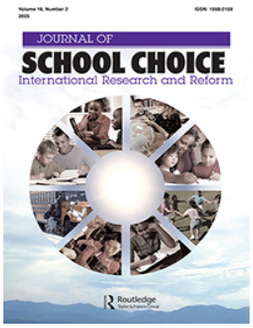

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of School Choice
International Research and Reform

ISSN: 1558-2159 (Print) 1558-2167 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/wjsc20

Exploring Information Gathering Work Undertaken by Immigrant Parents to Choose a High School in Montreal

Véronique Grenier & Marie-Odile Magnan

To cite this article: Véronique Grenier & Marie-Odile Magnan (2025) Exploring Information Gathering Work Undertaken by Immigrant Parents to Choose a High School in Montreal, Journal of School Choice, 19:2, 324-349, DOI: 10.1080/15582159.2024.2386612

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2024.2386612

JOURNAL OF SCHOOL CHOICE
2025, VOL. 19, NO. 2, 324–349
https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2024.2386612

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Exploring Information Gathering Work Undertaken by Immigrant Parents to Choose a High School in Montreal

Véronique Grenier[a] and Marie-Odile Magnan[b]

[a]Centre Urbanisation Culture Société, Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique, Montréal, Canada; [b]Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada

ABSTRACT

This article explores information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents before choosing their children's high school in Montreal. Rooted in an interpretive sociology, it explores the experiences, challenges, and specific needs as they gather information and their agency and proactiveness to mitigate feelings of ignorance and lack of referents by leveraging their skills, advantages, or privileges. It also examines similarities in participants' experience and variations explained by reconfigured academic capital and/or acquired local social capital and pathways in the host society. By focusing on a seldom-studied category in information gathering work, this article sheds light on experiences as yet rarely explored.

KEYWORDS

immigrant parents; information gathering; school choice; school markets; unequal access to knowledge

Introduction

Claimed as freedom of choice by some parents and political actors (van Zanten, 2009), school choice policies, regulated or not, generally follow the logic of competition among educational institutions (Felouzis et al., 2013). The emergence of such policies was particularly evident during the 1980s and 1990s in Western countries like the United States and the United Kingdom (Felouzis et al., 2013). School boundary maps also became more malleable in other countries, including France and Portugal (van Zanten, 2009). In Canada, even though there are no formalized school choice policies, some provinces[1] gave parents a greater choice of public schools and partly subsidize private schools like British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec (Bosetti & Gereluk, 2016). Thus emerged a trend in Western countries: greater freedom for parents to choose their children's schools (Mons, 2007; Oplatka, 2007).

For parents, choosing a school requires having information about schools and their programs, laws and legislation governing admission, and local school market dynamics, as well as being able to evaluate this information (Delale-

CONTACT Véronique Grenier veronique.grenier@inrs.ca Centre Urbanisation Culture Société, Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique, 385 Sherbrooke East Street, room 7117, Montréal, Québec H2X 1E3, Canada
This article has been republished with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

O'Connor, 2019; Saltmarsh, 2023; van Zanten, 2009). Studies of parents' information gathering work prior to school choice, i.e., the process of finding and evaluating information about schools, have focused primarily on the effects of parents' socioeconomic status (SES) or their level of education (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Fong, 2019; Gewirtz et al., 1995; Teske et al., 2007; Wright-Costello & Phillippo, 2020). Therefore, it is important to examine the effects of other individual characteristics on information gathering, particularly that of being an immigrant parent, which has yet received little attention (Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Weekes-Bernard, 2007).

Because of its growing immigrant population (Statistics Canada, 2022a)[2] and selective immigration policies resulting in a highly educated immigrant population (Rothon et al., 2009), Canada is a relevant context to explore information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents, and more specifically Quebec, one of the three main provinces where newcomers establish themselves, and where school choice is particularly prevalent (Bosetti & Gereluk, 2016). Indeed, in Quebec, since the 1960s, most private schools are partly subsidized, which has helped reduce tuition fees and increase enrollment. To compete with private schools, in the 1980s, public schools began to offer programs called "special pedagogical projects" (SPPs) to selected students. Amendments to the Education Act in the late 1990s gave greater freedom to schools to define their SPPs and admission criteria, and to parents to choose among the public schools. These dynamics have contributed to the diversification and hierarchization of the educational offerings and to school choice, especially at the secondary level and in urban contexts like Montreal (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; Kamanzi, 2019; Plourde, 2022), which also welcomes most of Quebec's newcomers (McAndrew & Audet, 2021).

Therefore, this article explores immigrant parents' experiences of gathering information to choose their children's secondary school in Montreal. To do so, it uses data from a qualitative study of thirty immigrant parents' experiences of choosing Francophone public or private high schools[3] in Montreal.

Information gathering work: what about immigrant parents?

Generally, the more parents know about schools and their programs, laws and legislation governing admission, and local school market dynamics, the more likely they are to choose a school that matches their goals and expectations and/or the learning needs of their children (Schneider et al., 1998). That said, the literature shows that parents are not equally equipped to choose a school because they do not have equal access to information (Delale-O'Connor, 2019; Saltmarsh, 2023; Sattin-Bajaj, 2016). This disparity is linked to the resources expended to gather information (André-Bechely, 2013).

Information gathering work requires skills, advantages, and privileges (Bell, 2009; Gewirtz et al., 1995; Teske & Schneider, 2001), including knowing where

to obtain information, having access to a variety of information sources, having time to become informed and obtain a variety of detailed information, being able to compare information received and identify gaps, contradictions, and biases, understanding information contained in official documents, and "making fine distinctions between different institutions' policies and practices, [...] engaging in relevant dialogue with school principals and teachers" (Felouzis et al., 2013, p. 81).[4]

Literature has shown that information gathering work is influenced by parents' SES (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Fong, 2019; Gewirtz et al., 1995; Wright-Costello & Phillippo, 2020). Indeed, higher SES parents usually possess resources, or have access to resources, and skills that come in handy during information gathering work (Ball, 2003; Holmes Erickson, 2017; Schneider & Buckley, 2002; van Zanten, 2009). Also, the ways school choice policies (or laws and legislation governing admissions) are designed and implemented facilitate higher SES parents' information gathering work: the system is working in their favor, and they navigate it more easily (Ball, 2003; Felouzis et al., 2013; van Zanten, 2009). Therefore, higher SES parents are generally better informed about options available (Devine, 2004; Schneider et al., 1997; Teske et al., 2007).

That said, a growing body of research has pointed out that information gathering work is influenced by other individual and/or familial characteristics. For example, it can also be influenced by parents' religious affiliations. Indeed, religions can shape a person's interpretation of the social world and influence their preferences, interests, and choices, including the school they choose for their children (Bulman, 2004; Denessen et al., 2005; Leukert, 2021). Some parents of faith also rely on members of their religious community to obtain information about schools, considering them a valuable and reliable source of information (Bosetti, 2004). Parents' ethnocultural or racial background can also shape the information gathering work in different ways (Byrne, 2009; Lareau, 2014; Pattillo et al., 2014; Reay, 2008). For example, in the United Kingdom, black middle-class parents, fearing racism and discrimination, dismiss out of hand public schools whose student populations are mostly white (Vincent et al., 2012; Weekes-Bernard, 2007). In the United States, some researchers have pointed out that white parents are more sensitive to students' ethnocultural or racial background than black parents when choosing a school (Saporito & Lareau, 1999), while others have "document[ed] high priority that [black] parents give to education; their strong desires to put their children in good schools; and the dearth of information and resources at their disposal" (Pattillo, 2015, p. 47).

But what about the characteristic of being an immigrant parent? Thus far, little research has focused specifically on this category of parent (Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Weekes-Bernard, 2007). Nevertheless, it is important to examine information gathering work performed by immigrant parents to choose their

Table 1. Characteristics of Montreal's immigrant population in 2016.

