
 Hindi Marathi Noakhailla Pashto Varendr Eastern Punjabi (India)
 Western Punjabi (Pakistan) Sylheti Telugu Urdu
 Other: _____

5. Country you originate from
 - a) Bangladesh
 - b) India
 - c) Pakistan

6. Your immigration status
 - a) Permanent Resident of Canada
 - b) Canadian Citizen
 - c) Other: _____

7. Immigration category under which you arrived to Canada
 - a) Economic Class (skilled workers and business-people)
 - b) Family Class (close family members of Canadian residents)
 - c) Humanitarian and Compassionate Immigrants (spouses, protected persons, refugees, etc.)
 - d) Other: _____

8. Your total length of stay in Alberta/Canada
 - a) 1 - 12 months

- b) 1 - 2 years
- c) 2 - 3 years
- d) 3 - 4 years
- e) 4 - 5 years
- f) More than 5 years

If you would like to participate in the next stage of data collection (i.e., interview), please share your best contact details such as name, phone number, email address, best time to contact, etc.

Thank you for your time and participation.

Appendix 2: Survey Study Invitation Email Script

Dear _____,

You are being invited to participate in a study that is aimed at investigating language practices of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi immigrants who live or work in Northeast Calgary and may use English and ethnic languages (Bangla, Hindi, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, etc.) for integration purposes. The Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) proposes evaluation of immigrant performance in four areas (economic, social, civic and democratic participation, and health) to understand how well they are settling and integrating in their regions/cities/provinces. Adopting these dimensions, the main objective of this study is to understand how different languages are used to achieve these four dimensions and how they contribute to immigrant integration in Calgary and Alberta.

There are four parts of this survey. Each part focuses on one of the four dimensions of integration: economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health. Please try to answer all the questions. This survey has 41 questions and should not take more than 40 minutes of your time. You can respond to each question by choosing one of the four options. You can also add comments at the end of each part in case there is something additional you would like to say. Thank you for your support for this study and your participation in this survey.

Survey link: <https://forms.office.com/r/YzNubp2jHW>

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this study (REB22-1430). If you are interested in participating in this study, please click on this link. This link includes introduction to the study, informed consent and the survey questions.

Best regards,
Kashif Raza

Chapter 4: Manuscript 3

Linguistic Interpretation of Immigrant Integration Patterns: A Case Study of South Asians in Calgary, Alberta

This manuscript below has been submitted for publication by Raza (2023) and is under review in the peer-reviewed journal ‘Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies’.

Abstract

Immigrant integration is a complicated phenomenon where multiple factors (e.g., language, ethnicity, culture, population, and geographical location) can play significant role(s) in how immigrants settle and integrate in host communities and the type of integration (broader or bounded) takes place at the social level. This requires investigating integration patterns of immigrants from a heterogenous perspective where integration is understood as a complex, multidirectional, and multidimensional practice, and special attention is paid to the issues of language, culture and ethnicity. Taking this perspective to do a case study of a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, this study reports findings from 19 interviews with participants who may live or work in an ethnically concentrated area (i.e., Northeast of Calgary). In addition to reporting multilingual communicative practices across the four dimensions of integration outlined by the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) (i.e., economic, social, political, and health), data analysis identified two dominant integration patterns: *nested-broader integration* and *nested-selective integration*. These patterns describe the lingo-ethnic factors that impact South Asians’ socio-politico-economic and health integration in Alberta and may have implications for the Albertan and Canadian society in the long run.

Keywords: Immigrant integration, Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI), ethnic network, South Asians

Introduction

Immigrant integration can be complicated by multiple factors such as language, ethnicity, culture, population size, and geographical location (Castles et al., 2002; Harder et al., 2018; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). These can impact the way immigrants settle and integrate in host communities as well as the type of integration (broader and multicultural or bounded and tilted towards co-ethnic members) that takes place at the social level (Hiebert, 2014). Despite this complexity, narrowed views of immigrant integration continue to dominate in language policies or research on immigrants where integration is conceptualized as monolithic and homogenous across diverse immigrant populations (Macleod, 2021). An impact of such approaches is reductionist views of complex social attributes such as language, culture, or ethnicity, and their relationship with integration practices. For instance, immigrant integration policies in English dominant countries like Australia, Canada, England, and New Zealand are often based upon an underlying assumption that higher English language skills will foster smoother, deeper and better settlement and integration of diverse immigrant populations, and thus English language skills are included in immigration policies (Raza & Chua, 2022a). This often influences researchers (e.g., Chiswick, 2008) to use English language skills as the main indicator to measure socio-economic integration of multilingual immigrants in host countries.

Despite the global dominance of English in language policies or research on immigrant integration, other languages such as Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, Punjabi and Urdu have also been reported to play significant roles in connecting people, performing jobs, creating a sense of belonging, and getting healthcare (Capstick, 2021; Fong & Shen, 2011; Hynie et al., 2011). These *other* languages can either be employed by governments in the form of translation services, mainly for non-English speaking immigrants, or used by ethnic communities for

connection, business, settlement and information-sharing (Fong & Shen, 2011; Hynie et al., 2011). Such services or practices are not always informed by official language policies but are considered their extensions to accommodate diverse language speakers (Raza & Chua, 2022b). This increases interest of researchers in exploring how social multilingualism vis-à-vis official mono/bi-lingualism impacts settlement and integration experiences, and what outcomes are produced using different languages (Capstick, 2021).

One place where tensions of language use and integration are visible are ethnically concentrated areas that allow multilingual interactions because of higher immigrant populations, shared lingo-ethnic capital, and proximity (Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011; Zucchi, 2007). Additionally, these characteristics also become attractions for co-ethnic members and often influence newly arrived immigrants' decisions about choosing ethnically concentrated areas as their initial, but sometimes leading to permanent, place of residence (Baur et al., 2003). An outcome of this trend is the emergence of immigrant concentrations that are characterized by specific ethnicities or language speakers, resulting in the over-representation of certain ethnic groups in different sectors and geographical locations (Fong & Shen, 2011; Zucchi, 2007). For instance, research on ethnic minorities in Canada and their habitation patterns has indicated that South-Asians have emerged as the biggest ethnic minority in the country (Statistics Canada, 2016) and tend to live in ethnically concentrated areas (Hiebert, 2014; Qadeer et al., 2010). However, research on South Asian ethnic concentrations and the impact of South Asian languages on integration is scarce. Existing data has either focused on the economic status of South Asians living in their ethnic concentrations, compared to their ethnic members living outside (Agarwal, 2013) or has concentrated on language issues such as difficulty in maintaining heritage language (Ahmed, 2016). Since chances of using non-official languages are higher in

ethnically concentrated areas (Baur et al., 2003), this study is concerned with understanding how South Asians use official and non-official languages in their ethnic concentrations for the four dimensions of integration (i.e., economic, social, civic & democratic participation [or political], and health) outlined by the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI). Additionally, it is aimed at exploring the ways their integration is impacted by the linguistic diversity that shapes their social interactions in their concentrations, and how this ultimately influences their socio-politico-economic and health integration. This paper is part of a bigger study that used mixed-methods sequential explanatory case study design (Ivankova et al., 2006; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2018) to collect quantitative and qualitative data from a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. This paper reports findings from the qualitative stage to answer the following:

1. How do South Asians in Northeast Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?
2. How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health)?
3. To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asians' settlement and integration across the four dimensions (economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health) in Alberta?

The Complexity of Immigrant Integration

Various definitions of integration are offered by academic researchers and policy analysts. The UK Government's Integrated Communities Strategy (2018) defines integration as "communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together,

based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities” (p. 10). Similarly, Canadian integration strategy encourages immigrants “to maintain their culture while forming personal and professional relationships with other cultural groups” (Kaufmann, 2021, p. 53). Others (e.g., Macleod, 2021) described integration as a two-way process where the immigrants preserve their cultural identities during settlement, but the host societies also adjust to changing demographics. Despite this heterogeneity of definitions, researchers agreed that integration is a contested concept and cannot be defined in simple words (Castles et al., 2002; Harder et al., 2018).

The biggest challenge, however, is not in defining integration per se but rather in its measurement and interpretation, which is vital in understanding whether current integration policies and programs are effective (Harder et al., 2018; Macleod, 2017; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). A review of the literature on integration measurement frameworks and tools points to two dominant approaches. A narrowed or reductionist view of the concept focuses on specific indicators (e.g., economic, political or linguistic) and their achievement, which can be part of an overall integration practice. Researchers who take this approach to understanding and analyzing integration usually evaluate individual indicators and use their findings to make sense of integration processes in particular areas such as economy. For instance, Agarwal (2013) focused on the economic performance of a sub-group of South Asians (Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis and Sri Lankans) and compared it against their Canadian-born and other non-South Asian groups. His findings pointed to lower economic performance of foreign-born South Asians from the four sub-groups that indicates their poor economic integration. Similarly, Chiswick (2008) used host country language (i.e., English) as a variable to evaluate economic performance of immigrants in Australia, Canada, Israel, and the United States and reported that lower English language skills negatively impacted immigrant earnings and thus their economic integration.

While the economic power of English (e.g., Burke, 2020) and importance of economic integration cannot be denied, such reductionist conceptualization and evaluation of communicative practices of multilingual immigrants and their integration practices might be problematic for two reasons. First, it presumes that English is the only language of economic activities and thus worthy of investigation. This must be true for the mainstream economies that are English-dominant (Burke, 2020); however, research on the language practices of immigrants in multicultural contexts like Canada has reported multilingual economic practices that are usually observed within ethnic economies (see Fong & Shen, 2011). Secondly, limiting integration measurement to economic performance without investigating the social, political and relational aspects that shape people's sense of identity, belongingness and acceptance may not provide a complete picture of diverse integration practices (Capstick, 2021; Kaufmann, 2021).

