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NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES

The Vitality of the English-Speaking Community of Quebec

A Sociolinguistic Profile of Secondary 4 Students in Quebec English Schools

Rodrigue Landry, Réal Allard, and Kenneth Deveau

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A Sociolinguistic Profile of Secondary 4 Students in Quebec English Schools

Research Report Prepared by

Rodrigue Landry

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

Réal Allard

Centre de recherche et de développement en éducation
Université de Moncton

and

Kenneth Deveau

Université Sainte-Anne

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Introduction

It is hardly a secret that the survival of the English language in Canada has never been threatened. The British North America Act that created the Dominion of Canada in 1867 provided constitutional rights that fostered the use of English in government and legal affairs at the federal level and in all provinces, including Quebec. Rights to education in the English language were provided indirectly via the protection of religious rights. In Quebec, it was quickly established that students in Catholic schools would be taught in French and students in Protestant schools would be taught in English. Most of the new immigrants to Quebec chose English schools for their children in recognition that it was the dominant language in Canada and the vehicle to social mobility (Dickinson, 2007).

However, things have changed. In the early 1960s, Quebec Francophones undertook what has been called the "Quiet Revolution". Inspired by the slogan "*Maîtres chez nous*", they gradually took control of the government institutions and took legislative measures to foster the predominance of French in the province's public affairs (Corbeil, 2007). In 1964, following Paul Gérin-Lajoie's appointment as the first Minister of Education in Quebec's history, several legislative bills on language in the province were passed. In 1977, the *Charte de la langue française*, better known as Bill 101, drastically changed the situation of the English schools in Quebec (Bourhis, 1984; Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002). Only parents who had been taught in the English schools of Quebec, or who already had children in those schools, would be allowed to send their children to English schools, and all the children of newcomers to the province were now required to attend French schools. This part of Bill 101 has since been ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Canada and all children whose parents, brothers or sisters have been taught in English schools *in Canada* currently have the right to attend the provinces' English schools (Foucher, 2012).

As commonly said in the judicial domain, the "*Canada clause*" of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms won over the "*Quebec clause*" of Bill 101. Moreover, Bill 101 also established French as the only official language in Quebec and the dominant language in most public affairs. The English language, however, remains quite present in the economic sphere and in the media (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Corbeil, Chavez, & Pereira, 2010).

Bill 101 has had many negative effects on the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Anglophone Quebec has lost its status as the dominant group it had traditionally been (Stevenson, 1999) and many demographic characteristics point to a gradual minorization of the English-speaking communities (Bourhis, 2012a). One domain that has been drastically affected is that of schooling in English. Whereas 85% of first generation immigrants were schooled in English in 1971, today more than 90% are schooled in French (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, due to continued strong outmigration, even the number of children of right holders attending English schools has drastically decreased (Bourhis & Foucher, in press).

In this study, we analyze the vitality of the English language in Quebec by looking at a variety of sociolinguistic factors that influence its' status as an official language of the country and as the defining characteristic of a collective entity in Quebec, and by elaborating a sociolinguistic profile of secondary 4 (grade 10) students attending English schools in Quebec. Students from schools in seven of the nine Quebec English school boards participated in this study. Since a few regions of Quebec are not represented and because of unequal participation of schools in certain regions, the participating students do not constitute a representative sample of all secondary 4 students in Quebec's English schools. The results of the study are presented for four different regions. Schools were grouped to form four regions that represent different levels of demographic concentration of Anglophones and different levels of linguistic vitality of English-speaking communities in Quebec (see section on methodology). The sociolinguistic profile of the students is similar to those developed previously for the grade 11 Francophone students of Ontario (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007a) and for Francophone students of schools in four regions outside

of Quebec (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2010). This profile is based on a conceptual model of linguistic vitality (described below) that identifies three types of linguistic contacts that influence a variety of psycholinguistic dispositions and behaviours in linguistic minority contexts. The study looks at the bilingual context experienced by students in Quebec's Anglophone secondary schools and establishes a profile of their language experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours in English and French. The analyses show how these sociolinguistic characteristics vary in different linguistic vitality contexts.

This report is divided into five chapters. In the remainder of this introduction, we explain the theoretical constructs of ethnolinguistic vitality and cultural autonomy, and guided by these constructs, we then briefly present an overview of the vitality of the English language and of the English-speaking communities in Quebec, based mainly on census data and a few recent studies. In the second chapter we describe the conceptual model used to define the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic variables measured in the study. The third chapter provides an overview of the methodology of the study: the sample of participating students, the instruments used to measure the large number of variables analyzed, the procedures used in administering the questionnaires and tests, the statistical techniques utilized for data analysis, and the format in which the results are described in the fourth chapter. These results are presented in sections that correspond to the different components of the conceptual model. It should be noted that the present study does not provide a test of this theoretical model. The model is used to clearly define the different language and psychological variables analyzed and to provide sociolinguistic meaning to a large variety of variables. Only descriptive statistics are presented, but they serve as indices of the effects of the different vitality contexts of the English and French languages on the bilingual development of the students. As already mentioned, students were grouped so as to represent different regions of Quebec as well as different levels of vitality of the English-speaking communities.

The last chapter provides a discussion of the major findings of the study and a brief conclusion.

1.1 Linguistic vitality and cultural autonomy

The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality was first proposed by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977). The framework defines three categories of structural variables that determine whether a linguistic minority becomes or remains a distinct and active entity within a societal intergroup context. The first category groups together the demographic variables that have an effect on the vitality of the linguistic group. For example, the number of speakers of a language is typically less a factor of linguistic vitality than the relative concentration of the speakers on a given territory. The second category is composed of variables that pertain to the degree to which the language of the group is used in institutional contexts, that is, institutional support or institutional control. Breton (1964) referred to these variables as representing the degree of "institutional completeness" to which the linguistic group has access. According to Breton, whose study focussed on different immigrant groups, it was through the control of institutions that these groups could best assume the control of their destiny. The third category of variables in the vitality framework refers to the status of the language in society: its socio-historic prestige; its status at different levels of government (e.g., municipal, provincial, federal); its current status in society, and its socioeconomic status. These three categories of variables are summarized in figure 1.1.