Percentage of population by generation status	First-generation immigrant[7] (38,0%)
	Second-generation immigrant[8] (21,0%)
Immigrants' top 5 countries of origin	Haiti (8,6%)
	Algeria (6,9%)
	Italy (6,4%)
	France (6,2%)
	Morocco (5,9%)
Immigrants' admission categories	Economic (54,0%)
	Sponsored by family (28,0%)
	Refugee (16,0%)
	Other (2,0%)

Source: Montréal en statistiques (2018), Statistics Canada, Census 2016.

children's school. First, they may be disadvantaged when gathering information, at least temporarily and especially during their first years in the host society (Byrne & De Tona, 2012). Second, their information gathering work may be influenced by the particular relationship they cultivate with the educational system of the host society. Indeed, for many immigrants, the migratory project focused on social emancipation through their children's education (Adams & Kirova, 2011; Byrne & De Tona, 2012). This is also the case in Canada (Li, 2001) and in Quebec (Charette, 2016; Kanouté & Lafortune, 2010). Finally, in Canada, due to selective immigration policies (Rothon et al., 2009), the immigrant population's level of education is higher than of the general one (Statistics Canada, 2022b). This is also true in the province of Quebec (Lessard, 2023)[5] and in Montreal, its metropole (Homsy & Scarfone, 2016).[6] Table 1 presents other characteristics of Montreal's immigrant population.

Additionally, Quebec in general and Montreal in particular are relevant contexts to explore information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents because of the prevalence of school choice and school market dynamics, especially at the secondary level (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; Kamanzi, 2019; Plourde, 2022). Therefore, the next section presents key elements of Quebec's educational system and laws and regulation governing admissions, Montreal's school market, and school choice prevalence in general and among immigrants.

Quebec and Montreal: secondary school markets

In Quebec, public and private primary[9] and secondary[10] schools must follow the Ministry of Education's compulsory curriculum (regular program). However, they do enjoy a certain amount of freedom to define programs and admission criteria. As a result, some private schools (subsidized or not) espouse specific pedagogical or philosophical ideals or a religious orientation, while others offer enriched programs[11] (e.g., sciences, mathematics and/or languages) and use admission exams to select students. In the public sector,

a variety of SPPs are offered (Pilote et al., 2018), which most are enriched[12] and selective (through admission exams or evaluation of the academic record). The SPPs include sports study, music, theater, sciences, arts study, and international studies. Most public schools offer various SPPs and the regular program (compulsory curriculum). Some public schools are devoted to one SPP. In general, such freedom has contributed to the diversification of educational offerings, but more importantly to its hierarchization into regular public (compulsory curriculum), enriched public (most SPPs), and private, that is a three-tiered system (Lessard & Levasseur, 2007), especially at the secondary level.

Furthermore, parents have the freedom, though not without limit, to choose their children's primary and secondary schools. First, under the *Charter of the French Language* (also known as *Bill 101*), parents must choose public or subsidized private Francophone primary and secondary schools unless they are entitled to send their children to public or private Anglophone schools (and decide to) or choose an unsubsidized private school (of any language of instruction). Second, in the private sector, if parents can afford tuition[13] and their children meet the admission criteria, they can select the private school (subsidized or not) of their choice regardless of where they live. Third, in the public sector, regions are divided into school service centers (SSCs) or school boards (SBs).[14] According to the *Education Act*, each child is assigned an SSC, or SB[15] if eligible for instruction in English[16] and opt for it, and a public school within it. More specifically, unless the child is redirected toward special education, they can be admitted to their assigned school's regular program or SPP if they meet admission requirements. According to the *Education Act*, parents can request to change schools within their SSC if the assigned school does not offer the desired SPP. Also, if none of the schools in the assigned SSC offer the desired SPP, parents can seek a school's SPP of another SSC. In both cases, SPP admission criteria must be met, which vary from one SPP to another. Parents must also be able to pay SPP tuition.[17]

These laws and regulations allow some form of school choice at the primary and secondary levels, though it is greater at the last one. Indeed, in 2020–2021, at the elementary level, 6,0% of the students are enrolled in a private school in Quebec, 3,0% a public sector SPP, and 91,0% in the regular public, and at the secondary level, 20,5% of the students attend a private school, 19,0% a public sector SPP, and 60,0% the regular public (Plourde, 2022). Immigrant parents are no exception to this trend (Grenier, 2022; Grenier & Magnan, 2022): around 25,0% of first-generation and second-generation students attend a private school at the elementary and secondary levels (Mc Andrew et al., 2013).

Moreover, these laws and regulations contributed to the inequity of access to the various educational offerings, but above all to the three-tiered system (regular public, enriched public and private). Indeed, because of entrance

exams and tuition fees, students from a higher SES background have much greater chances to attend a private school (subsidized or not) or an enriched public program (SPPs) (Kamanzi, 2022), leading to socially segregated schools (Plourde, 2022; Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 2016). The chances to enroll in private schools also vary according to students' parents' region of origin: "students with immigrant parents from East Asia, North Africa, the Middle East and Europe, and from an Anglo-Saxon country are more likely to attend private schools" (Kamanzi, 2022, p. 118).[18] Furthermore, the three-tiered system at the secondary level plays a role in social reproduction: chances of accessing postsecondary education vary depending on which tiered is pursued (Kamanzi, 2019; Maroy & Kamanzi, 2017; Kamanzi et al. 2020). The effects of school choice on social reproduction have been pointed out in other Western countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom (Beuermann & Kirabo Jackson, 2022; Gorard et al., 2001; Holmes Erickson, 2017; Noden, 2000).

As a result, in the Canadian province of Quebec, parents encounter a diversified but mainly hierarchical educational system, a school market, especially at the secondary level and in urban centers (Kamanzi, 2019, 2022; Maroy & Kamanzi, 2017; Plourde, 2022). Montreal is one of the places in Quebec where secondary-level school market dynamics are most pronounced, as well as school choice. Indeed, according to Hurteau and Duclos (2017), over 50,0% of high school students attend private school or public-sector SPPs in Montreal.[19] Also, in Montreal, school market dynamics are likely to contribute to socially and racially segregated schools (Plourde, 2022), as in other Canadian urban contexts (Yoon et al., 2023) or other Western countries like the United Kingdom (Burgess et al., 2005) and the United States (Berends, 2015; Lareau, 2014; Singer, 2020; Monarrez et al., 2022), even though Canada's educational systems are not as highly racially segregated than those of its neighboring country (Bosetti et al., 2017).

If the effects of school choice on educational pathways and social reproduction are better understood in Quebec in general and in Montreal in particular, little is known about information gathering work prior such choice. As Delale-O'Connor (2019) points it out: "understanding the flow and dissemination of information will play a critical role in not only families' outcomes in the processes but also an understanding of choice systems (in)equitability" (1008). What do parents, immigrant parents in this case, do to gather information? What information or support do they have access to? Are there any inequalities in access to information and support? A better understanding of information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents will provide additional details about school market dynamics, school choice laws and regulations, and educational offerings stratification in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. It will also give some insights into immigrants' integration in Quebec, Canada.

When analyzing information gathering work prior to school choice in Quebec and Montreal, it is important to know that there are no official policies or channels to disseminate information or support parents through the process, an approach that could limit inequalities in accessing information. This lack also means that there are no guidelines (Grenier, 2020) to direct the discourses and practices of teachers, principals, and other school actors often used as sources of information (Lareau, 2011; Neild, 2005; Saltmarsh, 2023). Parents are therefore left to rely on the good will of the school or its staff to inform them, which opens the door to inequitable practices not only between public and private schools, but also within them. They are also left to rely on their skills and resources to gather information.