Scholars who recognized integration as a complex phenomenon call for taking a non-reductionist view to its understanding and measurement (Castles et al., 2002; Harder et al., 2018). According to International Organization for Migration (IOM), “understanding and analyzing integration requires a holistic approach which calls for a measurement tool that recognizes the multidimensionality of the integration process” (IOM, 2023, para 4). This holistic approach sees integration as *multi-directional* where different individuals (e.g., immigrants or receiving community members), agents (e.g., settlement agencies) and stakeholders (e.g., governments) can contribute to its achievement (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). This means that integration is a two-way process where newly arrived immigrants and host communities and governments at different levels play their role (e.g., Macleod, 2021). A holistic approach also recognizes integration as *multi-dimensional* where multiple factors like economic, social, political, health, and language are considered important (Harder et al., 2018). Since these factors

are considered significant in how people relate to certain groups or cultures or create their sense of belonging and identity (Capstick, 2021), integration measurement tools and frameworks that take holistic approach include them as indicators of successful integration. For example, IOM toolkit (IOM, 2023) includes six dimensions: psychological (e.g., feelings about host country), economic, political, social, linguistic (knowledge of English), and navigational (daily life activities). Similarly, CIMI (CIMI, 2010) includes four indicators: social, economic, civic and democratic participation, and health. Another example can be the United Kingdom (UK) Home Office Indicators for Integration framework that comprises four dimensions: markers and means (work, housing, education, health and social care, leisure), social connections (bonds, bridges, links), facilitators (language and communication, culture, digital skills, safety, stability), and foundation (rights and responsibilities) (Government of the UK, 2018). A characteristic to note in such frameworks/toolkits is their context-specificity that impacts how certain indicators are included or measured to understand integration practices. Such inclusion and measurement decisions are often reflections of how different countries view immigrants and their integration (Raza & Chua, 2022a). For instance, although language is included as an indicator in all three examples discussed above, it is limited to English only (except for CIMI that includes language at work under economic dimension only). Similarly, a sense of belonging to local community or country is measured to understand the extent to which newcomers feel connected to their neighborhood or country (e.g., CIMI, 2020). However, the multidimensional component, for instance, should also include identity formation as an integral part of the discussion as it remains critical for any diaspora communities during resettlement processes.

Despite recognizing the diversity and complexity of integration practices, restricting language use to dominant languages like English points to an underlying assumption that English

is the only language through which immigrants achieve different indicators and dimensions of integration. As noted earlier, this may be true for the mainstream English dominated economies; however, data on ethnic economies and concentrations points to multilingual integration practices (see Shuva, 2021). Similarly, it also highlights the lack of focus in current frameworks/tools on the linguistic repertoire of the immigrant populations, how they may help during integration processes, especially within ethnic concentrations, and the type of integration taking place as a result. While developing upon the holistic approach to integration that recognizes it as a complex, multi-directional, multi-dimensional, and context-specific, in this paper, I argue for taking a multilingual approach to understand how South Asians use dominant and official languages like English as well as other unofficial/immigrant languages to settle and integrate in their new home and how this multilingualism shapes their integration practices, especially within their ethnic networks.

Immigration, Ethnic Concentrations and Integration in Canada

One major development in Canadian sociodemographic data over the years has been the emergence of visible ethnic communities in major Canadian cities (e.g., Qadeer et al., 2010). Zucchi (2007) provided a historical overview of ethnic concentrations in Canada and believed that “by the early twentieth century, ethnic enclaves had become a feature of major Canadian cities” (p. 4). Similarly, Liston and Carens (2008) defined integration in Canada as a “nested process where immigrants integrate first into family, then neighbourhood, ethnic subcommunity, ethnic community, and lastly the larger Canadian society” (p. 21). This highlights the role of ethnic concentrations and community members in the settlement and integration of co-ethnic members (e.g., Guo & Guo, 2016; Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011).

A review of the literature on ethnic concentrations in Canada points to both positive and negative outcomes for immigrant integration. These networks have been appreciated for their support in settlement and integration, employment opportunities through community networking and connections, political empowerment, health maintenance, and heritage language maintenance (Guo & Guo, 2016; Hynie et al., 2011). For instance, a mixed-methods study by Shuva (2021) highlighted the role of ethnic community social media platforms in the settlement and integration of newcomer Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada by helping them in areas like accommodation, employment, and knowledge-sharing. However, their growing size and density has also raised concerns about the possible risks of over-representation of specific nationalities in different sectors, lower educational outcomes, conflict between different ethnicities and political groups, and distance from the mainstream culture and society (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Demireva & Zwysen, 2021). An example of such drawbacks is provided by Fong and Shen (2011) where Chinese workers dominate service/supply trades in three major Canadian cities (Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary), resulting in their “over-represent[ion] in specific sectors such as textile mills, clothing manufacturing, and food manufacturing” (p. 1612).

However, researchers (e.g., Guo & Guo, 2016; Zucchi, 2007) also point out that such concerns are not representative of all the ethnicities who live in concentrated areas, neither do they remain consistent over the years. Similarly, since settlement and integration practices are complex, multidirectional and multidimensional (Castles et al., 2002; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; Macleod, 2021) and are often shaped by local factors such as population size and resources, findings from metropolitan cities in Canada may not apply to urban and rural areas (Frideres, 2006). With increasing socio-politico-economic and linguistic diversity, even within different ethnicities (Fong & Shen, 2011), and ongoing changes to the density of these ethnic networks

(people joining and leaving networks over time) (Qadeer et al., 2010), the impact of ethnic networks on integration may also change (Zucchi, 2007). This requires continuous investigation of how different ethnic groups are settling and integrating in Canada, how their networks are contributing to their integration, and how this influences their integration and cooperation with other ethnicities, communities, and the bigger society (Guo & Guo, 2016).

Theoretical Framework

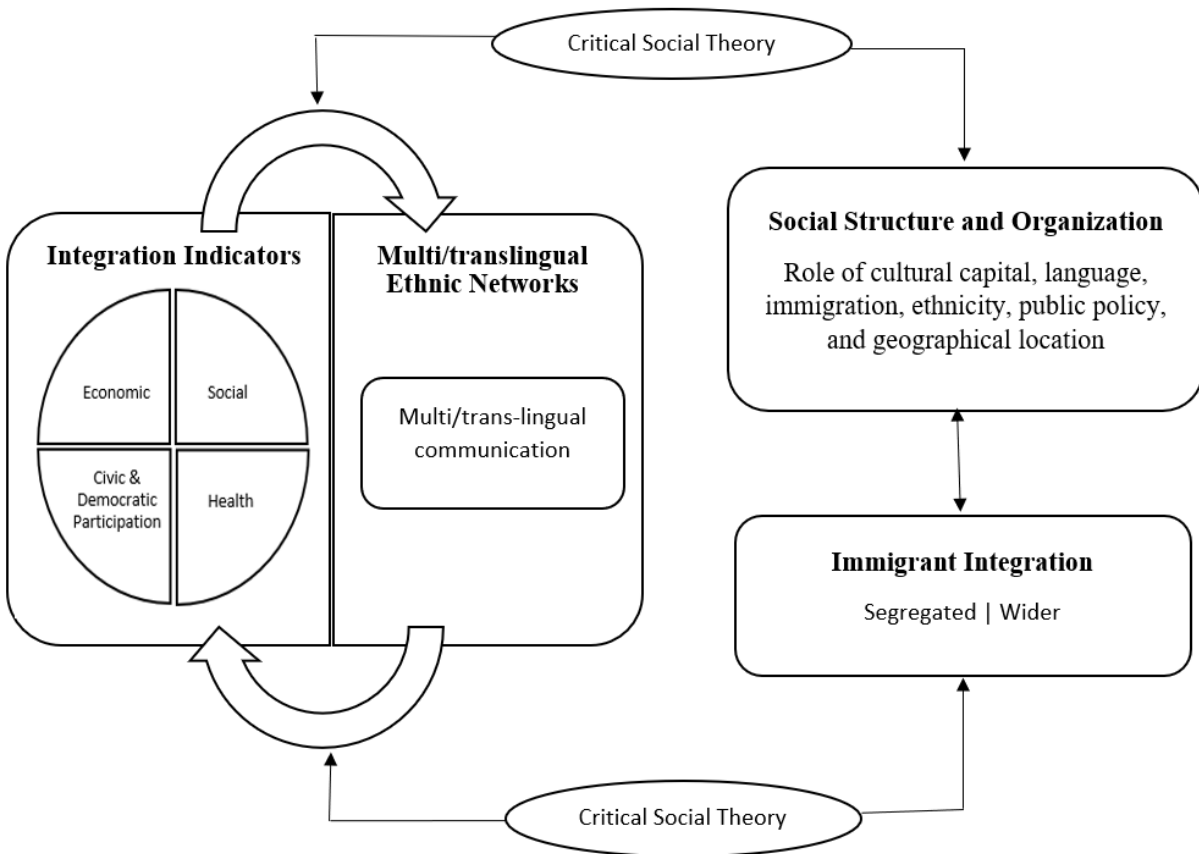
The main theory that informs the construction of the theoretical framework on which this study is based is critical social theory (CST) (Box, 2005; Leonardo, 2004). Other theories and approaches (immigration studies, multiculturalism/multilingualism, sociology of language, language and economy, and public policy) that work under CST or are concerned with issues of social structure and organization and their relationship with language use were utilized to develop the lens to study the case that this study is concerned with, i.e., the integration of a subgroup of multilingual South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan in Alberta and the role of different languages in this regard (see Figure 1).

CST is generally concerned with examining social phenomena where issues of social organization, behavior, change, structure, power, status, gender, ethnicity, civilization, and language remain significant (Box, 2005). While providing a critique of social structures and organizations that contribute to societal division or segregation, the criticality in CST also focuses on their implications as well as solutions to address social issues. Scholarship that takes CST approach to language and immigration studies has looked at the role of immigrant languages vis-a-vis the local and official languages in host countries and their usage for settlement and integration (Capstick, 2021). This has resulted in the adoption of multi/pluri/trans-

lingualism as a lens to examine how multiple languages are or can be used for knowledge creation as well as access to it, and what implications monolingualism may have for a multilingual society and multilingual speakers (Chua, 2021; Garcia, 2009). This multi/pluri/trans-lingual lens is adopted in this study to investigate the role of official and non-official languages in the integration of multilingual immigrants.

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework



Since integration is a social phenomenon and language a social practice, this study develops upon CST and sociology of language (Fishman, 1971) to position integration of multilingual South Asians within discourses of globalization and language policy. Globalization

has had unequal influences on social structures and organizations across the globe but has also increased ethnolinguistic awareness where calls for ethnic language maintenance and use have emerged (Canagarajah, 2004). As noted earlier, one development in this regard has been the emergence of ethnically concentrated areas or networks in host countries like Canada (Zucchi, 2007). These areas or networks provide support to newcomers and existing members through ethnic languages and help them settle and/or integrate in the host country. However, researchers, policymakers and immigrant settlement agencies have been concerned with the type of integration these ethnic networks foster (Agarwal, 2013; Baur et al., 2003; Chakarborty & Schüller, 2016), what can be learnt from these networks and their services to improve immigration policies (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Hiebert, 2014), and how the role of these networks can be enhanced to align their functioning with the macro and meso level policies (Oshagae & Cooney, 2019). Although one can argue that if immigrants achieve all the integration targets (e.g., employment, health, education, politics, etc.) but prefer to integrate among their co-ethnic members, this should not be seen as an issue. However, since such integration practices may run the risk of creating segregated groups, enclaves, and communities within a broader society (Danzer & Yaman, 2013), they require problematizing the conception of integration and its consequences for the host country as well as the immigrant populations. For instance, Demireva and Zwysen (2021) found that while immigrants in the minority concentrated areas in the European context did fine economically, “majority members may experience their political power threatened and act to redress the balance by voting for a far-right party in such local areas” (p. 10).