Based on the ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Giles *et al.*, 1977; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994), the "reversing language shift" construct (Fishman, 1991, 2001), and the language revitalization literature (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006a), Landry, Allard, & Deveau (2006, 2007b, 2008) developed a macroscopic model that shows how the resources reflecting the vitality of a language group at the societal level influence the language socialization experienced by linguistic group members and how the latter impinges on their language development. This model is presented in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.1

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Factors (Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004)

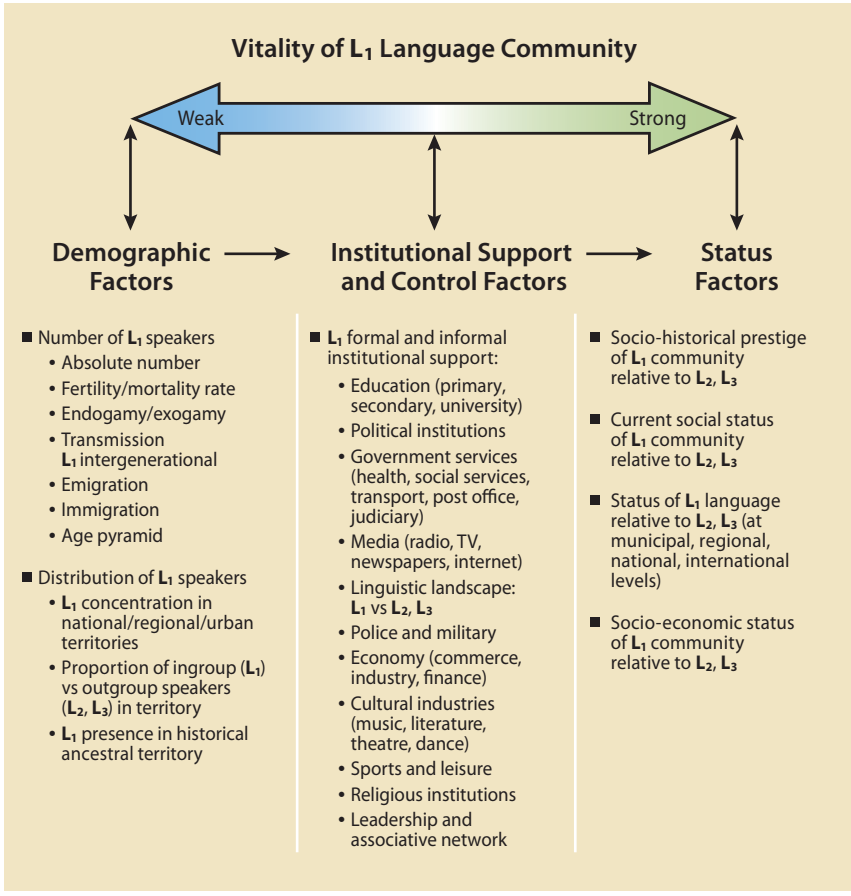
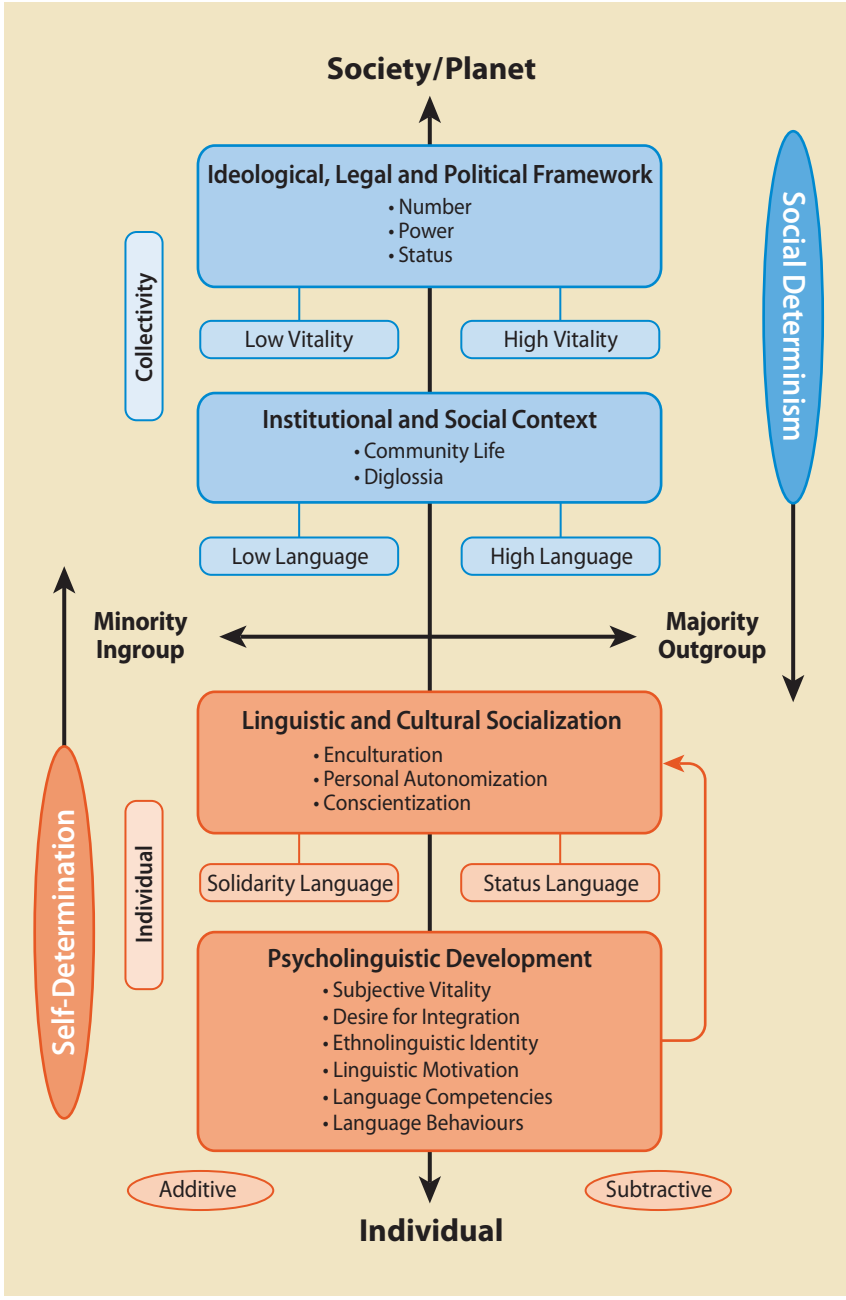