Despite the absence of official policies or channels to disseminate information or provide support, parents whose children attend a primary public school receive a letter from their SSC or assigned public high school at the beginning of their children's grade 5 or 6. This letter informs them of public high school enrollment deadlines and SPPs admission exam dates. Furthermore, a variety of information sources are available in the public space, if parents are aware of them or able to access them. For example, each year the Fraser Institute publishes its ranking of Quebec high schools.[20] There are also many parent forums on social media (e.g., Facebook) and other websites. SSC and public and private high school websites also contain information about programs, admission criteria, and more. Furthermore, school choice and the three-tiered system have been a matter of public debate in Quebec for many years. The topic is regularly covered in the newspapers (Morasse, 2021; Nadeau, 2022; Vigneault, 2023).

Analytical framework

In this article, the analysis focuses on information gathering work as experienced by immigrant parents in Quebec's context, and more specifically Montreal's context, and on resources they use to perform it. Therefore, the analytical framework is rooted in an interpretive sociology, as inspired by Max Weber. The analytical framework also applies Bourdieu's concept of capital, which is defined as the volume of resources, and not only economical but also cultural, social and symbolical, that individuals possess and can use for their benefit and advancement (Bourdieu, 1986). More specifically, it mobilizes Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, and more specifically its institutionalized form, i.e., academic capital, and social capital (1979, 1980), more specifically its local form, i.e., local social capital, given their significance in information gathering work in relation to school choice (Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Felouzis et al., 2013; van Zanten, 2009). The concept of informational capital, referring to informational resources held in relation to a specific education system, is also used (Héran, 1996).

Cultural capital includes individuals' cultural resources acquired throughout life (Bourdieu, 1979). Cultural resources are lenses to interpret the social world and are shaped by individuals' positions. They are also referents or skills that can be used in specific contexts or situations, as when making a choice, to the individuals' advantage. Bourdieu (1986) identified three forms of cultural capital: objective (e.g., owned cultural goods), embodied (e.g., mannerisms), and institutionalized (e.g., level of education), which he refers to as academic capital. Drawing on Bourdieu's definition of academic capital (1979), i.e., the level of education attained, and considering school choice is often a family decision (Blanchard & Cayouette-Remblière, 2011; van Zanten, 2009), in this article, academic capital, refers to the household's level of education attained, i.e., the highest level of education attained by one of the parents of a specific household.

The concept of social capital refers to resources (e.g., access to information) to which individuals have access through their social networks (e.g., colleagues and family members) and can mobilize to their advantage (Bourdieu, 1980). More precisely, according to Bourdieu, "social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network or more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group" (1986, p. 21). If social capital is linked to social networks, not all social networks can be transferred as social capital. Considering that local social capital is mainly used when choosing a school (van Zanten, 2009), the analysis emphases on that form of social capital. Local social capital refers to resources to which individuals have access through their local social networks (van Zanten, 2009).

Finally, as this article focuses on immigrant parents' information gathering work prior to school choice, the analytical framework considers the impact of migration on individuals' capital or of their household. For example, immigrants bring versions of their cultural capital to the host country, which is then reconfigured, particularly through socialization within it (Kelly & Lusis, 2006). Also, in general, immigrant parents must build from scratch their social capital in the host country. Overall, the analytical framework recognizes that through the migratory process, accumulated capital is converted, valued, or devalued (Kelly & Lusis, 2006).

Methodology

Results presented in this article are based on a qualitative study of immigrant parents' choice of high school in Montreal. Participants were selected according to the following inclusion criteria: both the participant and their partner were born in a country other than Canada; they had received neither primary

Table 2. Participants' characteristics or of their household and school choice.

Gender	Women (28)
	Men (2)
Country of origin	France (5); Algeria (5); Vietnam (3); Romania (2); Armenia (1); Burkina Faso (1); Chile (1); Congo (1); Costa Rica (1); Guinea (1); Haiti (1); Hungary (1); Ivory Coast (1); Jamaica (1); Lebanon (1); Mexico (1); Moldavia (1); Philippines (1); Sri Lanka (1)
Household level of education[24]	College degree (between high school and university) (6)
	Undergraduate or bachelor's degree (university) (11)
	Master's degree (university) (8)
	Ph. D. degree (university) (5)
Self-declared gross annual household income	CAN$29,999 or less (5)
	Between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999 (9)
	CAN$50,000 or more (13)
	Not disclosed (3)
Number of years in Quebec	Between 5 and 9 (16)
	10 or more (14)
School choice[25]	Secondary level:
	Only regular public (3)
	Regular public or enriched public (4)
	Only enriched public (8)
	Enriched public or private school (3)
	Only private school (12)

nor secondary education in Canada; they had lived in Quebec for at least five years[21]; they live in the Montreal region and have at least one child attending[22] a public or private Francophone high school[23] in the area.

The corpus contains thirty semi-directed interviews with immigrant parents. Table 2 shows participants' characteristics (or of their household) and school choice.

It should be noted that the corpus is not representative of Montreal's immigrant population, but it does reflect, to some extent, certain general characteristics. First, most participants' household education level is university, a trend also seen in Montreal's immigrant population (Homsy & Scarfone, 2016). Second, France, Algeria, and Haiti are the countries of origin of just over a third of the corpus (11 out of 30), being three of the top five countries of origin of Montreal's immigrant population (Montréal en statistiques, 2018). Third, the heterogeneity of the countries of origin of the almost two-thirds of the corpus may reflect to some extent the diversification of the recent immigration (McAndrew & Audet, 2021). Now, compared to Montreal's general population, there seems to be an over-representation of participants with a university degree. In fact, in 2016, 39,0% of Montreal's general population held an undergraduate degree or higher (Montréal en statistiques, 2018). In terms of annual total income, in 2016, 52,3% of Montrealers aged 15 and over had incomes of CAN$29,999 or less, 22,6% between CAN$30,000 and CAN $49,999, and 25,2% of CAN$50,000 or more. Therefore, participants' self-declared gross annual household seem in general higher than of Montreal's population.

Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants with different school choices and from various countries of origin (or regions of origin).[26] The variations in the household's level of education and the self-declared gross annual household income in the corpus were not intentionally sought. The recruitment was primarily done through community-based organizations who work with immigrants. These organizations posted the call for participants on their bulletin boards and sent it to their e-mail distribution lists. Snowball sampling was also used: each participant was invited to share the call within their social networks.

Semi-directed interviews designed to collect retrospective accounts of choosing their children's high school were conducted.[27] Not without limitations (e.g., parents can have difficulties recalling detailed information), retrospective accounts provided access to the entire school choice process, i.e., from the moment participants start thinking about school choice to the actual school choice. Most interviews were conducted when the participants' children were in the first three years of high school, i.e., grade 7, 8 or 9, which could have helped reduce the limits of memory. All semi-directed interviews were recorded and transcribed in their entirety. Interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and 45 minutes. This approach made it possible to document participant experiences of information gathering in detail. Participating immigrant parents could choose whether to be interviewed in French or in English. Most chose French.[28] In this article, fictitious names are used to protect participant anonymity. An ethic certificate was obtained by the main author.

The analysis was done to answer the following research question: How do immigrant parents experience and perform information gathering work in the host society? Applying a general inductive approach and a thematic analysis (Miles & Huberman, 2003; Thomas, 2006), data analysis was performed in two main stages. The general inductive approach is appropriate since it aims to identify the main themes emerging from the data to answer the research question and is particularly relevant in exploratory qualitative research, such as this one (Thomas, 2006).

First, each passage about information gathering activities was coded. More specifically, based on the analytical framework, the following general themes were coded for each participating immigrant parent: experiences and viewpoints about the information gathering work in Montreal, Quebec; information sources used to gather information; and effects of cultural capital, academic capital and local social capital, and of structural factors (e.g., children's primary school type) on information gathering work. From within the general themes, emerging themes were identified and coded (Miles & Huberman, 2003). The first stage gave a better understanding of the information gathering work done by each participant. Summaries (Miles &

Huberman, 2003) of the information gathering work were produced for each participant during the first stage.