Researcher Positionality

As a critical theorist, a multilingual speaker of Arabic, English, Persian, Punjabi and Urdu, and a South Asian immigrant to Canada, I took a critical approach to investigate perceptions about the language practices of multilingual South Asian immigrants and the impact of these practices on their integration. I have observed that South Asians are generally multi/trans-linguals who can use English and ethnic languages for communication as well as communicate with each other in a mixed variety of language that often consists of multiple languages such as Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, etc. Blommaert (2010) referred to this linguistic ability as “polyglot repertoires” that cannot be described as one language or variety of it but allow multilinguals to switch between different known languages. What interests me is to explore the ways such multi/trans-lingual competence impacts South Asians’ integration, especially when they are performed in the ethnic networks that have received criticism for promoting segregated ethnic economies and communities (Danzer & Yaman, 2013; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019) but also provide lingo-cultural support (Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011). Taking a critical approach helped me understand the type of integration taking place at social level among South Asians, the role of language in such processes, and the implications for Canadian society and South Asian immigrants in the long run.

Methodological Framework

Since this study was focused on a particular group of immigrants and intended to collect examples of language use and ethnic network support in their integration, case study design was deemed appropriate to collect qualitative data through semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 1998). Since case studies allow bounding relevant data around the subjects and select the most

suitable participants to provide in-depth evidence to understand the case (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015), individual interviews provided examples and clarification of the ways South Asians use different languages across the four dimensions of integration outlined by the CIMI and how these language practices support their settlement and integration in Alberta. Working within a critical paradigm and CST framework (Box, 2005; Leonardo, 2004), where issues of social structure and organization as well as their implications for society are central, data analysis went beyond mere identification of themes to their critical evaluation and impact on the overall integration of South Asians in Alberta.

Data Collection and Analysis

The current qualitative research was part of a larger study conducted in 2022-2023. The inclusion/exclusion criteria included participants being 18+, born in Pakistan, India or Bangladesh, and living or working in Northeast area of Calgary; speaking at least one language from their country of origin other than English or French; and holding permanent residency or passport of Canada. Participants were invited through formal emails from the list of survey participants who had indicated interest in taking part in the interviews.

The interview questions (Appendix 1) were informed by the three research questions and the findings from the quantitative stage. For instance, the majority of the survey respondents indicated multilingual integration across the four dimensions (see Raza, 2023). Thus, the first two interview questions focused on perceptions about language practices and examples of multilingualism for socio-politico-economic and health activities. The questions were piloted with two randomly selected participants to improve language clarity and organization of questions (Yin, 2018). Following possible revisions, individual interviews were scheduled with 19 participants. Participant demographic details (e.g., gender, education level, language skills,

etc.) are provided in Table 1. These details helped understand the interview participants, determine whether they represent the target population, and draw results about their language practices for integration. Following Josselson's (2013) recommendation of having a big research question that guides interviews, the discussion was partly informed by the three research questions to understand the role of different languages and ethnic network to achieve the four dimensions of integration. For this reason, a semi-structured interview with four main questions and sub-questions (Appendix 1) was used. In addition to the main questions, follow-up questions were asked for greater clarity or detailed information (Josselson, 2013). Each interview lasted for an average of 60 minutes and ended with demographic questions (see Table 1). All the interviews were scheduled through Zoom for participant convenience and were audio recorded on at least two devices. Depending upon the interviewee's preference, interviews were conducted in English, Urdu/Hindi or Punjabi using the questions in the same language (Appendices 1, 2 and 3). None of the interviews were conducted in Bangla.

At the completion of the interviews, I labelled them as Participant 1, 2, ...,19 to maintain anonymity and then listened to all the recordings several times to immerse into the data. For interviews conducted in English, I used the transcription provided by Zoom but cross-checked it by listening to individual interview recordings for accuracy. For interviews conducted in Urdu/Hindi or Punjabi, I transcribed them verbatim and then translated them into English. The transcripts were shared with the participants for their review. Since I can understand Hindi but cannot read or write it because of different script from Urdu, participants who spoke Hindi were provided with English only translation of their interview transcript. As all the participants were educated and reported knowledge of English, they were invited to review the verbatim transcript

and/or English translation. Any suggested edits or additions were embedded in the transcripts before finalizing them for analysis.

Table 1

Demographic Details of Interview Participants

#	Gender	Level of Education	Country of Origin	Length of Stay in Canada	Profession	Languages Spoken
1	Female	Bachelor	Pakistan	10 + years	Health	English, Punjabi, Sindhi, Urdu
2	Male	Bachelor	Pakistan	5+ years	Engineering	English, Punjabi, Urdu
3	Female	Bachelor	Pakistan	10+ years	Housewife	English, Pashto, Punjabi, Urdu
4	Male	Bachelor	Pakistan	10+ years	Banking	English, Pashto, Urdu
5	Male	Master	Pakistan	10+ years	Health	English, Punjabi, Urdu
6	Female	Master	India	10+ years	Yoga Instructor	English, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu
7	Male	Master	Pakistan	5+ years	Banking	English, Punjabi, Urdu
8	Male	Bachelor	Bangladesh	2-5 years	Engineering	Arabic, Bangla, Burmese, English, Hindi, Urdu
9	Female	Bachelor	India	1-12 months	Translator	English, French, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Spanish, Urdu
10	Female	Master	India	5+ years	Law	English, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu
11	Female	Master	India	2-5 years	City Planning	English, Hindi, Punjabi
12	Male	Master	Bangladesh	5+ years	Law	Bangla, Chittinga, English, Noakhailla, Sylheti, Varendri
13	Male	Bachelor	Pakistan	10+ years	Real Estate	English, Hindi, Punjabi, Seraiki, Urdu
14	Female	Bachelor	Pakistan	10+ years	Health	English, Pashto, Punjabi, Urdu
15	Male	Master	India	10+ years	Health	English, French, Hindi, Quiche
16	Female	PhD	Pakistan	2-5 years	Education	Arabic, English, Punjabi, Urdu
17	Female	PhD	Pakistan	2-5 years	Journalism	English, Punjabi, Urdu
18	Female	Master	Pakistan	10+ years	Education	English, Farsi, French, Punjabi, Urdu
19	Male	Bachelor	Pakistan	10+ years	Law	English, Punjabi, Urdu

All the interview transcripts were printed to manually read and identify the preliminary codes. The six steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) as well as the theoretical framework helped familiarize with the data, generate initial codes, search for themes, review the themes, define and label the themes, and then finally produce the results. After manual coding and theme creation, data were run through NVivo to increase the validity and reliability of the findings (Appendix 4). Interview transcripts were imported to NVivo to auto-code the text by paragraph.

Nodes produced by auto-coding were merged to reduce repetition and/or choose more reflective codes. A librarian at the University of Calgary was consulted to ensure that appropriate procedures were followed to validate themes through the software. NVivo results confirmed initial findings.

Findings

Qualitative data were analyzed to find out how South Asians use official and non-official languages for integration (research question 1), the ways their ethnic networks support their language practices (research question 2), and the type of integration taking place (research question 3). Data analysis from the interviews pointed to three main themes that helped answer the three research questions: role of language in integration, role of language in ethnic community, and diverse integration practices.

Role of language in integration

Three types of language practices were reported by the participants for socio-politico-economic and health activities: English only, English and ethnic languages, and ethnic languages only. Answering the first research question, these findings identify what, where and how different languages are used to achieve the four dimensions of integration (Fishman, 1971). For economic integration, participants explained that English only economic activities are mainly common in the mainstream economy that is English dominant or workplaces outside ethnically concentrated areas. Examples included banks, grocery stores, services (e.g., IT, insurance, medical, legal, registry, etc.), and media. Participant 4, living in Northeast Calgary but working in a bank somewhere else, provided an example of English-only workplace.

I only speak English at my work. Even with Pakistanis, I speak English because there are other people around me and I do not like to speak a different language in their presence. So, I just speak English at my work and English is heavily used there because I work at a bank so I speak only English with the customers. [Participant 4, male, Pakistani, banker]

Economic activities that involve co-ethnic members, and usually happen within the ethnic network, are reported to be multilingual. For such multilingual economic activities, English often works as an initial contact language, followed by prevalent ethnic language use. Participants reported three factors that create English-led multilingual interactions: a) there is no previous acquaintance (i.e., first time interaction among co-ethnic members), b) interaction outside ethnically concentrated areas, and c) communication beginning in writing (e.g., via email or text messages) but involves spoken discussion. The excerpts below from Participant 13 displays such interactions.

Initially, of course, English is to start off with. Eventually they get comfortable with me. They like to speak in their own language. So, I'm an Urdu speaking person ... With Urdu speaking people, I speak Urdu, and I can speak Hindi or Urdu ... Then I can also speak Punjabi as well. So, with Sikh people, if they want to speak Punjabi, I speak Punjabi with them as well. [Participant 13, male, Pakistani, real estate agent]

Additionally, economic activities at ethnic businesses or workplaces such as restaurants, stores, medical clinics, and auto-workshops are mainly ethnic language only. Participant 4 provided an example:

There is a shop here [in Northeast Calgary] called Rasoi. The owner speaks Punjabi. When he sees a Muslim customer, he says Salam and speaks Urdu. That's how people do business here. [Participant 4, male, Pakistani, banker]

For social integration, although English is used to communicate with neighbors and local community members, because of diverse sociodemographic of Northeast Calgary and English working as a common language (Government of Alberta, 2018), majority reported multilingual interactions with friends and community members. They further clarified that these multilingual interactions resulted in better social integration. This points to multilingual and complex social integration practices with diverse community members (Capstick, 2021). Unlike economic integration, social integration seems to be heavily ethnic language based. For instance, Participant 9 explained her interaction with friends as:

First conversation starts in English like “hi” “hello” “how are you?” and “where are you from in India?” Then from 2nd or 3rd question, you switch to Hindi or Gujrati. It depends on how the conversation goes. But I have 3 or 4 friends, not many. We're comfortable and we have a kind of friendship so we are normally communicating in Hindi. [Participant 9, female, Indian, translator]

Participants 2, however, did not report English language use with friends. Their friendships are limited to co-ethnic members who share ethnic languages.