Figure 1.2

Intergroup Model of Ethnolinguistic Revitalization: A Macroscopic Perspective (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2006, 2007b)



According to this intergroup model of linguistic revitalization, socio-historical factors tend to generate an "ideological, legal and political framework" that interacts with linguistic vitality factors (number, power, and status). These factors will largely determine the overall vitality of the minority (or dominated) and the majority (or dominant) language groups that interact on a territory. The model refers to the minority group as the *ingroup* since it is the perspective of the linguistic minority that is depicted by the model. The majority group is called the *outgroup* because it is the principal language group with which the minority group interacts.

As shown in figure 1.2, the ideological, legal, and political framework influences the "institutional and social context" in which the two linguistic groups interact. For example, because of low vitality indices in terms of number, power, and status, a linguistic group may have low ideological legitimacy in society and, consequently, have few linguistic rights, little political influence, and receive little institutional support from the state. Therefore, the linguistic minority would be schooled primarily in the dominant group's language, would neither be represented in the media nor served in its language in state institutions, and would receive few services in its language in the public sphere.

The minority group's "community life" (Fishman, 1989) would tend to be in a "diglossic" situation (Fishman, 1967). Diglossia refers to the social partitioning of language functions in society. The minority language would be a "low language" in society; it would tend to be used mainly in the private sphere and for informal functions. It would also tend to be limited to intragroup functions. On the other hand, the majority language in a classical diglossic situation is the "high language" of society. Its use prevails in the formal functions of society, it is used in the state's institutions and in the public sphere (stores, restaurants, financial institutions, the work domain, the media, etc.). In intergroup social functions attended by members of both groups, the dominant group's language is the *lingua franca,* that is, the language that mediates intergroup communication. Even in the private social networks of minority group members (e.g., contacts with friends and neighbours), the use of the minority language is less frequent when the minority language population is highly dispersed on a given territory. Such situations lead to high degrees of exogamy (mixed marriages),

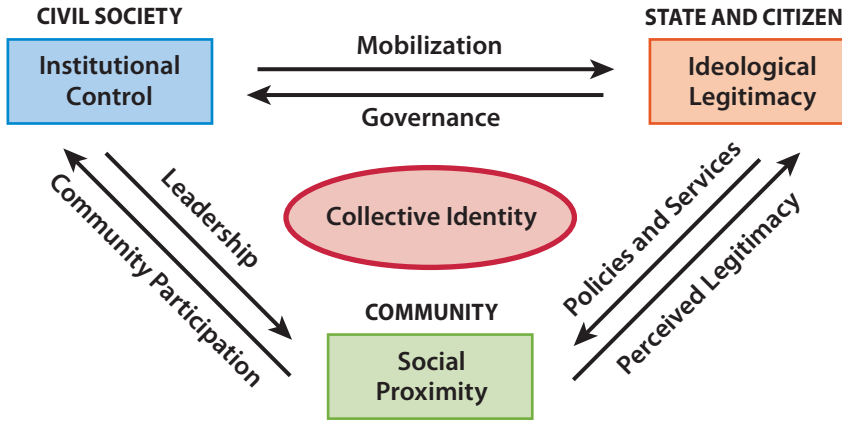
which further contribute to a decreased use of the minority language within the private sphere (Bernard, 1998; Castonguay, 1979, 2005; Landry, 2003, 2010).

It is easy to understand how a diglossic social and institutional context influences the linguistic and cultural socialization of individual members of the linguistic minority, as shown in figure 1.2. When the group has low numbers and low population density (little geographical concentration) as well as little institutional completeness, all of the socialization contexts outside the family (neighbours, social networks, institutional services) will tend to be dominated by the majority language. This socialization process and its influence on the psycholinguistic development of group members in both the minority and the majority languages are discussed in chapter 2, where we present the conceptual model of the study. In brief, a very small minority that is widely dispersed in an urban territory will have few members that are strongly socialized in the language outside the home. And, as already mentioned, even within the home, exogamy may lead to a very low use of the minority language.

As shown in the model in figure 1.2, the structural variables of society tend to impose themselves on the socialization process, which, in turn, largely determines psycholinguistic development, that is, what the group members become linguistically and culturally. This societal influence is so strong that we have called it "social determinism" (Landry & Allard, 1992). Social determinism is prevalent when the minority as a "collectivity" and individual group members are not conscious of the factors leading to the decreasing vitality of their group or when the group and the individual members feel helpless in changing their situation. A counterforce to social determinism, as depicted in figure 1.2, can be applied by both the individual and the collectivity. This counterforce is referred to as "self-determination". Self-determination at the individual level is fostered when the language socialization process favours "personal autonomization" and an internalization of the motivational orientation towards language learning (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005; Deveau & Landry, 2007), as well as "social conscientization" relative to the group's vitality context (Allard, Landry, & Deveau, 2005, 2009). We describe these qualitative aspects of language socialization more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Self-determination at the collective level (see figure 1.2) is fostered when the group as a "collectivity" can empower itself and take control of some of the factors that determine its vitality. This process has been described in the cultural autonomy model (Landry, 2008, 2009; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007c; Landry, Forgues, & Traisnel, 2010) which is presented in figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3
The Cultural Autonomy Model



The cultural autonomy model has been shown to be compatible with the linguistic vitality framework (Bourhis & Landry, 2012), but it more clearly describes the interaction between the categories of variables that influence group vitality and it can more easily be used as a tool for language revitalization. The model is only briefly described here and the reader is referred to original sources for a more complete discussion of the model's components and their interactions. All models presented in this report were also discussed in a recent study on students from minority schools in Francophone communities outside Quebec (Landry *et al.*, 2010).