Second, a transversal and comparative analysis of participant accounts (Miles & Huberman, 2003; Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016) in relation to the emerging themes within the general ones was conducted. This stage allowed the identification of similarities and differences in participants' experiences of information gathering work and in their engagement in doing this work, and reduction of the emerging themes into three main ones (Thomas, 2006). More specifically, similarities and differences among the corpus were analyzed in relation with participants' characteristics or of their household, and social networks (e.g., professionals, ethnocultural communities), and the type of elementary school their children have attended. This stage revealed inequalities in the corpus.

Results

The three emerging themes structure the presentation of the results. The first theme explores participants' narratives in relation to their experiences regarding gathering information. The second theme examines participants' use of their academic capital and local social capital, and the disparities within the corpus. The third theme looks at the systemic inequalities in access to information and support.

Feelings of ignorance, inadequacy, urgency, and disadvantage

For participating immigrant parents, they became aware of the possibility of choosing a school as they get more settled in Montreal. Indeed, they did not arrive with extensive knowledge of secondary schools, school choice laws and legislation, or Quebec's educational system and the dynamics of Montreal's school market. They then accumulate informational capital (Héran, 1996) as they spend more time in their host society. More specifically, accounts reveal a moment of realization of the possibility, though limited, of choosing their child's high school. This realization is accompanied by feelings of ignorance and inadequacy due to loss of referents (Byrne & De Tona, 2012):

> In October of my daughter's grade 6,[29] I received a letter stating that we had to choose a high school, that there were exams. I didn't know what to do. I didn't know because in my country, between primary and secondary, you don't have to write a test to change schools.[30] (Thao, college, CAN$50,000 and above, Vietnam)

These feelings are generated by the perceived gap between the situation in the country of origin and the one in the host society (Byrne & De Tona, 2012). At first, immigrant parents apply cultural referents from their country of origin to situations experienced in the host society (Kelly & Lusis,

2006; Vincent, 2014). Many immigrant parents even express surprise at the school market:

> Then we find out what school is like in Quebec, you shop for a school. I was like, 'Uh, what? What do you mean you shop for a school? What do you mean there are worse ones? Because in France you go to the school at the end of the street and it never occurs to you. (Emma, Ph.D., CAN$50,000 and above, France)

Feelings of ignorance serve as motivation to engage in information gathering. A sense of urgency also appears in the accounts (Byrne & De Tona, 2012):

> In grade 5 [elementary school], my daughter brought home a message left by La Dauversière High School [neighbourhood public high school]. I read the message and from that moment started asking everywhere and everyone. (Olga, undergraduate [master's degree in progress], CAN$29,999 or less, Moldavia)

The importance immigrant parents attribute to their children's education especially in relation with their migratory project (Charette, 2016; Kanouté & Lafortune, 2010), and the hierarchization of the educational offerings at the secondary level (Kamanzi, 2019, 2022), explain the sense of urgency, at least in part:

> For us, it's about our children's education. That's why we left. And you have to do things right. [. . .] I didn't want the local public school. Well, there's the Challenge program [enriched and selective public]. That's better. They're separate. They have their own building, but I prefer private school [. . .] I had to learn about the schools. I didn't know anything. You have to make the right choice. (Latifa, master's, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,000, Algeria)

In addition, participants feel disadvantaged in comparison with non-immigrant parents. Indeed, many participants consider that information gathering work and school choice constitutes an additional challenge for immigrant parents:

> It's information that's important. You have to inform parents. Us immigrants, we're interested, but we don't know. It's all new to us. I didn't know anything. There are lots of choices and we don't know what they are. (Latifa, master's, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Algeria)

Also, information available on SSC and high school websites is perceived as insufficient for immigrant parents:

> On the school board's website and the high schools' too, there isn't enough for immigrants. For people from here, I think there's no problem. But for immigrants, it's not enough. (May, undergraduate, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Vietnam)

While the feelings of ignorance, inadequacy, and disadvantage appear throughout immigrant parents' accounts, the analysis reveals an equity

issue around high school choice: immigrant parents in the corpus were not equally informed. Indeed, participants had each engaged in information gathering work, though to varying degrees (André-Bechely, 2013), particularly according to their academic capital and/or local social capital (Schneider et al., 1997, 1998; van Zanten, 2009), resulting in disparities in informational capital (Héran, 1996).

Academic capital and/or local social capital to the rescue . . . for those that possess them

First, the analysis reveals that immigrant parents leverage their academic capital during information gathering activities. Indeed, participants with university-level household education gather information from a variety of sources (often three or more). They gather information that is detailed, varied, and comparative (Devine, 2004; Gewirtz et al., 1995):

> I talked to parents who had been through it. I visited private and public schools with an entrance exam, an enriched program. [. . .] I visited several schools, I compared their programs, visited their sites, and all that. Also, colleagues asked if I wanted to meet their older children who could talk to me about the schools. In the end, I didn't. I trusted my instincts, the websites, and meetings. (Morgane, Ph.D., CAN$50,000 and above, France)

More specifically, academic capital seems to facilitate evaluating the information obtained and comparing educational offerings (Schneider et al., 1997):

> I talked to people I know. I searched on the internet. I visited three public schools with enriched programs and an exam. I read the programs. I compared them. I spoke to the principals. I asked them questions. (Olga, undergraduate [master's degree in progress] CAN$29,999 or less, Moldavia)

Academic capital also appears linked to the use of analytical skills for several purposes, including to evaluate the information obtained, compare school and staff practices, and distinguish between educational offerings (Felouzis et al., 2013; Gewirtz et al., 1995). For example, once Chéckina had noticed the hierarchical three-tiered system, she went beyond it to make finer distinctions between educational institutions. Comparative strategies allowed her to develop a critical perspective on selection and refusal practices used by private schools at the top of the Fraser Institute's rankings,[31] rather than basing her decision on them exclusively:

> I saw there were enriched programs in public schools. I didn't want a regular [public] school. I also looked at private schools in the area, the well-known ones. I compared them. In most I saw that it was a lot of cramming. They accept a lot of students in secondary 1 [grade 7[32]] and over time eliminate those who have more trouble. [. . .] At Sainte-Marcelline [the school chosen], I saw it wasn't like that. (Chéckina, undergraduate, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Congo)

In comparison, immigrant parents without university-level household education gather information that is less detailed and varied, often relying on two or one source of information. They also accumulate less informational capital (Héran, 1996). Often, they do not know about enriched programs in the public sector, the SPPs. This is the case of Lei from the Philippines:

> I knew few private schools because I heard they are good. [. . .] We could not pay for private schools. So, we stopped looking for those [. . .]. I did not know about the enriched programs in public. I had no idea. [. . .] It's my son that came up with that public school with the enriched program. I'm not the one that wanted that school. I did not know that school. (Lei, college, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Philippines)[33]

Overall, academic capital appears useful in gathering information (Devine, 2004; Schneider et al., 1997). Reconfigured in a new local and national context (Kelly & Lusis, 2006), academic capital may contribute to reducing immigrant parents' feelings of ignorance and inadequacy.

Second, the analysis shows that many immigrant parents use their local social capital (van Zanten, 2009), which is acquired throughout their integration into the host society, when gathering information. More precisely, they especially rely on their professional environments and/or their ethnocultural communities as sources of information. It is important to mention that immigrant parents settle in Montreal, Quebec, with little or no local social capital, a resource useful in the information gathering process (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Byrne & De Tona, 2012; van Zanten, 2009). So, they have built it from scratch.