90-95% of my friends are Urdu or Punjabi speaking... Your friendship is with people who speak your language. Your friendship is in your culture and environment. [Participant 2, male, Pakistani, engineer]

For political integration, participants were asked about volunteering practices and involvement in organizations and groups, and whether language was a consideration. Participants showed a preference for multilingual volunteering and explained that it allows people to use multiple languages to help diverse populations. Participant 6 below works as a/n translator/interpreter for an NGO and sees the value of using different languages for volunteering.

Because I myself am multilingual, I like talking to people in their languages. Even volunteers are able to communicate in their languages and I know that not all of them speak English very fluently. [Participant 6, female, Indian, translator]

For involvement in organizations (e.g., religious, political or social) and groups (e.g., community, political), participant responses were mixed in terms of language consideration, but pointed to an overall multilingual political integration. For instance, Participant 17 pointed to limited opportunities in English dominant organizations, which often leads volunteers to explore opportunities within ethnic networks. Others showed a preference for ethnic organizations and groups such as faith centers, community associations and ethnic groups because of shared languages. Participant 1 provided an explanation for such preferences:

This is a natural inclination. You feel easy when you find people who speak your own language. You feel comfortable. [Participant 17, female, Pakistani, journalist]

For health integration, the majority of the participants reported having multilingual medical service providers (e.g., medical doctor, pharmacist, phycologist, etc.) who speak English and ethnic languages. This shows a preference for multilingual medical service providers,

especially those who share ethnic background, and seems to impact overall health integration of South Asians. Participant 1 explained the reasons for such preferences.

In my observation, people prefer to have a doctor who speaks their languages. Although they take whatever language speaker they can get or if they cannot find a doctor who speaks your language, but there is a preference for an ethnic language speaker.

[Participant 1, female, Pakistani, medical professional]

Role of language in ethnic community

Participants recognized the role of their community members and pointed to a multilingual support system or ethnic network that plays a significant role in the socio-political-economic and health integration of co-ethnic members. Participant 8 defined this network or support system as:

There are, for example, faith centers, community centers and youth centers, and social networking like WhatsApp, and then gatherings like occasion like Hindi Diwali, Muslim Eid, and things like that. And the school friends, and most of the people when they come, they are going for language learning, so they are helping in the networks. So multiple forms of networks. I think they are benefitting from that. [Participant 8, male, Bangladeshi, engineer]

Shared language is reported as an important characteristic of this network.

So, growing up especially, I remember we got all of our products like insurance, real estate and everything went through people within our community network, and a lot of the informal conversations were in our own language. It was easier to communicate. It

was more comfortable. There are nuanced terms and expressions that are understood in our language, that if you say it in English aren't understood. [Participant 15, male, Indian, medical doctor]

Although residence in a geographical location (i.e., Northeast of Calgary) played an important role in ethnic networking, co-ethnic members from other areas also joined this network (e.g., through social media platforms or ethnic stores) (Shuva, 2021).

You can go from Southeast to Northeast because all the groceries are there and all the fun places are in Northeast. You go there for shopping, eat food with your family and then come back to Northwest. There are many malls and restaurants in Northeast. [Participant 14, female, Pakistani, pharmacist]

Knowledge-sharing is an important service of ethnic networks (Hynie et al., 2011).

Ji. 100%. Because this is the network of people who have immigrated. Right? They understand the problems of new immigrants a lot more. So that's why you don't go to this network to seek out the people of your own kind, you go to them to try to get some help from their experience. [Participant 2, male, Pakistani, engineer]

Economically, ethnic networks help people find employment, make better economic decisions, and refer each other to better service providers (Fong & Shen, 2011; Shuva, 2021).

Ji, of course. There is a close immigrant community there. If you integrate with immigrants, you will have higher opportunities of using their languages for employment. [Participant 2, male, Pakistani, engineer]

Socially, ethnic networks provide emotional support and friendship opportunities. These opportunities create a sense of belonging to co-ethnic members and a collective identity. When Participant 6 was asked about the role of ethnic network, she responded:

Trust me, that's playing a very, very important role because that helps in creating the sense of belonging. Sometimes not everybody is struggling with job. Not everybody is struggling for most of the time. People are struggling for emotional support. And these ethnic groups are giving that emotional support. [Participant 6, female, Indian, collector]

In health, shared language allows better communication with the medical service providers and impacts overall health maintenance.

It certainly does. Yeah, there, if you are not able to explain to your doctor what your symptoms are and if English is your second language, then you are going to have serious trouble. My father speaks very very good English, but I don't think he's able to explain his symptoms to the doctor properly if he is not speaking to them in Urdu. [Participant 19, male, Pakistani, lawyer]

Diverse integration practices

While multilingual integration across the four dimensions was noted, interview participants pointed to complex integration practices that are shaped by distinct communicative practices. For instance, if English was a dominant language in the economic activities of Participant 6, her social life was dominated by ethnic language only. As she explains:

In my case, my social community is 100% Hindi speaking because that's where I feel connected. It's not that I don't like English-speaking Canadians. I do have a great

relationship with my Canadian neighbors, but they are not my friends [Participant 6, female, Indian, yoga instructor].

However, when it came to choosing a medical doctor, Participant 6 cared more about shared ethnic background than language.

See, I am an Indian. My doctor is Pakistani. Though we are not from the same country, but still being South Asian, she understands what could be the reason of my certain problems I'm having. So, she knows my food habits. So, in that case, even though she doesn't speak Hindi like we don't have to converse in Hindi, but still she understands my needs. She is able to guide me correctly.

Similar complexity can be observed in the case of Participant 1 who preferred co-ethnic members for social integration because of shared language but cared more about similar gender and religion when choosing a medical doctor.

Ji bilkul [Yes, of course]. Although my own family doctor is not an Urdu speaking but she is a Muslim woman. I feel more comfortable going to her than a non-Muslim doctor. [Participant 1, female, Pakistani, medical professional]

The ethnic network also played diverse roles in the integration of the participants (Hiebert, 2014). For some, it was the ultimate destination because of factors like shared language, identity, community, and culture, resulting in community focused integration (e.g., Fong & Shen, 2011). This seemed to impact how people create their sense of belonging and integrate socially.

The more a network is created, the more people are inclined towards their co-ethnic members. [Participant 1, female, Pakistani, medical professional]

As it happens with us that we are familiar with a particular place, these are my people, I am connected with these people, so those feelings of connection that I live here, this is my area or this is my community, that is the sense of belonging. [Participant 5, male, Pakistani, health professional]

For others, the ethnic network worked as a *nest* (Liston & Carens, 2008) where people initially stay as newcomers because of closer amenities, co-ethnic members, and language support, but then move out for broader integration. However, during this process, they maintain their transnational identity (a sense of belonging to the home country and the host country) (Capstick, 2021).

Canada is a mosaic of different cultures. It's not a melting pot where all the cultures are getting so mixed up. So, my understanding is Canada promotes each culture. What they are trying to do is to maintain in each community their own identity as their own community. So Bengali people will remain Bengali people in the process of integration. In the religious society, they will not lose their being Bengali. But at the same time, we encourage these communities will interact with each other. [Participant 12, male, Bangladeshi, lawyer]

Growing up in the northeast was always seen as a place to get out of. It was sort of the farm team for sophistication. You go there when you start, and then you grow your way out of it. [Participant 15, male, Indian, medical doctor]

These excerpts point to multilingual, complex and multidirectional integration patterns among South Asians. Although language remains an important factor in how and where integration takes place, other social and cultural elements (e.g., ethnicity, identity, religion, and gender) also play significant role in the overall integration of South Asians.

Discussion

This study reports three main findings. First, it highlights the role of language in the socio-politico-economic and health integration of South Asians where different communicative practices (e.g., English only, English and ethnic languages, or ethnic languages only) play different roles in how South Asians achieve the four dimensions of integration. However, these practices are not consistent among participants and may vary across the four dimensions of integration (economic, social, civic & democratic, and health), pointing to complex communicative patterns (Castles et al., 2002; Harder et al., 2018). Secondly, shared linguistic repertoires create an ethnic network within the South Asian community. This network functions as a *nest* (Liston & Carons, 2008) and facilitates settlement and integration through a multilingual support system where community members share knowledge and help in performing economic (e.g., buying ethnic food), social (emotional support), political (co-ethnic leaders) and health related (e.g., better communication with a medical service provider) activities (Guo & Guo, 2016; Hynie et al., 2011). Lastly, although multilingualism (English and ethnic languages) facilitates settlement and integration across the four dimensions, the use of different languages within the ethnic network fosters diverse integration practices among South Asians. For instance, if people use English to integrate economically, their social life may be dominated by ethnic languages. Similarly, language is not the only reason for a preference for co-ethnic

service providers such as doctors or businesspeople; sometimes it is shared ethnicity, gender or faith (Shuva, 2021).

Aligning with earlier literature where immigrant integration is found or described as complex and multidirectional (e.g., Castles et al., 2002; Guo & Guo, 2016; Harder et al., 2018), the findings from this study contribute to research in two significant ways. First, South Asian integration in Calgary is found to be multiplex and multidirectional where official and ethnic languages as well as ethnic community play multiple roles in how South Asians integrate across the four dimensions of integration. For instance, English facilitates broader socio-economic engagements but ethnic languages help in social connections, political activities, and better health maintenance. Although this study reports multilingual integration of South Asians, such multilingualism is mainly observed within ethnically concentrated areas. Even though English remained a major language in integration, especially because of its dominant status in Alberta (Vaillancourt et al., 2012) and internationally (Burke, 2020), it was not sufficient to perform socio-politico-economic and health-related activities for diverse South Asian populations, and, thus, led to ethnic focused integration. Additionally, the utilization of ethnic languages was not mainly because of lower English proficiency, as reported by Fong and Shen (2011) in the case of Chinese immigrants. All the participants in the current study were professionals and reported knowledge of English, but they chose to capitalize on their entire linguistic repertoire. While this study confirms the superior role of English in immigrant integration in Alberta and/or Canada (Raza & Chua, 2022a), it also highlights the important role of South Asian languages like Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu that contribute to the larger integration of South Asians. In addition to confirming the findings of earlier research (e.g., Capstick, 2021; Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011) that reported multilingual integration practices of immigrants, this study calls for

diversifying workplaces (e.g., businesses, healthcare services, social platforms, etc.), especially outside ethnically concentrated areas, that use South Asian and other ethnic languages and thus allow diverse ethnic communities to capitalize on their entire linguistic repertoire for socio-politico-economic integration in a broader Albertan/Canadian society. This diversification can also be achieved by developing intercultural competence among staff by “encouraging them to acquire the skills to enable constructive exchanges, dialogue and co-design based on shared values and goals” (Council of Europe, 2022). As Piller (2016) has argued, diversification efforts may just begin with examining the factors that make workplaces, social settings or services less diverse (e.g., monolingualism in services, linguistic discrimination in employment and promotion, and poor or underrepresentation of minority cultures and practices among leadership, etc.) (also see Ricento, 2021).