Cultural autonomy refers to a process aimed at protecting or revitalizing the group's language within an existing state whereas *political autonomy* refers to the same goals through the creation of an independent state (Fishman, 1991, 2001). The cultural autonomy model shown in figure 1.3 was developed by taking into consideration theoretical

constructs and empirical findings from the ethnolinguistic vitality framework and the language revitalization literature, as well as from literature on group mobilization and group governance (e.g., Cardinal & Hudon, 2001; Forgues, 2007, 2010; Landry, Forgues, & Traisnel, 2010; Thériault, 1995, 2007a, 2007b).

The model identifies three components of group vitality (social proximity, institutional completeness and ideological legitimacy) and three groups of social actors, each being a key player for their respective component. The vitality components are shown as interacting and as being both an influence on collective identity and a product of this identity. The group's collective identity can be a precursor to collective projects, these projects tending to be commensurate with the image the group has of itself (Breton, 1983) although the actions of social actors and their products can, in turn, influence the group's ambitions for further collective action. For example, when the federal *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* enshrined the rights of official language minorities for learning in the minority language and the management of their own schools (section 23), it also led to more ambitious projects, especially for the francophone communities, such as the creation of school boards and school community centers, and the control of the school curriculum (Landry & Rousselle, 2003). The right to manage one's schools is now part of the official language minority's collective identity and there would be great group mobilization if any attempt were made to remove it.

According to the cultural autonomy model, language revitalization measures aimed at increasing the minority group's vitality in specific domains are fostered when the social actors responsible for certain vitality components act in synergy, complementing each other's efforts in a global language management endeavour (Landry, 2009).

The social factors responsible for the *social proximity* component of cultural autonomy correspond to what Fishman (2001) calls the "community of intimacy". The actors are families and individuals responsible for the primary socialization in the language, which is the main force that ensures the intergenerational transmission of language and culture. When families cease to socialize their children in the language of the minority, not only linguistic assimilation into the

dominant language is increased but the communities' participation in their own institutions is also undermined. For example, the low vitality of many Francophone communities has led to a very high degree of exogamy, to lower transmission of French as a mother tongue and to a lower rate of participation in French schools (Landry, 2003, 2010). Social proximity is favoured less by the absolute numbers of speakers of the minority language than by their demographic concentration within a territory (Landry & Allard, 1994a; Castonguay, 2005), especially when the group is concentrated near its institutions (Gilbert & Langlois, 2006).

Civil society is the composite social agent of *institutional completeness* (Breton, 1964, 1983; Thériault, 2007a). As argued by Allardt (1984), it is through social organization that a minority group is sustained. Linguistic and cultural institutions constitute the group's "frontiers of identity" (Capra, 2002) and contribute to its historical continuity (Thériault, 2007a). Civil society mediates between state and individuals; it is a source of political influence and, although it does not constitute a government, it has a capacity of governance (Landry, Forgues, & Traisnel, 2010; Thériault, 2007a). It is often the elite of a community that offers the leadership that fosters greater group visibility, that expresses the group's collective identity, that most contributes to greater institutional completeness, that acts as an intermediary between the state and the community, and that mobilizes the community towards certain vitality goals. The elite is generally constituted of prominent leaders and members of civil society.

It can be argued that schools constitute the cornerstone of institutional completeness because they generate the social actors who will be instrumental in the future social organization of the community (Landry & Rousselle, 2003), but schools are also an extension of the family and an active agent of social proximity. They are places of language socialization and they can contribute as much to ethnolinguistic identity as the family and the social network (Landry & Allard, 1996). In small communities with little institutional completeness, the school is often the only institution providing a dominant atmosphere in the minority language.

As a general principle, according to the macroscopic model presented in figure 1.2, the institutions that are most important for the vitality of a linguistic minority are those that have the most impact on the language socialization of its members (Landry, 2011). Some institutions, such as schools and the media, have more impact on identity development whereas others have more influence on the perceived status of the linguistic minority, that is, "subjective vitality" (these processes are further discussed in the next chapter).

The third component of the cultural autonomy model is *ideological legitimacy*. The prominent social actors responsible for this component are the state and its citizens. It is the state that has the power and role of providing status and legitimacy to a minority group through "politics of recognition" (Taylor, 1992). Bourhis (2001) and others (e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) have provided taxonomies of the ideological orientations of states towards their linguistic minorities. According to Bourhis (2001), these ideological orientations vary from *pluralism* (proactive support based on public funds) to *ethnicism* (rejection or marginalization of the group, which in extreme cases can lead to genocide). In between these two extremes the state's orientation may be civic, which is a form of tolerance of the group but with no publicly funded state support. The group must muster its own institutional support and its language is not officially recognized by the state. Between *civicism* and *ethnicism*, there are on this ideological continuum various forms of *assimilationism*. In this case, the state is actively involved in attempts to assimilate the linguistic minority members into the dominant group.

Calvet (2006) argues that linguistic minority groups that are not officially recognized by the state suffer different forms of "status insecurity". As shown in figure 1.3, state recognition through language legislation is usually related to the community by policies and services in the minority language. Nonetheless, in this age of globalization, the symbolic power of language (Bourdieu, 1991) extends beyond state borders. Today, English is a "global language" (Crystal, 2000) or, as de Swaan (2001) proposes, a "hypercentral language" that attracts speakers of other languages through bilingualism and multilingualism. As Risager (2006) concludes, English may in the near future no longer be a foreign language for anybody, being at least a second language for speakers of most languages. Through the power of global

communication, English has become the *lingua franca* of world finance and of international political organizations, and the dominant language of science and mass media (Olster, 2010; Steger, 2009).