For many participating immigrant parents, information gathering was facilitated by their professional environment within the host society. These environments provided access to information about schools, Montreal's school market dynamics, and more. Specifically, professional environments that support the information gathering process are found to consist of parents who have chosen their children's schools, as Johar explains:

> For me, what helped was the fact that I worked in a place where a lot of people had children in private or enriched public schools. So, we ask questions. We talk about experiences, about schools. We can find information. I think it depends on the environment you're in. (Johar, undergraduate, CAN$50,000 and above, France [parents and ex-spouse from Algeria])

Sometimes it's the nature of the job itself that helped participants obtain information about the transition from primary to secondary school:

> I got a job as a school and community worker. Because I was working with schools and parents, I was well prepared. My work allowed me to become familiar with the school system in Quebec. So, I knew what to do. I already knew about enriched public programs and writing exams. (Mariam, master's, CAN$50,000 and above, Ivory Coast)

Also, many immigrant parents indicated having benefited from support from their ethnocultural communities during the information gathering process. Immigrant parents from ethnocultural communities that share information about schools among them appear to benefit from a group effect (Luthra & Soehl, 2015). This was true for Olga:

> I also got a lot of help from the Romanian and Russian communities. They really helped me understand the schools. Because they choose schools. [. . .] They send a lot of their children to international public schools and private schools. (Olga, undergraduate [master's in progress], CAN$29,999 or less, Moldavia)

This is also true for May:

> I understand the mentality of people in my community. Other communities, I don't know, but for us, secondary is always private school or, like me, international schools [enriched public]. We talk about it amongst ourselves. (May, undergraduate, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$4,999, Vietnam)

Adding to this, according to some participating immigrant parents, certain ethnocultural communities offer more support during the information gathering process:

> Other communities are well prepared. [. . .] Some even have private schools, like the Armenians. So, they prepare their children. They advocate. But us, in our Black African communities, we don't really do that. [. . .] The Asian community too, they're prepared. They know the schools and everything. [. . .] Arabs too. But us, no. (Chéckina, undergraduate, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Congo)

This perspective evokes the hypothesis of potential inequalities in local social capital (Ball & Vincent, 1998; van Zanten, 2009) and, by extension, in informational capital (Héran, 1996) according to immigrant parents' ethnocultural or racial background.

Systemic inequalities in dissemination and support

Finally, the analysis reveals systemic inequalities in access to information and support. Indeed, immigrant parents do not have the same access to information and support depending on which primary school their children attended. More specifically, these disparities are generally divided along the hierarchical three-tiered system (Kamanzi, 2019, 2022; Lessard & Levasseur, 2007), which is also present, if less pronounced, at the primary level (Plourde, 2022). Testimonies indicate support is provided by primary schools that are private or public ones that offer enriched programs. These schools have a culture of choice, that is, a culture where the practice of choosing a high school is both widespread and normalized and institutional practices for information dissemination and support for parents exist. Diana's comments reveal how

important her eldest child's private primary school was to her information gathering process:

> We really didn't know. We listened to the primary school's teachers and principal. In the end our list was largely generated by the school. They offered a session for parents. We were very well supported. We also looked at where students from the primary school went. [. . .] We were quite influenced by the primary school environment. (Diana, master's, CAN$50,000 and above, Hungary [partner from France])

Emma's comments illustrate a similar situation in her eldest child's public primary school, which exclusively offers an enriched and selective program:

> At my daughter's primary school, all the parents talked about it all the time . . . visits, exams, where their child would go. [. . .] Because when you do international [public enriched program], it's already a somewhat prestigious education. [. . .] At my daughter's primary school, they also mentioned Joseph-François-Perreault High School because they have a transfer agreement with the international program over there. They were promoting that school. (Emma, Ph.D., CAN$50,000 and above, France)

In contrast, immigrant parents whose children attended regular public primary schools received little or no information or support from school staff. Several were even told by the school staff that the only option for high school was the public school assigned according to their place of residence:

> At my son's primary school, I was told that it depended on your neighbourhood. If you live in the neighbourhood, you look in the neighbourhood. They told me I should look for the school closest to home, that that's how it works here. That's the information they gave me. I didn't know. (Frida, college, CAN$29,999 or less, Mexico)

Elhili from Sri Lanka recollects a similar experience with her children's public elementary school:

> I asked [the school staff], but it wasn't. . . They said: "You're in this neighbourhood, so this school." That's all they said. You hear that and you think that's got to be it. I thought like that. I sent my child there. I didn't get any information about private schools or other public schools. I didn't. (Elhili, college, between CAN$30,000 and CAN$49,999, Sri Lanka)

This highlights the systemic nature of unequal access to information and support between, on one hand, private primary schools and public primary schools with enriched and selective programs and, on the other, regular public primary schools. Indeed, private schools and public ones with enriched and selective programs are more accessible to higher SES families (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; Plourde, 2022).

Discussion and conclusion

The goal of this article was to better understand the information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents to choose their children's high school

in Montreal. By focusing on a rarely studied category of parents (Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Weekes-Bernard, 2007), this article has shed light on experiences seldom explored in studies of the information gathering process that precedes choosing a child's school. However, it should be noted that this article offered little or no information on immigrant parents' perceptions of educational offerings and motivations for choosing a school in Quebec in general and in Montreal in particular, not being the aim of this article.

As illustrated, the feelings of ignorance, inadequacy, urgency, and disadvantage experienced by immigrant parents when gathering information can be linked, at least partly, to their migratory project often focused on children's education. Indeed, as noted in numerous studies on immigrant parents in Quebec's context, the migratory project is linked with the desire for upward social mobility for their family through the children's education (Charette, 2016; Kanouté & Lafortune, 2010). However, it was not possible to compare the variations in the intensity of these feelings among the corpus in relation to the participants' characteristics or those of their household, which constitutes a limit of this research. Studies using surveys that measure the degree of these feelings (e.g., with a Likert scale) could offer such insights, and at a bigger scale.

Overall, the findings presented in this article offer insights into the structure of school choice policies (non-formalized in this case) and the educational stratification in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Indeed, the findings show the unequal dissemination of information, probably due, at least partly, to the lack of official policies or measures to provide information or support in Montreal, as well as Quebec more generally. First, the findings highlight inequalities in access to information among the participants. Immigrant parents with university-level education, in comparison with immigrant parents with no university degree, are more informed. They gathered a variety of detailed information and exploited their analytical skills to compare schools and interpret the information collected, corroborating results obtained in studies on university-level parents (Ball, 2003; Devine, 2004; Schneider et al., 1997; van Zanten, 2009). Second, the findings suggest disparities between social networks, as pointed out by other researchers (Neild, 2005; Pattillo, 2015; Saporito & Lareau, 1999). Above all, the findings offer a better understanding of the ways schools disseminate information in Montreal, Quebec: they exposed systemic inequalities in access to information and support throughout the three-tiered system. Indeed, depending on whether children attend regular public, enriched public, or private primary school, parents receive different kinds of information and support.

To remedy inequalities in access to information, regulation of schools and school staff practices by the Ministry of Education could be implemented. More specifically, directives to standardize information could be put into practices by government or school administrators. They could

help ensure greater uniformity across the educational system and counter discourses based on incomplete information, prejudices, and other factors. Other more structural options could include eliminating the school market dynamics and parents' ability to choose their children's schools. In that respect, the *Education Act* would have to be amended to limit schools' ability to offer SPPs (enriched programs) and parents' freedom to choose their children's school. Finally, the findings highlight the need for support that, given Montreal's school market, takes immigrant parents, especially those with no university-level education, into consideration to counter potentially unequal access to information. School boards or schools could for example give informative workshops tailored to the specific needs and challenges that immigrant parents face during information gathering work prior to school choice. Since some black parents highlighted the lack of information that they have access to through their communities (Pattillo, 2015), school boards or schools should consider offering workshops to Black communities, maybe in collaboration with community-based organizations.