Secondly, this study highlights the role of ethnic networks in the overall integration of South Asians where they work as *nests* (e.g., Liston & Carens, 2008) for co-ethnic members. These *nests* or *networks* offer support systems for integration, and also impact how and where South Asians integrate while achieving the four dimensions. Two patterns can be identified from the data analysis: *nested-broader integration* and *nested-selective integration*. The former can be defined as integration practices where South Asians, especially newly arrived or first generation, join their ethnic network during their initial years of immigration to Alberta (or Canada) to benefit from the shared experiences, languages, knowledge, and other resources, but then stretch out to mingle with the broader Albertan or Canadian society (see Participants 12, 14 and 15). As Participant 12 explained, people continue to be recognized by their ethnicity (e.g., Bengali) but also interact with other ethnicities and communities for broader integration. These results confirm findings of Hiebert et al. (2014) where ethnic networks in Canada fostered socio-

economic integration but did not restrict it to co-ethnic members. On the other hand, *nested-selective integration* is where an inclination towards co-ethnic members is comparatively stronger and seems to restrict certain socio-politico-economic activities to mainly the ethnic community. However, the reasons for such practices are not predominantly monolithic as mentioned in the literature on immigrant integration (e.g., lower English proficiency [Baur et al., 2003]), nor is such integration consistent across all four dimensions (e.g., co-ethnic focused). For some, shared language and culture impacted a preference for co-ethnic members for economic activities (e.g., Participant 4), social relations (Participants 2 and 9), political affiliation (Participant 1) or health services (Participants 2, 14 and 19). An example is provided by Participant 6 who performs economic activities in English but prefers Hindi speaking friends (also see Participant 2). In such examples, English was insufficient or did not offer cultural and ethnic features (e.g., comfort, knowledge, skills, etc.) that are provided by ethnic languages in the form of cultural capital (Capstick, 2021; Chua, 2021). Other reasons reported for co-ethnic integration included knowledge-sharing (Participant 18), employment opportunities (Participant 1), emotional support (Participant 6) and lower English skills (e.g., Participant 14). Economically, these findings align with Fong and Shen (2011) where ethnic economies provided employment opportunities for co-ethnic members, especially because of shared ethnic language and lower English language skills. However, this study adds that economic incentives or lower English language are not always the reason for co-ethnic network. Sometimes people need emotional support (e.g., friendship, shared cultural values, religious affiliation, etc.) that is offered by the ethnic community (e.g., Participants 6 and 18). This aligns with Hynie et al. (2011) where newcomers connected with their co-ethnic members for social and emotional support.

Conclusion

This study highlights the role of different languages (official and non-official) and ethnic network in the settlement and integration of South Asians and points to complex, multidirectional, and multidimensional integration practices. While multilingual integration is reported across the four dimensions (economic, social, political, and health) and two dominant integration patterns, *nested-broader integration* and *nested-selective integration*, emerged from data analysis, both (language practices and integration patterns) are characterized by complexity and multidimensionality. Although this study answers the three research questions and provides examples of the language practices of South Asians during integration, certain limitations remain. Firstly, this study grouped together three groups of South Asians (Bangladeshis, Indians, and Pakistanis) to do a case study of their language practices and integration patterns in Alberta because of shared lingo-cultural characteristics but did not report the similarities or differences within the groups. Although it did not intend to dismiss the diversity within the three groups, nor did it treat the South Asian diaspora as a single homogenous group, the findings of this study should be carefully applied to diverse South Asian populations. Also, future research should problematize the moniker South Asian that is used in this research and others (e.g., Agarwal, 2013; Hiebert, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011) which may miss the complexity within diverse South Asian populations. Additionally, researchers may also do a comparative analysis of how the three groups utilize their linguistic repertoire to achieve the four dimensions of integration and how it shapes their overall integration in Alberta and/or Canada.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Agenda (English)

1. How do you explain or make sense of the findings from the survey?

Prompts (if needed):

- a. Do these findings align with your observation and experiences? Why/why not? Can you give any examples?
- b. Do you think these findings reflect language practices of South Asians from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh who live in Northeast Calgary? Why/Why not? Can you give any examples?

2. What languages do you use for each of the four dimensions of integration? Why? Can you give any examples?

Prompts (if needed):

- a. What languages do you use for economic activities? Can you give any examples?
- b. What languages do you use for social activities? Can you give any examples?
- c. What languages do you use for civic and democratic participation? Can you give any examples?
- d. What languages do you use for health purposes? Can you give any examples?

3. How do you think your integration across the four dimensions is impacted in Alberta because of your place of work/residence in Northeast Calgary and the use of multiple languages?

Prompts (if needed):

- a. Do you think that you are integrating in Alberta better because of your ethnic networks in Northeast Calgary and the use of multiple languages? Why/Why not? Can you give any examples?
- b. Do you think you are integrating in your ethnic networks more than the mainstream Calgary/Alberta community? Why/Why not? Please give some examples.

4. Do you think your ethnic languages can be used for settlement and integration of newcomers from South Asia (Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh) in Alberta?

Prompts (if needed):

- a. How do you think your languages can be used for the four dimensions of integration? Please give some examples.
- b. How does your ability to speak with South Asians from other language groups help in your integration? Please give some examples.
- c. Do you think the provincial government, agencies and/or policymakers can benefit from your ethnic languages and the ability to communicate with language speakers from other South Asian countries? How? Please give some examples.

اپینڈکس 2: انٹرویو ایجنڈا (Urdu)

- 1 آپ سروے کے نتائج کے بارے میں کیا کہتے ہیں؟
اشارے - اگر ضرورت ہو
a کیا یہ نتائج آپ کے مشاہدے اور تجربات کے مطابق ہیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
b کیا آپ کے خیال میں یہ نتائج شمال مشرقی کیلگری میں رہنے والے پاکستانی، ہندوستانی اور بنگلہ دیشی باشندوں کی زبان کے طریقوں کی عکاسی کرتے ہیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
- 2 انضمام کے چار شعبوں میں سے ہر ایک کے لیے آپ کون سی زبانیں استعمال کرتے ہیں؟
کیوں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
اشارے - اگر ضرورت ہو
a آپ معاشی سرگرمیوں کے لیے کون سی زبانیں استعمال کرتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
b آپ سماجی سرگرمیوں کے لیے کون سی زبانیں استعمال کرتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
c شہری اور جمہوری شرکت کے لیے آپ کون سی زبانیں استعمال کرتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
d آپ صحت کے مقاصد کے لیے کون سی زبانیں استعمال کرتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
- 3 آپ کے خیال میں شمال مشرقی کیلگری میں آپ کے کام کی جگہ/رہائش اور متعدد زبانوں کے استعمال کی وجہ سے البرٹا میں چار شعبوں میں آپ کا انضمام کیسے متاثر ہوتا ہے؟
اشارے - اگر ضرورت ہو
a کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ آپ شمال مشرقی کیلگری میں اپنے نسلی نیٹ ورکس اور متعدد زبانوں کے استعمال کی وجہ سے البرٹا میں بہتر طور پر ضم ہو رہے ہیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں؟
b کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ آپ مرکزی دھارے کی کیلگری/البرٹا کمیونٹی سے زیادہ اپنے نسلی نیٹ ورکس میں ضم ہو رہے ہیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہیں؟ براہ کرم کچھ مثالیں دیں۔
- 4 کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ آپ کی نسلی زبانوں کو البرٹا میں جنوبی ایشیاء (پاکستان، ہندوستان اور بنگلہ دیش) سے نئے آنے والوں کی آباد کاری اور انضمام کے لیے استعمال کیا جا سکتا ہے؟
اشارے - اگر ضرورت ہو
a آپ کے خیال میں انضمام کے چار شعبوں کے لیے آپ کی زبانیں کیسے استعمال کی جا سکتی ہیں؟ براہ کرم کچھ مثالیں دیں۔
b دیگر زبانوں کے گروپس سے تعلق رکھنے والے جنوبی ایشیائی باشندوں کے ساتھ بات کرنے کی آپ کی صلاحیت آپ کے انضمام میں کس طرح مدد کرتی ہے؟ براہ کرم کچھ مثالیں دیں۔
c کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ صوبائی حکومت، ایجنسیاں اور/یا پالیسی ساز آپ کی نسلی زبانوں اور دوسرے جنوبی ایشیائی ممالک کے زبان بولنے والوں کے ساتھ بات چیت کرنے کی صلاحیت سے فائدہ اٹھا سکتے ہیں؟ کیسے؟ براہ کرم کچھ مثالیں دیں۔

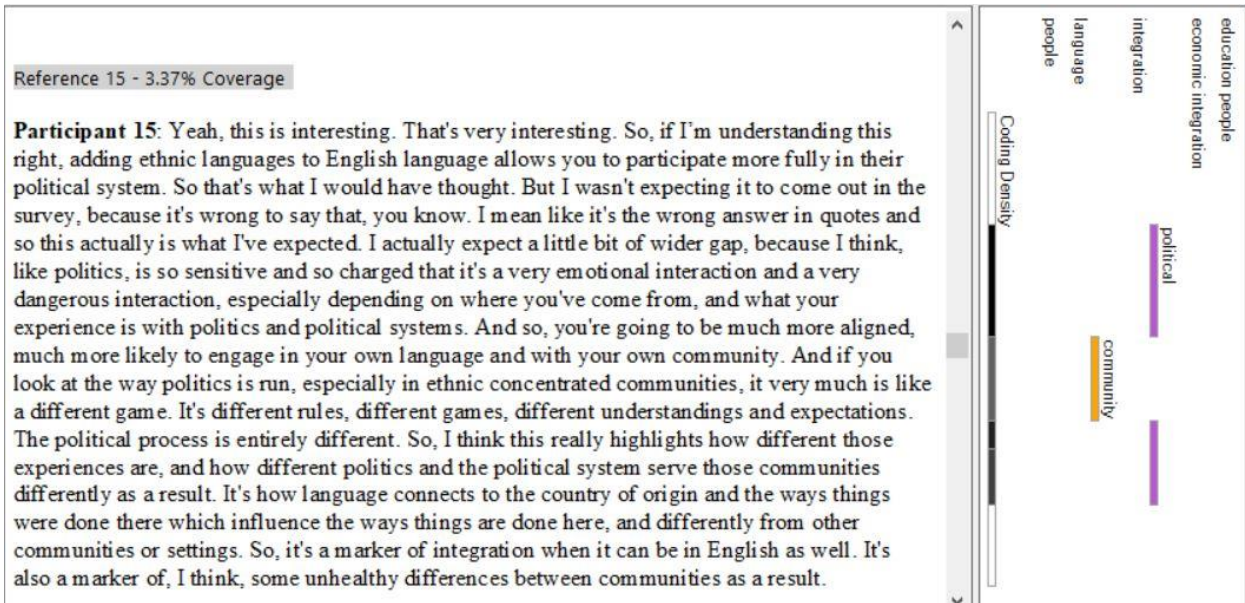
اپینڈکس 3: انٹرویو ایجنڈا (Punjabi)