As depicted in figure 1.3, ideological legitimacy has an effect on the social representations of community members concerning their language and, hence, influences the "perceived legitimacy" of their linguistic group, a process called "subjective vitality" in the ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981; Allard & Landry, 1986, 1992, 1994).

Cultural autonomy is therefore a complex process made up of the interactions of the three components of linguistic vitality with the group's collective identity. When these components reinforce each other in positive ways, cultural autonomy is favoured as in a virtuous circle. However weak components may have negative effects on other components and on the group's collective identity, resulting in a vicious circle favouring linguistic assimilation and collective resignation.

In the following section, we briefly look at the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec based on the conceptual constructs discussed in the present section.

1.2 Vitality of English-speaking communities in Quebec

After the conquest of New France in 1760, the British established a small community whose population increased with the arrival of Loyalists following the American Revolution and new immigrants from the British Isles. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, massive immigration from Ireland and Scotland further increased the Anglophone population in Quebec. Other immigrants such as Germans, Jews and African-Americans integrated into the English-speaking community. By 1851, the English-speaking population had reached 221,000 and constituted one quarter (24%) of the Quebec population. The percentage of Anglophones in the Quebec population peaked in the 1860s but has declined ever since, while the French population increased due to a very high fertility rate. As the English-speaking population increased in absolute numbers up until 1971, its control of the economy rose, and the first half of the twentieth century became the "apex of English-speaking dominance" in Quebec (Dickinson, 2007).

As already discussed, the increase in population of the English-speaking community was also influenced by the fact that a large majority of new immigrants enrolled their children in English language schools. The *Charter of the French Language* (1977) put an abrupt halt to this trend and, as already mentioned, the relative numbers of immigrant children attending English language schools and French language schools have been completely reversed. Bill 101 can be seen as the turning point. The English speakers, now more aware of the protective claims of the Francophone majority and their increasing control of state affairs, began to perceive themselves less as an elite group belonging to the English majority in Canada and more and more as a linguistic minority (Stevenson, 1999; Dickinson, 2007; Caldwell, 2002).

In the remainder of this chapter we synthesize the situation of Quebec's English-speaking communities by looking at the three components of cultural autonomy (see figure 1.3) and at the group's collective identity.

a) Social proximity

When we look at linguistic vitality from a demographic perspective, absolute numbers do not represent the whole story. Possibly the most important demographic characteristic is territorial concentration. Immigration and outmigration are also important factors. Territorial concentration is in turn related to rates of endogamy and exogamy, the latter being related to an increased use of the majority language in the home.

In absolute numbers, the number of speakers of English as defined by mother tongue has increased from 558,256 in 1951 (13.8% of the Quebec population) to 788,833 in 1971 (13.1% of the population). The population then decreased steadily to 591,365 in 2001 (8.3% of the population) and increased slightly in 2006 (607,165 and 8.2% of the population). However, mother tongue may not be the best indicator of the number of English speakers. In 2006, the number of speakers defined by mother tongue reaches 640,600 if we count those that have English and another language as mother tongues. A more inclusive measure is the first official language spoken (FOLS), a derived measure that takes into consideration persons with other mother tongues who,

of Canada's two official languages, may know only English, or who know both English and French but use English more often at home. In 2006, using FOLS as a defining characteristic, the population of English speakers reaches 995,000 (13.4% of the population), and could even reach 1,275,000 (17.1% of the population) if persons who speak English most often at home (more than 835,000) or regularly at home (more than 439,000) were included (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010).

Much can be said about the English-speaking population of Quebec if we look at table 1.1, which contrasts Canada's two official language minorities. This table compares the language attraction index (LAI) of the two language groups (Landry, 2010). The LAI is the ratio of the number of people who speak the language most often at home to that of those who have the language as mother tongue. This measure is similar to the linguistic continuity index but takes into account all mother tongues of individuals rather than just the mother tongue of the group considered when calculating the language most often spoken at home. The LAI can be less than 1.00. In this case there are fewer people speaking the language most often at home than there are people with that language as mother tongue, an indication that there is linguistic assimilation. The LAI can also be greater than 1.00. In this case, the LAI is an indication of the attraction power of the language since there are more people speaking the language most often at home than there are people who have the language as mother tongue.

Table 1.1 shows that the absolute number of English speakers in Quebec has decreased between 1971 and 2001. This was mainly due to outmigration. The outmigration seems to be directly related to political factors, with the strongest net negative migrations being between 1976 and 1981 (-123,053) and between 1981 and 1986 (-50,133). These are the years after the voting of the *Charter of the French language* (1977) and of greatest political turmoil. During these two periods, the number of English speakers leaving Quebec was much higher than the number of new arrivals (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010). The period of lowest outmigration was between 2001 and 2006, when the net outmigration was 16,005. The decrease in the number of persons with English as mother tongue between 1971 and 2001 (-26%) is greater than the decrease in the number of home speakers (-16%). This shows that although many English speakers left the province of Quebec,

Table 1.1

Language Attraction Indexes (LAI) of Official Language Communities in Minority Contexts (1971-2006)

Francophones outside Quebec	**1971**	**1981**	**1991**	**2001**	**2006**
Language most often spoken at home	675,925	666,785	636,640	612,985	604,975
Mother tongue	926,400	923,605	976,415	980,270	975,390
LAI: language spoken/ mother tongue	**0.73**	**0.72**	**0.65**	**0.63**	**0.62**
Anglophones in Quebec					
Language most often spoken at home	887,875	806,785	761,815	746,845	787,885
Mother tongue	788,830	693,600	626,200	591,365	607,165
LAI: language spoken/ mother tongue	**1.13**	**1.16**	**1.22**	**1.26**	**1.30**
Differences in LAI	**0.40**	**0.44**	**0.57**	**0.63**	**0.68**

Source: Calculations made from data in Marmen and Corbeil (2004) and Statistics Canada (2007).

these departures were in part compensated by persons of other mother tongues speaking the language most often at home. Indeed, as shown in table 1.1, the LAI continued to increase from 1.13 in 1971 to 1.30 in 2006, a clear contrast with the French official language minority whose LAI index decreased from 0.73 to 0.62 during the same period.