Even though it was not the main aim, this article offers some insights into immigrant parents' integration to Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Indeed, it explored, on one hand, the experiences, challenges, and specific needs of immigrant parents as they gather information and, on the other, their agency and proactiveness to mitigate feelings of ignorance, inadequacy, urgency, and disadvantage by leveraging their academic capital and/or local social capital, to make better informed school choices. According to the findings, immigrant parents with university-level education gather detailed and varied information and therefore are better informed on Quebec's educational system, which could help their integration in some form, as well as their children's integration considering the effects of high school choice on educational pathways and access to postsecondary education (Kamanzi, 2019, 2022; Maroy & Kamanzi, 2017). The opposite could be underlined about immigrant parents with no university-level education. Indeed, they gather less information on schools and their programs and possibilities of choice available to them, which raise questions about possible repercussions of less informed school choices, especially in relation with outcomes on educational pathways, also noted in other Western countries such as the United States (Beuermann & Kirabo Jackson, 2022; Holmes Erickson, 2017). However, more research would have to be conducted to better understand whether and how school choice can contribute to immigrants' children's educational pathway and integration into the host society, especially when considering the immigrant paradox in education, referring to the outperformance of immigrants' children in comparison with non-immigrants' children with the same socioeconomic background (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). The immigrant

paradox can be explained at least partly by immigrant parents' high educational expectations for their children (Charette, 2016; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Kanouté & Lafortune, 2010), which may stem from their SES or their educational attainment in their country of origin (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017; Ichou, 2014).

Although this article contributes to current understandings of information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents to choose their children's school in their host society, in this case Quebec in general and Montreal in particular, there is much more research to be done for a variety of reasons. First, the corpus consists primarily of mothers with university-level household education who immigrated to Montreal more than five years previous. Studies on immigrant parents who do not detain a university-level education or who immigrated more recently than five years prior are still required. Studies of specific ethnocultural communities could also help to better understand how information about Montreal's high schools and school market dynamics are disseminated. Such studies could confirm, nuance, or refute the findings presented in this article.

Next, because of variation in immigration policies among Western countries and the impact of this variation on the sociodemographic composition of immigrant populations, it is possible that some results are not transferable to other national contexts. In Canada and Quebec, due to selective immigration policies (Rothon et al., 2009), most immigrants hold university diplomas and focus on their children's education as part of their migratory journey; this is often linked to a desire for upward social mobility for their family (Charette, 2016; Kanouté & Lafortune, 2010). Therefore, the agency and proactiveness by immigrant parents in Quebec in general and Montreal in particular, by leveraging their academic capital, could be less present in Western countries with a less selected immigrant population such as the United States. Despite this, it should be noted that some findings corroborate those in studies conducted in other national contexts. Indeed, the feelings of ignorance, inadequacy, urgency, and disadvantage have been highlighted by other research conducted in the United Kingdom and the United States (Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Sattin-Bajaj, 2016; Weekes-Bernard, 2007), suggesting that immigrant parents potentially share common experiences regardless of the host society in which they find themselves.

Last, even though, this article gives insights into the information gathering work undertaken by immigrant parents, it does not provide deep understandings of the information they receive (its content and quality), how they understand it, or how they use it to choose one school over another. Studies to conduct close analysis of how information, to which immigrant parents have access to, is used are required. Qualitative studies carried out during the

information gathering work could be helpful in that respect and address some limitations of retrospective accounts.

Notes

1. In Canada, education is a provincial or territorial responsibility, not federal.
2. "Almost one in four people (23,0%) counted during the 2021 Census are or have been a landed immigrant or permanent resident in Canada" (Statistics Canada, 2022a, p. 2), in comparison with almost one in five people (18,4%) during the 2001 Census.
3. Quebec has public and private schools (subsidized or not) at the primary and secondary levels. Most public and private schools provide services in French, the Canadian province's official language.
4. Original translation.
5. In Quebec, in 2021, 44,0% of immigrants aged 25 to 64 had a university-level education, in comparison to 25,0% of non-immigrants in the same age group (Lessard, 2023).
6. According to Institut du Québec, in Montreal, 33,0% of immigrants have a university-level education, compared to 24,0% of non-immigrants (Homsy & Scarfone, 2016).
7. Born outside of Canada.
8. Born in Canada and have at least one parent born outside of Canada.
9. In Quebec, students attend primary grades 1 to 6.
10. In Quebec, students attend secondary grades 1 to 5, the equivalent of grades 7 to 11 in the rest of Canada and some other countries like the United States.
11. In comparison to the compulsory program.
12. In comparison to the compulsory program.
13. Annual tuition per child for subsidized private schools is approximately CAN$5,000, while tuition for unsubsidized private schools is approximately CAN$15,000.
14. Since June 2020, Francophone school boards have become School Service Centres (SSCs). Anglophone school boards, as well as the Cri and Kativik school boards, have retained school board (SB) status.
15. As this article focuses solely on the Francophone sector, the acronym SSC will be used exclusively.
16. In accordance with the *Charter of the French Language*.
17. SPP tuition can vary from a few dollars to CAN$15,000 annually per child. Most cost between CAN$200 and CAN$500 (Chouinard, 2019).
18. "Conversely, the probability is relatively lower among students whose parents are from Latin America and the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia" (Kamanzi, 2022, p. 118).
19. In 2020–2021, in Montreal, 34,0% of the students attend a private school at the secondary level (Plourde, 2022). There are no available official statistics on the enrollment in a public sector SPP in Montreal.
20. These rankings are based on provincial exam results in specific subjects (math, language of instruction, second language, etc.) and other indicators (frequency of lateness, failure, etc.).
21. Because the socioeconomic and educational challenges they face differ (Charette, 2016), immigrant parents who arrived less than five years prior were excluded.
22. This criterion was to ensure that the accounts collected were as recent as possible.
23. Those who chose Anglophone or unsubsidized private schools were excluded, given most children from immigrant families attend public or private Francophone schools.
24. In Quebec, after high school, students must earn a college degree to be admitted to an undergraduate program, and by extension to university. At the collegial level, students

can enroll in a two-years pre-university program or a three-years technical program. In all cases, students can enter university with a college degree, whether pre-university or technical. Therefore, a college degree in Quebec is not comparable to a high school degree in the United States.

25. Participants' school choice in relation to the three-tiered system (public regular, enriched public and private).
26. The main author did the recruitment.
27. The main author conducted the interviews.
28. Four participants chose English.
29. In Quebec, students attend primary grades 1 to 6.
30. Unless otherwise indicated, all participant quotations are translated from the original French.
31. The Fraser Institute's annual rankings can be found here: https://www.compareschoolrankings.org/.
32. For ease of conversion to the system used in the rest of Canada and other countries like the United States, secondary grades 1 to 5 are referred to as grades 7 to 11.
33. Original English quotation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

The work was supported by the Fonds de Recherche du Québec-Société et Culture and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council .

References

Adams, L. D., & Kirova, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Global migration and education: Schools, children, and families* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

André-Bechely, L. N. (2013). *Could it Be otherwise? Parents and the inequalities of public school choice*. Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (2003). *Class strategies and the education market: The middle classes and social advantage*. Routledge.

Ball, S. J., & Vincent, C. (1998). 'I heard it on the grapevine': 'Hot' knowledge and school choice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *19*(3), 377–400. https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569980190307

Bell, C. A. (2009). All choices created equal? The role of choice sets in the selection of schools. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *84*(2), 191–208. https://doi.org/10.1080/01619560902810146

Berends, M. (2015). Sociology and school choice: What we know after two decades of charter schools. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*(1), 159–180. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112340

Beuermann, D. W., & Kirabo Jackson, C. (2022). The short- and long-run effects of attending the schools that parents prefer. *Journal of Human Resources*, *57*(3), 725–746. https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.57.3.1019-10535R1

Blanchard, M., & Cayouette-Remblière, J. (2011). Penser les choix scolaires. *Revue française de pédagogie*, (175) April-June, 5–14. https://doi.org/10.4000/rfp.3025

Bosetti, L. (2004). Determinants of school choice: Understanding how parents choose elementary schools in Alberta. *Journal of Education Policy*, *19*(4), 387–405. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093042000227465

Bosetti, L., & Gereluk, D. (2016). *Understanding school choice in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Bosetti, L., Van Pelt, D., & Allison, D. J. (2017). The changing landscape of school choice in Canada: From pluralism to parental preference? *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *25*(38), 38. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2685

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Les trois états du capital culturel. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, *30*(1), 3–6. https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1979.2654

Bourdieu, P. (1980). Le capital social. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, *32*(1), 2–3. https://www.persee.fr/docAsPDF/arss_0335-5322_1980_num_31_1_2069.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (1986). Chapter 1. The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood.