- 1 نسی سروے دے نتائج بارے کی آکھدے او؟
 اشارے - جے ضرورت پوے تے
 ا کی اے نتجے تواڈے مشاہدے تے تجاریاں نال ملدے نیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہی؟ تسی کوئی
 مثال دے سکدے او؟
- b تواڈے خیال دے مطابق اے نتیجے شمال مشرقی کیلگری وچ رہن والے پاکستانی
 ہندوستانی تے بنگالی لوکاں دے زبان ورتن دے طریقیاں نال ملدے نیں؟ کیوں/کیوں نہی؟
 تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے او؟
- 2 انضمام دے چار طریقیاں وچ ہر طریقے واسطے تسی کیڑھی زبان استعمال کردے او؟
 کیوں؟ تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے او؟
 اشارے - جے ضرورت پوے تے
- a معاشی سرگرمیاں واسطے تسی کیڑھی زبان ورتدے او؟ تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے او؟
 b سماجی سرگرمیاں واسطے تسی کیڑھی زبان ورتدے او؟ تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے او؟
 c سیاسی سرگرمیاں واسطے تسی کیڑھی زبان ورتدے او؟ تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے او؟
 d صحت دیاں سرگرمیاں واسطے تسی کیڑھی زبان ورتدے او؟ تسی کوئی مثال دے سکدے
 او؟
- 3 تواڈے خیال وچ شمال مشرقی کیلگری وچ تواڈے کم کرن دی جگہ/رہائش یا ڈھیر ساریاں
 زبانوں ورتن دی وجہ توں البرٹا وچ چار شوبیاں وچ تواڈے انضمام تے کی اثر پیندا اے؟
 اشارے - جے ضرورت پوے تے
- a کی تو انوں لگدا اے کہ شمال مشرقی کیلگری وچ اپنے نسلی نیٹ ورک وچ رہن دی وجہ
 توں تے ڈھیر ساریاں زبانوں استعمال کرن دی وجہ توں البرٹا وچ تواڈا انضمام سوکھا ہو
 رہیا اے؟ کیوں/کیوں نہی؟ اس دی کوئی مثال دیو
- b تو انوں لگدا اے کہ تسی کیلگری/البرٹا دے مرکزی دھارے دی بجائے اپنے نسلی نیٹ ورک
 وچ زیادہ ضم ہو رہے او؟ کیوں/کیوں نہی؟ اس دی کوئی مثال دیو
- 4 تو انوں لگدا اے کہ تو اڈی نسلی زبانوں جنوبی ایشیاء (پاکستان ہندوستان تے بنگلہ
 دیش) توں آے ہوے لوکاں دی آبادکاری تے انضمام واسطے ورتیا جا سکدا اے؟
 اشارے - جے ضرورت پوے تے
- a تو اڈے خیال وچ انضمام دے چار شوبیاں وچ تو اڈی زبانوں کنج ورتیا جا سکدا اے؟ اس
 دی کوئی مثال دیو
- b دوجیاں زبانوں بولن والے جنوبی ایشیائی لوکاں نال گل بات کرن دی صلاحیت تو اڈے
 انضمام وچ کی کردار ادا کردی اے؟ اس دی کوئی مثال دیو
- c کی تو انوں لگدا اے کہ صوبے دی حکومت 'جنسیاں تے پالیسی بنان والے ادارے تو اڈی
 نسلی زبان تے دوجے جنوبی ایشیائی لوکاں نال گل بات کرن دی صلاحیت نوں کسی طرح
 ورت سکدے نیں؟ کنج؟ اس دی کوئی مثال دیو

Appendix 4: NVivo Auto-Coding

Reference 15 - 3.37% Coverage

Participant 15: Yeah, this is interesting. That's very interesting. So, if I'm understanding this right, adding ethnic languages to English language allows you to participate more fully in their political system. So that's what I would have thought. But I wasn't expecting it to come out in the survey, because it's wrong to say that, you know. I mean like it's the wrong answer in quotes and so this actually is what I've expected. I actually expect a little bit of wider gap, because I think, like politics, is so sensitive and so charged that it's a very emotional interaction and a very dangerous interaction, especially depending on where you've come from, and what your experience is with politics and political systems. And so, you're going to be much more aligned, much more likely to engage in your own language and with your own community. And if you look at the way politics is run, especially in ethnic concentrated communities, it very much is like a different game. It's different rules, different games, different understandings and expectations. The political process is entirely different. So, I think this really highlights how different those experiences are, and how different politics and the political system serve those communities differently as a result. It's how language connects to the country of origin and the ways things were done there which influence the ways things are done here, and differently from other communities or settings. So, it's a marker of integration when it can be in English as well. It's also a marker of, I think, some unhealthy differences between communities as a result.



The image shows a screenshot of the NVivo software interface. On the left, a text excerpt from 'Participant 15' is displayed, discussing the relationship between language, politics, and community. On the right, a vertical bar represents the 'Coding Density' for this text. The bar is divided into segments, with labels for 'education people', 'economic integration', 'integration', 'language', and 'people' on the left side, and 'political' and 'community' on the right side. The 'political' and 'community' segments are highlighted in purple and yellow, respectively, indicating their presence in the text.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I summarize the main findings from the three chapters (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) and explain them in the light of the theoretical framework discussed in the introduction (Chapter 1) and Chapter 4. Then findings from data triangulated from the three sources (i.e., documents, survey and interview) are discussed. Additionally, the theoretical and practical implications of these findings are provided for further research on immigrant integration in Alberta and Canada. This chapter ends with a discussion on the (de)limitations of this study with suggestions for further investigation on the topic.

This study aimed to answer four main research questions:

1. How do macro-level language-in-immigration policies represent the linguistic diversity of the skilled immigrants to Canada?
2. How do South Asians in Calgary use official and ethnic languages for economic, social, civic & democratic participation, and health purposes?
3. How do ethnic networks support the use of different languages across the four dimensions of integration?
4. To what extent do these language practices and ethnic networks impact South Asians settlement and integration across the four dimensions in Alberta?

Main Findings

The four research questions were addressed in three separate manuscripts. Manuscript 1 (Chapter 2) addressed the first research question that focused on macro-level language-in-immigration policy. Manuscript 2 (Chapter 3) focused on the second research question and discussed quantitative findings about the language practices of South Asians to achieve the four

dimensions of integration in Calgary. Manuscript 3 (Chapter 4) addressed research questions two, three and four and highlighted the role of language and ethnic network in the integration of South Asians in Calgary. The main findings from the three manuscripts are: Micro-level conception of immigrant integration, South Asians' language practices at micro-level, South Asian immigrant patterns and the role of language and ethnic networks, and immigrant integration in policy and practice. These are discussed below under separate headings followed by a collective discussion on all three manuscripts.

Macro-level Conception of Immigrant Integration

Chapter 2 was focused on the critical analysis of the macro-level language-in-immigration policy to understand how this policy represents the official languages of Canada (English and French) vis-à-vis the linguistic diversity of the immigrants. In response to the first research question, a textual analysis of the points-based system (PBS) pointed to three main findings: Issues of language, power and immigration; role of standardized language testing in immigration policies; and monolingual conception of integration.

Issues of language, power and immigration were noted in the ways language skills, abilities and proficiency were attributed to English and/or French only, which mandated that one of these two languages is considered important for immigration and then integration in Canada. It was also found that higher score in the language category increases points in education and work experience categories, pointing to epistemological preferences in language policies where knowledge or its translation in dominant languages like English is favored (Papademetriou & Hooper, 2019). While acknowledging the significance of English/French in the overall settlement and integration of diverse immigrant communities, I developed upon the works of critical policy analysts (e.g., Apple, 2010; Ball, 2008; Fairclough, 1989; Lo Bianco, 2010;

Shohamy, 2006) to argue that since language is a social practice and may impact the ways people see the world around them (Fairclough, 1995), an emphasis on particular language skills for immigration and integration may result in power struggles among the official languages of Canada and the linguistic diversity brought by the immigrants. Reynolds (2019) referred to this phenomenon as *competition between languages* where a struggle for dominance can be observed. He argued for promoting *collaboration between languages* by allowing different languages to co-exist and co-develop. While immigrants continue to develop competence in English or French, other language skills of immigrants should also be supported and utilized to promote *collaboration* between Canada's official and immigrant languages.

Inclusion of standardized language tests like the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and their impact on a candidate's success was also found in the policy analysis. It was noted that such policy decisions often have intended and unintended results. The intention in including language tests is to evaluate a candidate's language skills, especially when they are coming to Canada as skilled immigrants, to ensure that they are able to integrate in the Canadian workplaces that are dominated by English (and/or French) language (Government of Canada, 2020). However, the unintended impact can be a lack of recognition of less-dominant varieties of English, also known as *World Englishes*, spoken by people from countries like India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Singapore, who are not acknowledged as native speakers of English (Kachru, 1998). This becomes more important when skilled immigrants have graduated from English speaking countries like Australia, England, and the U.S. or have studied in English-medium schools in their home country but are still required to take a language test to prove their language skills.

The first two findings led to a third finding that pointed to a monolingual integration approach at the macro-level that views English/French necessary for settlement and integration in Canada (e.g., Government of Canada, 2020). This aligned with the findings of Ricento (2021) who noted a mismatch between bilingual federal immigrant policies in Canada and the multilingual social reality of the Canadian society. However, I argued that although English/French language skills remain important for settlement and integration, micro-level integration of diverse immigrant groups has been reported to be complex and involves language practices that go beyond English and/or French (e.g., Ferdous et al., 2018; Hieber, 2014; Hynie et al., 2011; Shuva, 2021). To further understand micro-level integration practices of different immigrant communities, the paper called for more research into the integration patterns of different immigrant groups in Canada and how official and immigrant languages are playing their role in this process. This would allow learning about and utilizing official as well as diverse linguistic repertoire of immigrant populations to foster collaboration rather than competition between languages (Reynolds, 2019) to bring about greater socio-politico-economic integration.