The strong LAI index of the Quebec English-speaking community cannot, however, be attributed to its internal vitality and power. We believe that it is mainly the product of the high power of attraction of English in Canada, North America and, indeed, the world. This should be clearly noted since, as we argue below, although the drawing power of English contributes to the vitality of this language in Quebec, there are nonetheless signs of an increased minorization of English speakers in this province (Bourhis, 2012a).

So far, we have looked only at the total population of English speakers in Quebec. We cannot attribute the same vitality to English in all of the regions of the province. More than 80% (80.5) of persons who have English as their FOLCS live in the Montreal area. The other

20% are spread across various regions. Only in Montreal (22.3%) and in the Outaouais region (17.4%) do the speakers of English represent more than 10% of the regional population. In the Estrie and south of Quebec region, English speakers represent 8.7% of the population and in all other regions they represent less than 5% of the population. However, as Corbeil *et al.* (2010) show, these populations can be more or less concentrated in their municipalities of residence. For example, 89.3% of English speakers in Montreal live in municipalities where they represent 50% or more of the region's population or in communities of 200 Anglophones or more. But, on average, Anglophones in Quebec reside in census divisions where 15.2% of the population has English as the mother tongue, 63.9% French, and 20.9% a non-official language (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010).

Regions differ also in the rates of endogamy, exogamy, and language transfer. Whereas in 1971 67.1% of the children less than 18 years of age had two Anglophone parents, this percentage decreased to 41.1% in 2006. More than half of the children have only one Anglophone parent, the other parent being either French (44.6%) or Allophone (14.4%). The percentage of children having two Anglophone parents ranges from a high of 45.6% in Montreal and Eastern Quebec to a low of 9.6% in the region of Quebec City (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010). Overall, 58.5% of the members of the Anglophone linguistic group in Quebec have as their spouse a person who has English as the mother tongue compared to 32.4% who have a Francophone spouse and 9.1% a partner who has a non-official language as mother tongue (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010).

The rates of transmission of English as mother tongue to the children differ according to regions, endogamy, and exogamy. Most children (78.4%) who have at least one Anglophone parent have English as their mother tongue in Montreal but only 34.1% do so in the Quebec City region. Globally, 71.8% of the children who have at least one Anglophone parent in the province of Quebec have English as their mother tongue (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010). This percentage is higher than in the Francophone minority outside Quebec where only 50% of the children aged 18 years or less have French as their mother tongue (Landry, 2010). The proportion of children who have English as mother tongue when both parents are Anglophone is above 95% but decreases to

35% when one of the parents is Francophone. However, when the Anglophone parent has an Allophone partner, the rate of transmission of English as mother tongue is 82% (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010).

There is linguistic transfer when people speak most often at home a language other than their mother tongue. Language transfer amongst Anglophones was 10.6% in 2006 in Quebec, an increase of 3.1 percentage points since 1971 when it was 7.5%. However, language transfers vary greatly across regions. It ranges from a low of 7.6% in Montreal to a high of 49.9% in the Quebec City region.

As discussed above, social proximity is the component of vitality that ensures primary socialization in the language. It is strongly influenced by the territorial concentration of the minority population, which in turn is related to transmission of the mother tongue to children and to language transfer. One key factor in the latter is rate of exogamy. The statistics reported show that language transfers are globally low (10.6%) but are higher when the territorial concentration and the rate of endogamy of Anglophones are lower. The fact that more than 80% of the English speakers reside in Montreal where geographic concentration and urban life contribute to the use of English is a positive characteristic of this community. Moreover, as table 1.1 shows, the strong attraction of speakers of other languages to the English language tends to benefit the demographic vitality of the Anglophone community. But this effect is much stronger in regions where the French language is less dominant such as in Montreal and the Outaouais region and less a factor in regions where English speakers are greatly outnumbered.

b) Institutional completeness

Historically, separate linguistic institutions in education, health and social services evolved out of different religious roots creating a dual system in these social domains. This created a situation that reinforced the English-speaking communities' sense of belonging to the dominant cultural society of Canada (Dickinson, 2007). Moreover, this reflected British economic dominance that was widespread in Quebec until the Quiet Revolution. In the first half of the twentieth century, Montreal was the "economic metropolis of Canada with wealth based on finance, manufacturing and, more specifically, transportation. The

Bank of Montreal was Canada's largest at that time" (Dickinson, 2007, p. 16). The Anglophone elite supplied the capital and French Canadians supplied the labour (along with a class of English-speaking citizens who did not hold managerial jobs). The "religious divide" was further reinforced by separate educational institutions and the institutional duality was paralleled by separate social networks. The rate of exogamy at that time was low when it is compared to its present level.

With the advent of the welfare state and the increasing control of state affairs, and especially language legislation, by the Francophone majority, the "power of negotiation" which had always been the basis of political power for the Anglophone elite was gradually being replaced by Francophone "majority rule" (Stevenson, 1999). Gradually, Anglophones became collectively conscious that the "old order" was being replaced by the nationalistic ambitions and goals of the Francophone majority. An "Anglo-Québécois minority" emerged (Caldwell, 2002).

Bourhis and Foucher (in press) argue, based on data from Quebec's Ministry of Education, that in the period extending from 1972 to 2007 the percentage of students enrolled in French schools increased from 84.3% to 88.9% whereas the percentage of students in English schools declined from 15.7% to 11.1%. This change can be attributed to Bill 101 and its effect on the schooling of immigrants in French and to outmigration of English speakers. During this period the number of students in English schools decreased from 256,251 to 119,508, a 53% drop in enrolment in the English minority's schools. At the same time enrolment decreased in the French schools by 31%. Some of the decline in both school systems has been attributed to low fertility rates. In 2005, Paillé calculated that 45% of the drop in English school enrolments can be attributed to low birth rates, 35% to outmigration and 20% to Bill 101 due to its effects on immigrant enrolment.