Bulman, R. C. (2004). School-choice stories: The role of culture. *Sociological Inquiry*, *74*(4), 492–519. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2004.00102.x

Burgess, S., Wilson, D., & Lupton, R. (2005). Parallel lives? Ethnic segregation in schools and neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, *42*(7), 1027–1056. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500120741

Byrne, B. (2009). Not just class: Towards an understanding of the whiteness of middle-class schooling choice. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*(3), 424–441. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802629948

Byrne, B., & De Tona, C. (2012). 'Trying to find the extra choices': Migrant parents and secondary school choice in Greater Manchester. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *33*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.632865

Charette, J. (2016). *Représentations sociales sur l'école et stratégies déployées par des parents récemment immigrés pour soutenir l'expérience socioscolaire de leurs enfants dans la société d'accueil : regards croisés de parents et d'ICSI* [doctoral thesis, Université de Montréal]. Papyrus. https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1866/16397/Charette_Josee_2016_these.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

Chouinard, T. (2019), May 16th. "*Commission scolaire de Laval: des frais de 250 $ pour la moitié des élèves*." *La Presse*. https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/education/2019-05-16/commission-scolaire-de-laval-des-frais-de-250-pour-la-moitie-des-eleves

Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. (2016), September. *Remettre le cap sur l'équité. Rapport sur l'état et les besoins de l'éducation 2014–2016*. Gouvernement du Québec. https://www.cse.gouv.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/50-0494-RF-cap-sur-lequite-REBE-2014-2016.pdf

Delale-O'Connor, L. (2019). Understanding achilles' heel: Information dissemination, readability, and marketing in urban school choice. *Education & Urban Society*, *51*(8), 1007–1028. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124518761565

Denessen, E., Driessena, G., & Sleegers, P. (2005). Segregation by choice? A study of group specific reasons for school choice. *Journal of Education Policy*, *20*(3), 347–368. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500108981

Devine, F. (2004). *Class practices: How parents help their children get good jobs*. Cambridge University Press.

Feliciano, C., & Lanuza, Y. R. (2016). The immigrant advantage in adolescent educational expectations. *The International Migration Review*, *50*(3), 758–792. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12183

Feliciano, C., & Lanuza, Y. R. (2017). An immigrant paradox? Contextual attainment and intergenerational educational mobility. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(1), 211–241. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416684777

Felouzis, G., Maroy, C., & van Zanten, A. (2013). *Les marchés scolaires : sociologie d'une politique publique d'éducation*. Presses universitaires de France.

Fong, K. (2019). Subject to evaluation: How parents assess and mobilize information from social networks in school choice. *Sociological Forum*, *34*(1), 158–180. https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12483

Gewirtz, S., Ball, S. J., & Bowe, R. (1995). *Markets, choice, and equity in education*. Open University Press.

Gorard, S., Fitz, J., & Taylor, C. (2001). School choice impacts: What do we know? *Educational Researcher*, *30*(7), 18–23. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X030007018

Grenier, V. (2020). *Parents immigrants et choix de l'école secondaire dans le contexte montréalais : représentations des offres éducatives, motifs, contraintes et stratégies familiales.* Université de Montréal, Papyrus. https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1866/25392/Grenier_Veronique_2020_these.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y

Grenier, V. (2022). Logiques au coeur des choix de l'école secondaire par des parents immigrants résidant à Montréal. *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne de L'éducation*, *45*(2), 454–480. https://doi.org/10.53967/cje-rce.v45i2.5091

Grenier, V., & Magnan, M.-O. (2022). Perceptions des offres éducatives du marché scolaire montréalais par des parents immigrants. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, *59*(3), 330–347. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12386

Héran, F. (1996). École publique, école privée : qui peut choisir ? *Économie et Statistique*, *293* (1), 17–39. https://www.persee.fr/docAsPDF/estat_0336-1454_1996_num_293_1_6046.pdf

Holmes Erickson, H. (2017). How do parents choose schools, and what schools do they choose? A literature review of private school choice programs in the United States. *Journal of School Choice*, *11*(4), 491–506. https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2017.1395618

Homsy, M., & Scarfone, S. (2016, December). *Plus diplômés, mais sans emploi. Comparer Montréal : le paradoxe de l'immigration montréalaise*. Institut du Québec. https://institutduquebec.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/201612-IDQ-Plusdiplomes.pdf

Hurteau, P., & Duclos, A.-M. (2017), September. "*Inégalité scolaire : le Québec dernier de classe ?*" *Note socioéconomique de l'Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomiques*. https://iris-recherche.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Note_Parcours_particuliers_WEB_20170907.pdf

Ichou, M. (2014). Who they were there: Immigrants' educational selectivity and their Children's educational attainment. *European Sociological Review*, *30*(6), 750–765. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcu071

Kamanzi, B. P., Maroy, C., & Magnan, M. O. (2020). L'accès aux études supérieures au Québec : l'incidence du marché scolaire. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, *3*(208), 49–64.

Kamanzi, P. C. (2019). School market in Quebec and the reproduction of social inequalities in higher education. *Social Inclusion*, *7*(1), 18–27. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v7i1.1613

Kamanzi, P. C. (2022). School market and the democratization of education: One step forward, two steps back. The case of the Canadian province of Quebec. *International Review of Sociology*, *32*(1), 107–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2021.2015933

Kanouté, F., & Lafortune, G. (2010). Les familles immigrantes : mobilisation autour du projet scolaire des enfants. *Nos diverses cités*, *7* , 143–150.

Kelly, P., & Lusis, T. (2006). Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada and the Philippines. *Environment & Planning A: Economy & Space*, *38*(5), 831–847. https://doi.org/10.1068/a37214

Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Race, class and family life* (2nd ed. with an update a decade later). University of California Press.

Lareau, A. (2014). Schools, housing, and the reproduction of inequality: Experiences of white and African-American suburban parents. In A. Lareau & K. Goyette (Eds.), *Choosing homes, choosing schools* (pp. 169–206). Russell Sage Foundation.

Lessard, C. (2023, May). Les titulaire d'un grade universitaire au Québec : portrait sommaire tiré du Recensement de 2021. *Science, technologie et innovation*, *14*, 1–14. Institut de la statistique du Québec. https://statistique.quebec.ca/fr/fichier/titulaires-grade-universitaire-quebec-2021.pdf

Lessard, C., & Levasseur, L. (2007). L'école publique généraliste est-elle en train de voir sa vocation transformée ? *McGill Journal of Education*, *42*, 337–353. https://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/2392/1848

Leukert, A. (2021). Looking beyond church attendance: The relationship between parents' religious identity and school choice. *Journal of School Choice*, *16*(2), 210–234. https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2021.1994277

Li, J. (2001). Expectations of Chinese immigrant parents for their children's education: The interplay of Chinese tradition and the Canadian context. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *26* (2), 477–494. https://doi.org/10.2307/1602178

Luthra, R. R., & Soehl, T. (2015). From parent to child? Transmission of educational attainment within immigrant families: Methodological considerations. *Demography*, *52*(2), 543–567. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-015-0376-3

Maroy, C., & Kamanzi, P. C. (2017). Marché scolaire, stratification des établissements et inégalités d'accès à l'université au Québec. *Recherches sociographiques*, *58*(3), 581–602. https://doi.org/10.7202/1043466ar

Mc Andrew, M., & Audet, G. (2021). Chapter 1. La diversité ethnoculturelle et les rapports ethniques au Québec : le contexte historique et social. In M. Potvin, M.-O. Magnan, J. Larochelle-Audet & J. -L. Ratel (Eds.), *La diversité ethnoculturelle, religieuse et linguistique en éducation* (2nd ed. pp. 20–36). Fides éducation.