South Asians' Language Practices at Micro-level

In Chapter 3, I focused on the second research question that addressed perceptions about the language practices of South Asians and their possible impact on their integration at the micro-level. Using the four dimensions of integration outlined by the Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI) (economic, social, civic & democratic, and health), Chapter 3 reported quantitative findings from a sub-group of South Asians (i.e., Bangladeshi, Indian, and Pakistani) and how they use official and ethnic languages (e.g., Bangla, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, etc.) to achieve the four dimensions of integration in Calgary.

In the economic integration, survey participants reported using both English and ethnic languages for economic activities such as doing work (e.g., real estate, business, etc.), buying insurance or food, finding job, and renting or buying houses. Additionally, the ability to use English and ethnic languages seemed to impact the overall economic integration of South Asians. For instance, a sum of agreed and strongly agreed (i.e., 82.6%) were able to integrate in Alberta's economy because of using both English and ethnic languages. This pointed to multilingual economic integration of South Asians.

Survey findings pointed to multilingual social integration among South Asians. The ability to use English and ethnic languages allowed people to develop friendships within and beyond their ethnic community and create a sense of belonging and collective identity to a multilingual local community and Alberta/Canada. Additionally, lower number of participants opted for English-only or ethnic languages-only social activities, compared with multilingual social integration where a sum of agreed or strongly agreed was higher for friendships (83.6%), community engagement (78.3%), sense of belonging (81.2%), and overall social integration (80.3%). This shows that both English and ethnic languages are being used for social integration.

Civic and democratic participation was also dominated by multilingualism where South Asians indicated using both English and ethnic languages to volunteer (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 82.6%), join groups and organizations (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 84.7%), and participate in the provincial/federal politics (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 83.6%). This pointed to multilingual political integration of South Asians in Calgary and positively impacted their overall political integration (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 81.2%).

Survey participants reported multilingual health integration. Both English and ethnic languages were used to access medical services such as having a medical doctor (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 77.5%), benefitting fully from health care services like hospital facilities or emergency services (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 85.4%), and taking advantage of life stress support such as mental health support or suicide prevention (sum of agreed and strongly agreed = 83.4%). Overall, South Asians were able to maintain better health because of multilingual health services (85.6%).

In summary, the findings from the quantitative stage revealed multilingual socio-politico-economic and health activities where English and ethnic languages were reported to play important role in the overall integration of South Asians. In addition to highlighting the role of different languages, the ability to use English and ethnic languages seemed to impact the overall integration of South Asians across the four dimensions. These findings aligned with earlier research on immigrant integration in Canada that is marked by multilingualism (e.g., Hynie et al., 2011; Shuva, 2021). I also concluded that these findings supported the multilingual initiatives by the provincial and city governments in Alberta (e.g., Calgary Police Service, 2023; the City of Calgary, 2018) that are intended to provide access to and increase participation of diverse immigrant populations through multilingual services and opportunities. However, it was noted that such multilingual opportunities are mainly available within the ethnic network, which required further investigation of how these networks support the overall settlement and integration of South Asians and the type of integration taking place at the end.

South Asian Immigrant Patterns and the Role of Language and Ethnic Networks

Chapter 4 addressed research questions two, three and four and reported qualitative findings from individual interviews with South Asians from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.

The aim of this chapter was to develop a deeper understanding of the findings from the quantitative stage, collect examples of language practices of the participants across the four dimensions of integration (i.e., economic, social, political, and health), the ways their ethnic networks support these language practices, and the type of integration taking place as a result of multilingual interactions within ethnic networks.

Participants reported three main types of language practices: English only, ethnic languages only, and English and ethnic languages. These sets of language practices performed different roles for socio-politico-economic and health activities. English was used for economic activities that took place in the mainstream economy (e.g., banks, IT services or non-ethnic grocery stores) (Burke, 2020), social activities that involved non-ethnic members, political engagements outside the ethnic network, and health services in emergency cases. Although English dominant integration was reported at the surface level, a deeper analysis pointed to complex integration patterns. This is where ethnic languages were dominant for economic, social, political, and health activities that took place within the ethnic network (Fong & Shen, 2011) or outside of Northeast Calgary when the speakers had become familiar with each other and shared an ethnic language.

The ethnic network was reported to play a significant role in the integration of South Asians in Alberta. Working as a nest where ethnic community members assist in settlement and integration (Liston & Carens, 2008), it provided a support system where people were able to use English and ethnic languages to perform socio-politico-economic and health activities (Capstick, 2021; Guo & Guo, 2016; Shuva, 2021). Shared language also impacted people's preference for co-ethnic members for economic, social, political and health activities (Li & Li, 2016; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019). Economically, shared language helped people find work within or through the

ethnic network, and run businesses that were ethnic focused (e.g., ethnic grocery stores) (Fong & Shen, 2011). Socially, the ethnic network offered emotional support where people were able to develop friendships and create a sense of belonging (Hynie et al., 2011). Similarly, the cultural capital offered by the ethnic network and shared language was missing in the English language (Capstick, 2021). Politically, ethnic network offered opportunities of volunteering and joining groups and organizations to perform civic and democratic activities, which were limited in English-only organizations or workplaces (Vezina & Houle, 2017). For health, people were able to express themselves better in ethnic languages or when communicating with co-ethnic doctors because of shared cultural capital and ethnicity (Ferdous et al., 2018; Ravichandiran et al., 2022; Vahabi & Lofters, 2016). Although English was reported to be a part of the communication among co-ethnic members because of its dominance in the society, politics, and health services of Alberta (Vaillancourt et al., 2012), which made co-ethnic interactions somewhat multilingual, it was not sufficient to perform socio-politico-economic and health activities because of missing the cultural capital, warmth and convenience that was offered by ethnic languages (Capstick, 2021).

Aligning with earlier research on the complexity, multidimensionality and multidirectionality of immigrant integration (e.g., Castles et al., 2022; Harder et al., 2018; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), findings in the third manuscript reported multiplex integration practices of South Asians in Calgary where their ethnic networks functioned as nests during settlement and integration (Liston & Carens, 2008). This complexity was observed in how people use English and/or ethnic languages for socio-politico-economic and health purposes and how it shapes their integration patterns. Overall, two integration patterns were found: *Nested-broader integration* and *nested-selective integration*. Participants with former integration pattern used their ethnic

network during initial phases of settlement and integration in Alberta but then flexed themselves for broader integration in a multicultural Albertan/Canadian society. This finding aligns with Hiebert (2014) where ethnic concentrations in Canada did not restrict integration to co-ethnic members. The latter was more focused on co-ethnic members where people preferred to continue *nesting* within their ethnic networks because of comfort or sense of belonging to their ethnic community (Fong & Shen, 2011).

Immigrant Integration in Policy and Practice

Data triangulation from the three sources (documents, survey and interviews) pointed to dissimilar conceptions of integration. While the macro-level policy for the three immigration programs supports monolingual immigration and integration (see Chapter 2), multilingual integration patterns were reported at the micro-level among South Asians that are supported by their ethnic networks as well as multicultural and multilingual initiatives by the city and provincial governments in Alberta (see The City of Calgary, 2018). This makes micro-level integration very complex, multidirectional and multidimensional. Although social multilingualism is contributing to the overall integration of South Asians, the mixed findings about broader and selective integration patterns, especially among professionals and skilled workers (see Chapter 4), call for enacting meso-level policies that are reflective of the macro-policy and micro-practices. Such policies must realize the significance of official languages (English and/or French) for broader integration but also recognize the role of ethnic languages and other repertoires (e.g., cultural capital, shared knowledge, identities, etc.) in the overall integration of South Asians, and perhaps other ethnic groups. These other languages may also be included in the integration measurement tools such as the CIMI to understand how they contribute to the socio-politico-economic and health integration of immigrants, the type of

integration they shape, especially within ethnic networks, and what needs to be done to align their role with the macro-level policy.

Since integration is a complex and two-way process where the immigrants and the host communities, settlement agencies, and governments must collaborate for effective integration policies and practices (Macleod, 2021), meso-level policy making may provide a space for different stakeholders to bring their voices to the table, develop bilateral agreements, and create resources that are reflective of the macro-policy and micro-practices. Additionally, while encouraging nested integration patterns where co-ethnic members and the local community continue to support city and provincial governments in the settlement and integration of newcomers (Guo & Guo, 2016; Liston & Carens, 2008), meso-level policy making may also allow stretching selective-integration practices to broader socio-politico-economic and health activities. Finally, a meso-level policy making may also allow immigrant communities to be active part of integration measurement processes that continue to remain monolithic, top-down and government led (Raza & Chua, 2022).

Theoretical and Practical Contributions

The aim of using critical social theory (CST) (Box, 2005) and sociology of language (Fishman, 1971) as a lens was to develop the theoretical framework (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1) that allowed studying the role of language in the creation of social structures and organization, and thus contributing to theoretical expansion in language and immigration studies. Similarly, case study as a methodology (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2018) allowed examining language-in-immigration policy and investigating perceptions about the language practices of a particular

group of immigrants to find out how integration is conceptualized in policy and how immigrants are using different languages and their ethnic network to settle and integrate in Calgary.