The fact that, for a long period, new immigrants had tended to enrol their children in English schools has had a profound effect on the social fabric of the Anglophone minority. Today, as was shown in table 1.1, speakers of other languages have integrated the English-speaking community. It is now made up of people from a large variety of ethnic, religious and racial origins (Jedwab, 2012). Today, in Quebec, the ratio of the number of persons having English as

first official language spoken to that of the number of persons having English as their mother tongue is 1.64 (Lachapelle and Lepage, 2010), an indication that the English-speaking population is still strongly made up of immigrants choosing to speak English rather than French at home or, of the two official languages in Canada, know only English.

According to the Chambers Report (1992), the English school system has two major goals: to transmit the English cultural heritage and to foster the knowledge of French. Lamarre (2007, 2012) argues along similar lines. French immersion, the world renowned second language program, was invented in Quebec because Anglophone parents wanted their children to learn French so that they could succeed in the French dominant society of Quebec (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Today, although the teaching of French is compulsory from first grade to secondary 5 in English-language schools (Pilote & Bolduc, 2007), a large proportion of the students are nevertheless enrolled in French immersion programs. Many English-speaking parents choose French schools for their children so as to better increase their chances of social mobility in Quebec society.

Due to the restrictions of Bill 101 and Bill 104 (recently revised following the Supreme Court's decision in N'Guyen v Quebec (Attorney General, [2009], 3 RCS 208)), access to English schools is not open to all children of Anglophone parents (Bourhis and Foucher, in press). Only about 52% of the children who have at least one parent with English as first official language of Canada spoken (FOLS) are enrolled in English schools. And about 22% of the children are in French immersion programs. Percentage of enrolment in the English-language minority's schools varies across regions, with the lowest found in the Quebec City region (25%) and the highest in Eastern Quebec (61%), a region composed of Gaspésie, the Îles-de-la-Madeleine, the lower Saint Lawrence and the Côte-Nord areas. The enrolment rate varies also according to the linguistic structure of the family: 78% if both parents are Anglophone, 37% if one parent is French and close to two thirds when one of the parents is Allophone (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010). One interesting characteristic of school participation is that, contrary to Francophones outside Quebec where enrolment in French schools is lower at the secondary level, enrolment of Anglophones in English

secondary schools is higher in Quebec. At the preschool and kindergarten levels, 47% of the children of parents with English as FOLS are enrolled in English schools. The percentage increases to 52% at the primary school level and to 61% at secondary school. However, enrolment in French immersion programs which is 32% at the primary school level is down to 21% at secondary school level (Corbeil *et al*., 2010).

Another sign of the powerful attraction of the English language in Quebec is the fact that an increasing number of Francophone parents who become "ayant droit" (i.e., right holders) by virtue of their marriage to right holders according to section 23 of the Canadian *Charter* choose to send their children to English schools. Therefore, an increasing number of French mother tongue students are enrolled in English schools. According to Lamarre (2012), citing numbers from Jedwab (2004) and Béland (2006), these constitute less than 2.5% of the province's French mother tongue student population but represent 6.2% of the students in English schools in the Greater Montreal area and 25% outside Montreal. In the words of Lamarre (2012):

> If looked at proportionally, however, the impact on the two school systems is quite different: 21% of all English mother tongue students are in French schools (roughly 10% by choice and the other 10% by law) as compared to 2.6% of the total French mother tongue student population who have crossed over (by choice) to English schools. (p. 194)

There are forty-eight colleges or CEGEPS in the Quebec post-secondary education system, five of which deliver services in English. Approximately half of the student population in these five CEGEPS have English as mother tongue. The number of Francophones in the English language CEGEPS is on the increase but the number of Allophones in these colleges has decreased strongly since the 1980's. More than 60% of Allophones are now choosing French CEGEPS compared to 18% in 1980 (Lamarre, 2012). At the university level, three of Quebec's nineteen universities are English-language institutions: Concordia and McGill in Montreal and Bishop in the Eastern Townships (Estrie) region. The student population in these three universities is constituted roughly as follows: 55% is Anglophone, 20% is Francophone and 25% is Allophone (Lamarre, 2012). Yet, as Jedwab

(2005) has shown, these universities have not been active in promoting Anglophone vitality within Quebec and their leadership plays a minimal role in the communities' governance structure. Of late, however, Concordia University and the Quebec English-Speaking Community Research Network (QUESCREN) and other initiatives have begun to carve out a niche in this area.

Due to the high degree of bilingualism of health professionals, a high percentage of Anglophones in Quebec receive their health services in English. Approximately 80% get health services in English (or in English and French) with their family doctor, 65% with nurses, 50% in online services and 61% for other services. The availability of services in English tends to be most frequent in Montreal and least frequent in the Quebec City region (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010).

According to Carter (2012) it is important for English Quebecers to make a distinction between bilingual services provided on a voluntary basis and entitled access to services. Bill 142 voted by the newly elected Liberal government in 1986 "amended the existing health and social services legislation to provide a qualified right for English-speaking people to receive services in English. It directed regional planning authorities to develop access programs of services in English, taking into account the resources of the institutions in each region" (p. 216). However, under the Parti Québécois government between 1994 and 2003, transformations were made in access programs with no guarantees of continued services in English. Legal action by Alliance Quebec in 1999 prompted the Parti Québécois to approve the access to programs identifying services available in English (Carter, 2012). Evaluations of these services by a provincial committee and through surveys made by the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) have shown that in many regions, access to social programs and services in English is limited or even non-existent (Carter, 2012).

It is in the media domain that the English language is most often used by English speakers defined by the FOLCS. In the post census survey done by Statistics Canada on official language minorities (Corbeil *et al.*, 2010), it is shown that 97% of adults who have English as FOLCS use English most often for media consumption and 53% use English exclusively. The same study shows that 91% of English speakers who have only English as their FOLCS use this language most

often in the public sphere (either alone or with another language). The public sphere was defined as the use of a language in media consumption, institutions and commercial spaces, work, immediate networks, and with friends outside the home. Use of English varied according to regions but was low only in the Quebec City region. According to the last census in 2006, 94% of Anglophones in Quebec use English at work at least regularly and approximately 3 out of 4 use it as their principal language (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010).