Mc Andrew, M., Ledent, J., Murdoch, J., Ait-Said, R., & Balde, A. (2013). Le profil et le cheminement scolaire des jeunes québécois issus de l'immigration au secondaire : un portrait statistique. *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, *42*(1), 31–55. https://doi.org/10.7202/1017097ar

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2003). *Analyse des données qualitatives* (2nd ed.). De Boeck Université.

Monarrez, T., Kisida, B., & Chingos, M. (2022). The effect of charter schools on school segregation. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *14*(1), 301–340. https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.20190682

Mons, N. (2007). *Les nouvelles politiques éducatives : la France fait-elle les bons choix ?* Presses universitaires de France.

Montréal en statistiques, (2018). *Profil sociodémographique. Recensement 2016. Ville de Montréal.* https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/MTL_STATS_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/PROFIL_SOCIOD%C9MO_VILLE%20DE%20MONTR%C9AL%202016.PDF

Morasse, M.-È. (2021). Choix d'une école secondaire : Premiers arrivés, premiers servis. *La Presse*. https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/education/2021-09-25/choix-d-une-ecole-secondaire/premiers-arrives-premiers-servis.php

Nadeau, J.-B. (2022), Septembre 7th. "*Éducation : en finir avec l'école à trois vitesses.*" *L'actualité*. https://lactualite.com/societe/education-en-finir-avec-lecole-a-trois-vitesses/#:~:text=Pour%20favoriser%20la%20pers%C3%A9v%C3%A9rance%20et,ses%20preuves%20dans%20certaines%20%C3%A9coles

Neild, R. C. (2005). Parent management of school choice in a large Urban district. *Urban Education*, *40*(3), 270–297. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085905274538

Noden, P. (2000). Rediscovering the impact of marketisation: Dimensions of social segregation in England's secondary schools, 1994-99. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *21*(3), 371–390. https://doi.org/10.1080/713655353

Oplatka, I. (2007). The place of open house in the school-choice process. Insights from Canadian parents, children, and teachers. *Urban Education*, *42*(2), 163–184. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085906296561

Paillé, P., & Mucchielli, A. (2016). *L'analyse qualitative en sciences humaines et sociales* (4th ed.). Armand Colin.

Pattillo, M. (2015). Everyday politics of school choice in the black coommunity. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, *12*(1), 41–71. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X15000016

Pattillo, M., Delale-O'Connor, L., & Butts, F. (2014). Chapter 8. High-stakes choosing. In A. Lareau & K. Goyette (Eds.), *Choosing homes, choosing schools* (pp. 237–267). Russell Sage Foundation.

Pilote, A., Joncas, J. -A., & Kamanzi, P. C. (2018). Les modalités de différenciation de l'école secondaire québécoise. Quel impact sur les inégalités sociales? Étude comparative. In F. Baluteau, V. Dupriez & M. Verhoeven (Ed.), *Entre tronc commun et filières, quelle école moyenne?* (pp. 117–146). Academia-L'Harmattan.

Plourde, A. (2022). Où en est l'école à trois vitesses au Québec ? *Fiche socioéconomique de l'Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomiques – Éducation*. https://iris-recherche.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/2022_Fiche_Trois_vitesses-WEB.pdf

Reay, D. (2008). Chapter 6. Class out of place. The white middle classes and intersectionalities of class and 'race' in urban state schooling in England. In L. Weis (Ed.), *The way class works: Readings on school family and the economy* (pp. 87–99). Routledge.

Rothon, C., Heath, A., & Lessard-Phillips, L. (2009). The educational attainments of the 'second generation': A comparative study of Britain, Canada, and the United States. *Teachers College Record*, *111*(6), 1404–1443. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810911100607

Saltmarsh, J. E. (2023). Exploring the role of family-school partnerships in school choice. *Education & Urban Society*, *55*(6), 698–717. https://doi.org/10.1177/00131245221110558

Saporito, S., & Lareau, A. (1999). School selection as a process: The multiple dimensions of race in framing educational choice. *Social Problems*, *46*(3), 418–439. https://doi.org/10.2307/3097108

Sattin-Bajaj, C. (2016). *Unaccompanied minors: Immigrant youth, school choice, and the pursuit of equity*. Harvard Education Press.

Schneider, M., & Buckley, J. (2002). What do parents want from schools? Evidence from the internet. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *24*(2), 133–144. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737024002133

Schneider, M., Marschall, M., Teske, P., & Roch, C. (1998). School choice and culture wars in the classroom: What different parents seek from education. *Social science quarterly*, *79*(3), 489–501. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42863813

Schneider, M., Teske, P., Roch, C., & Marschall, M. (1997). Networks to nowhere: Segregation and stratification in networks of information about schools. *American Journal of Political Science*, *41*(4), 1201–1223. https://doi.org/10.2307/2960487

Singer, J. (2020). Student stratification among a combination of school choice policies in Detroit. *Journal of School Choice*, *14*(1), 122–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2019.1689467

Statistics Canada. (2022a), October 26th. "Immigrants make up the largest share of the population in over 150 years and continue to shape who we are as canadians." *The Daily*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.pdf?st=lX5DjRR5

Statistics Canada. (2022b), November 30th. "Canada leads the G7 for the most educated workforce, thanks to immigrants, young adults and a strong college sector, but is

experiencing significant losses in apprenticeship certificate holders in key trades." *The Daily*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/fr/daily-quotidien/221130/dq221130a-fra.pdf?st=mkK763G9

Teske, P., Fitzpatrick, J., & Kaplan, G. (2007). "Opening doors: How low-income parents search for the right school." *Online Submission*. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED495279.pdf

Teske, P., & Schneider, M. (2001). What research can tell policymakers about school choice. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *20*(4), 609–631. https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.1020

Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *27*(2), 237–246. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214005283748

van Zanten, A. (2009). *Choisir son école. Stratégies familiales et médiations locales*. Presses universitaires de France.

Vigneault, S. (2023), January 17th. "Déconstruire pour bâtir un réseau scolaire commun." *Le Devoir*. https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/778120/libre-opinion-deconstruire-pour-batir-un-reseau-scolaire-commun

Vincent, C., Rollock, N., Ball, S. J., & Gillborn, D. (2012). Being strategic, being watchful, being determined: Black middle-class parents and schooling. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *33*(3), 337–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.668833

Vincent, J. W. (2014). *Représentations sociales de la réussite/échec scolaire d'élèves haïtiens arrivés à l'école secondaire québécoise après le séisme en Haïti le 12 janvier 2010, ainsi que celles d'enseignants et de directions d'école* [doctoral thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal]. ArchipelUQAM. https://archipel.uqam.ca/7034/1/D2714.pdf

Weekes-Bernard, D. (2007), January 1st. *School choice and ethnic segregation. Educational decision-making among black and minority ethnic parents*. *Runnymede Trust*. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/school-choice-and-ethnic-segregation-educational-decision-making-among-black-and-minority-ethnic-parents

Wright-Costello, B., & Phillippo, K. (2020). Constrained consumers: Middle-class parents' resistance of school closure and consolidation in Chicago. *Education & Urban Society*, *52*(9), 1372–1396. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124520908259

Yoon, E.-S., Grima, V., DeWiele, C. E. B., & Skelton, L. (2023). The impact of school choice on school (re)segregation: Settler-colonialism, critical geography and Bourdieu. In L. B. Perry, E. Rowe &C. Lubienski (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on school segregation* (pp. 52–71). Routledge.