Contribution to Theory

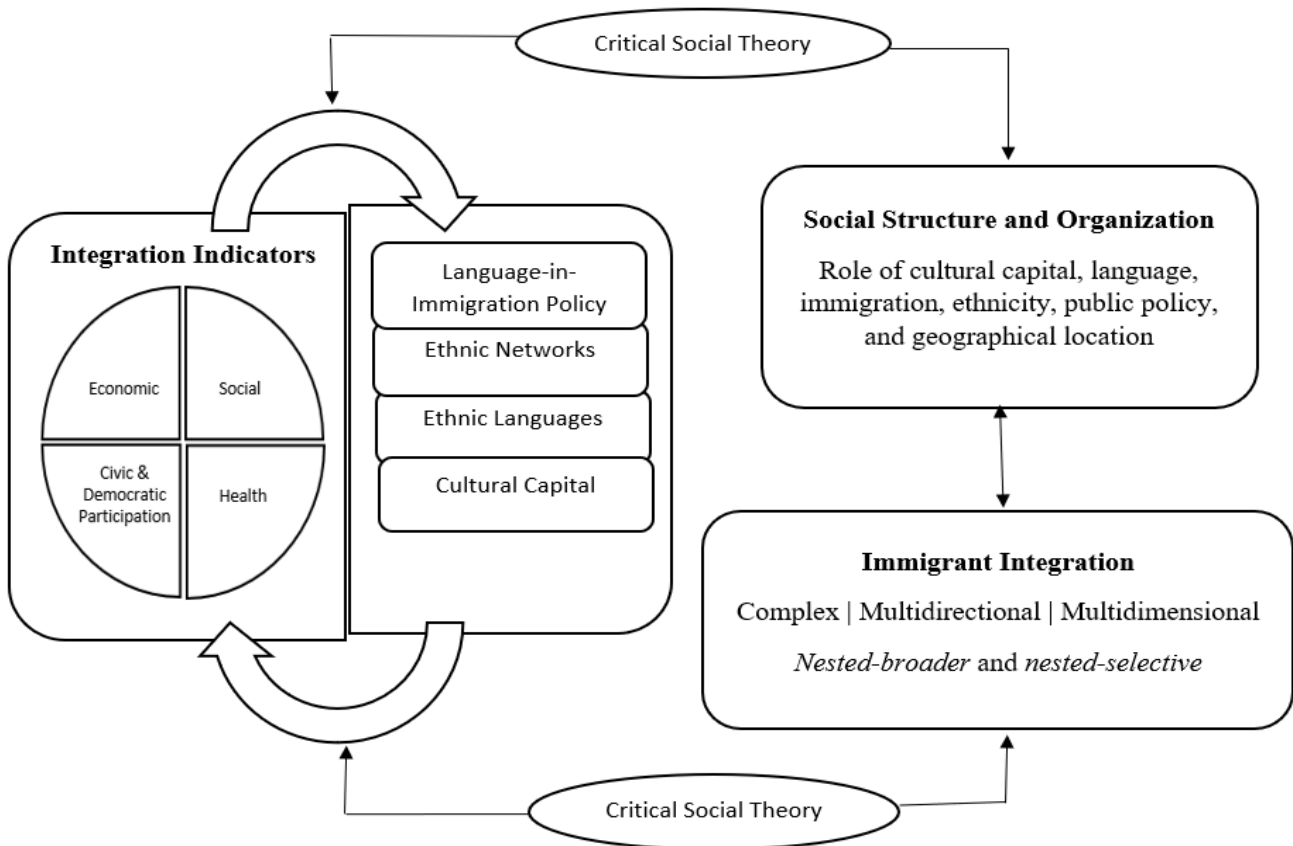
According to Gomm et al., (2000), case study research design can help identify patterns and relationships in a case, which can be helpful in the creation, extension or testing of a theory. The theoretical contributions of the current study are theory extension as it developed a theoretical framework that helped in collecting data on a case of immigrant multilingualism and its impact on the integration practices of a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. The findings from the study further reinforce the argument that language is a social practice (Fairclough, 1995) and should be an important measure in understanding and interpreting immigrant settlement and integration patterns (Abdulrahim & Baker, 2009; Capstick, 2021). However, this study calls for taking a multilingual approach to study the relationship between language, immigration and integration where investigations go beyond dominant language skills such as English (see Chiswick, 2008) to multilingual communicative practices of immigrants that include English and ethnic languages. It is through this multilingual lens that we can grasp a much deeper and fuller picture of the ways different languages shape settlement and integration practices of immigrants.

A mixed-methods sequential explanatory case study design, coupled with CST (Box, 2005) and sociology of language (Fishman, 1971), extended earlier work on complexity theory where immigrant integration is viewed as multidirectional, multidimensional and multiplex (e.g., Castles et al., 2002; Macleod, 2021). Instead of simply reporting findings from the policy analysis, perceptions about the language practices and integration patterns of the participants, I critically evaluated the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of top-down policies and

integration measurement tools, analyzed the relationship between language practices and immigrant integration, and problematized the disconnect between reductionist integrative models and complex integration practices. While case study allowed collecting data from multiple sources (documents, survey and interviews) to draw final results (Yin, 2018) and interpret them in the light of the theoretical framework developed for this study, embedding mixed methods within the case study design helped collect quantitative and qualitative data in sequence to develop a better understanding of the language practices of multilingual immigrants within their networks and how they support immigrant integration.

Figure 1

Revised Theoretical Framework



The theoretical framework utilized in this study is also an important contribution to the literature on language and immigration. While this framework helped me conceptualize this study from a transdisciplinary angle (linguistics, immigration, policy, geography, culture, and ethnicity) and collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data (Yin, 2018), the findings from the study also helped develop the framework by pointing to different data sources and theoretical and conceptual approaches, and the need to take a critical and holistic approach to understanding immigrant integration. For instance, although language skills such as English or ethnic languages remained important for socio-politico-economic and health activities, other forms of cultural capital (e.g., shared knowledge, ethnic values, historical background, food, relationship, etc.) also emerged as significant factors in how people create their sense of belonging, identity, and social relations, and thus join or shape newer social structures. This was particularly important for social and health integration where people needed emotional support, shared socio-cultural capital, and civilizational knowledge for better communication (see Chapter 4). Drawing upon CST theory (Box, 2005), I added language-in-immigration policy and cultural capital as additional variables to the framework (see Figure 1) that may impact immigrant integration. Similarly, integration patterns that were assumed to be either narrowed or broader in the beginning of the study were found to be much more complex and multiplex. For instance, while some participants preferred to integrate in English-dominant economy, their social, political and/or health integration was comparatively more inclined towards co-ethnic members, either because of shared language or ethnicity or religion. Additionally, the role of ethnic networks was also found to be complex in shaping nested-broader and nested-selective integration. For these reasons, I have replaced segregated and broader integration practices with complex, multidirectional and multidimensional patterns that can be broader or selective across the four

dimensions (i.e., economic, social, political and health) (see Figure 1). In addition to expanding the theoretical framework, these findings also add to earlier research on CST, immigrants' linguistic repertoire, integration patterns, and ethnic networks. Researchers interested in immigrant multilingualism and its impact on integration practices may use this framework to conduct case studies of different ethnic groups in Canada and beyond.

Practical Contributions

The first practical contribution of this study was that it filled a gap in research on South Asians, their language practices, the role of their ethnic network, and their impact on South Asian integration in Alberta. It provided baseline quantitative data on how South Asians use English and ethnic languages to achieve the four dimensions of integration. Further, the study explored the reasons, motivations and outcomes of multilingual communicative practices of South Asians through qualitative data and the type of integration they shape, especially when such integration activities are performed within the ethnic network.

Secondly, the study highlighted that English is a major language in immigrant settlement and integration in Alberta/Canada; however, it was not sufficient to achieve all four dimensions of integration. As observed during individual interviews where all the participants were professionals and were able to speak English, but their social, political and health integration was comparatively more focused towards co-ethnic members with shared lingo-cultural capital. These findings differ from earlier research on immigrant integration that pointed to lower English competence or economic opportunities as the main reasons for living within ethnically concentrated areas (e.g., Baur et al., 2003; Fong & Shen, 2011). Emotional support, cultural capital, knowledge-sharing, and sense of belonging emerged as bigger motivations for a tendency towards co-ethnic networks. These findings may have implications for research on non-

university graduates or blue-collar workers who may be attracted to ethnic economies or networks not always because of lower English proficiency but other social and cultural capital offered by co-ethnic members.

Thirdly, this study supports the use of a mixed methods sequential explanatory case study as an appropriate research design for macro-level policy analysis and micro-level investigation of language practices. Case study methodology allowed me to bound qualitative data for policy analysis and interviews, and quantitative data for surveys (Yin, 2018). It also offered flexibility in adjusting my data collection and analyses methods based upon the availability of the participants, data collection instruments/tools, and data analyses approaches (Merriam, 1998). Although I had a tentative plan of data collection in the beginning, case study allowed making changes or adjustments to the plan based upon unavoidable circumstances (Yazan, 2015). Similarly, using a mixed methods sequential explanatory approach for data collection helped in gathering baseline data through survey, which was unpacked and explained through individual interviews with a subsample of participants from the survey stage.

(De)Limitations

Following case study researchers (e.g., Merriam, 2009), this study was bounded around particular data for an in-depth analysis of the case and was delimited in terms of geographical location, time and population. Geographically, this study collected data from participants who lived or worked in the Northeast area of Calgary. Since the aim was to investigate perceptions about the language practices of South Asians within their ethnic concentration and the impact on their integration, Northeast Calgary was deemed appropriate as a data collection site because of South Asians emerging as a visible minority in the area. Although I have argued that geographical location is less important today because of hyperconnectivity and increased

transportation (Steger, 2020), the findings of this study should be carefully interpreted for South Asians living outside of Northeast Calgary, especially because of their lesser dense concentrations in other areas of Calgary or Alberta. Similarly, data were collected between December 2022 to February 2023. Survey and interview participation was higher than initially planned, which resulted in closing data collection within three months. Additionally, this study was focused on a sub-group of South Asians from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan who met the inclusion/exclusion criteria (e.g., first generation immigrants, came to Canada under three immigration categories, and possessed multilingual skills). As discussed earlier, this sub-group was chosen because of their shared lingo-cultural and historical characteristics. Although I have used the moniker South Asians in this study, I have also problematized it for running the risk of ignoring the diversity within and among South Asians (see Chapter 3). While the findings of this study are applicable to this sub-group, future research should also investigate the language practices and ethnic networks within each group for a much deeper analysis. Similarly, other categories and generations may also be included in future research. A deeper analysis is also needed to explore issues of identity and belonging among South Asians at individual as well as collective levels, and how these issues may impact multidirectional integration of Bangladeshis, Indians, and Pakistanis.

A limitation of this study was the data collection methods that may have excluded certain groups of participants. Although I used multiple data collection methods for the survey stage (e.g., online and paper form, translation of the survey in four major ethnic languages, in-person visits to ethnic places), majority of the responses were received electronically and were completed in English. As I decided to stop survey collection after receiving a desired response rate, this may have excluded participants with lower digital literacy or knowledge and lower

English skills. Similarly, all the interview participants were professionals, university graduates, and multilinguals. Although this was unintentional as the call for interviews was sent out to all the participants who had taken the survey and indicated interest in participating in interviews, this may have excluded other groups of South Asians (e.g., blue collar workers). For future research on this topic, it will be useful to create a data collection plan that ensures equal representation of different types of participants.

Since this study reported baseline data on perceptions about the language practices of South Asians and their integration practices in the context of Alberta, replication of the study is encouraged to build confidence in the findings presented in this research as well as develop reliable claims about South Asians and their integration patterns. A replication may also be important to test and improve the instruments (survey and interview questions) used in this study.

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