With the exception of a few regions, there is no sign that the English language is losing strength if we consider how frequently it is used in the public and institutional sphere. As summarized by Jedwab (2005):

> Quebec's minority Anglophone population has a relatively high degree of institutional completeness with reasonably good access to a network of schools, healthcare and social services, media and cultural bodies (p. 1).

Jedwab (2005) argued that the main challenge of the English-speaking communities is less the issue of vitality than the issue of governance. As discussed above in describing the cultural autonomy model, civil society is the composite social actor of institutional completeness and governance. The diversity of the Anglophone population has become an obstacle in the attempt "to reconcile the interests of stakeholders and constituents whose respective vision and priorities often vary" (Jedwab, 2005, p. 1). One problem with governance structures, common to both of Canada's official language minorities, is the fact that despite their desire for autonomy, they have become more and more dependent on federal funding (Forgues, 2007, 2010, in press; Landry, Forgues, & Traisnel, 2010). In his historical survey, Dickinson (2007) states that the "English-speaking minority of Quebec has never had the unity necessary to become a true political force" (p. 21). It remains to be seen whether the present advocacy organizations such as the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) can muster enough leadership to reconcile the diversity of interests and priorities of the English-speaking communities and to implement an effective governance capable of defending the communities' linguistic rights.

There are still many who see the Anglophone minority of Quebec as an elite group that speaks a "universal" language and that does not need to be bilingual, that controls its own institutions and that does not need government support. Yet, as analyzed by several authors in the book edited by Bourhis (2012a), Anglophones are now twice as likely to be bilingual than the Francophone majority (Statistics Canada 2007) and their socio-economic status continues to decrease. As Floch and Pocock (2012) have shown, the most well-educated youths are also the most outward looking and tend to leave the province more than the less educated:

> …Anglophones who stayed in Quebec experienced a relative loss in socio-economic status and cohort analysis suggests that such decline will continue in the near future. It is also the case that the arrival of English-speaking populations from other provinces and other countries has slowed considerably from1971 and especially up to 2001. (p. 169)

c) Ideological legitimacy

The third component of linguistic vitality proposed by the cultural autonomy model is ideological legitimacy which means the degree of state support to the cultural autonomy of the group. In the words of Dickinson (2007): "For close to a hundred years it [the English-speaking community] relied on the power of the imperial authorities to guarantee that it had a pre-eminent place in Quebec society" (p. 21). After Quebec's Quiet Revolution and the consequential language legislation that followed, the language rights of the English speakers remain an unsettled issue.

First it must not be forgotten that although the Anglophone minority in Quebec has gone from an elite group to a minority group status (Stevenson, 1999) it still belongs to a strong majority that includes Canada and the Unites States. In reviewing the rights of the Anglophone communities in Quebec, Foucher (2012) stresses that "… emphasis should be placed upon collective rights for the community rather than individual freedom of choice of language, since it is the collectivity, not the language, that is at risk." (p. 72). A second point made by Foucher is "that institutions for the English-speaking community should be secured: institutions where it can pursue its

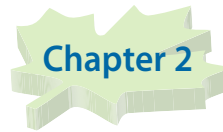
activities, institutions which will defend its interests, institutions where its culture may flourish in all its diversity." (p. 72). Foucher believes that "sheer market pressure will ensure that English will still be spoken in Quebec for a long time to come." (p. 72-73) but as a legitimate collectivity many issues of governance (Jedwab, 2005) and of collective rights still need to be solved.

It is beyond the scope of this study to present an overview of the linguistic rights of the Anglophone communities. These rights are complex and involve the interaction of two different approaches to language legislation, that of the federal government which has traditionally followed the "personality model" and that of the Quebec government which prefers the "territorial model". Nonetheless, some rights of the Anglophone community are guaranteed by the Constitutional Act of 1867, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (in particular section 23 on schooling), and the federal Official Languages Act. Moreover, section 29.1 of Bill 101 authorizes the Quebec government to designate institutions that allow the use of the English language in public services (see Foucher, 2012, for an excellent review of these rights and for specific recommendations to improve upon them).

The Anglophone community is very little represented in the public service of the Quebec government. Although it constitutes 8.2% of the Quebec population (using mother tongue as the defining characteristic) it still constitutes less than 1% of the province's public service employees (Bourhis, 2012b).

The model we have used to briefly estimate the vitality of the English-speaking communities, that of cultural autonomy, is consonant with Foucher's (2012) recommendations to improve upon their rights, that is, to improve their institutional completeness and to view their rights in collective terms.

In the following chapter, we present the conceptual model that was used to prepare the sociolinguistic profile of the secondary 4 students that participated in the study. We will now delve more into the language socialization experienced by students in Anglophone schools and focus on their psycholinguistic development in regions of Quebec for which the vitality of the English language varies.



Conceptual framework

This chapter[1] discusses the conceptual framework that guided us in the data collection and focuses on the decisive impact of language and cultural socialization. While highlighting the effects of three types of language socialization, the conceptual model emphasizes the roles of community and family on language maintenance in minority contexts. It is the components of this model that have been researched in this study and on which results are presented in chapter 4.

While the cultural autonomy model described in chapter 1 (figure 1.3) corresponds to the top part of the macroscopic model presented in figure 1.2 (the "Ideological, legal and political framework" and the "Social and institutional context"), the model described in this chapter corresponds to its bottom part. It deals with "Linguistic and cultural socialization" and "Psycholinguistic development". At this level of the model, we focus less on the language group as a collectivity and more on the language experiences of individual members of the group.

2.1 Language socialization: a conceptual model

Our theoretical model was designed to empirically analyze the aspects of language socialization that may contribute to the self-determination of language behaviours and to a stronger sense of community among members of a minority group. It is a model of self-determined and conscious language behaviour (Landry, Allard, Deveau, & Bourgeois, 2005).

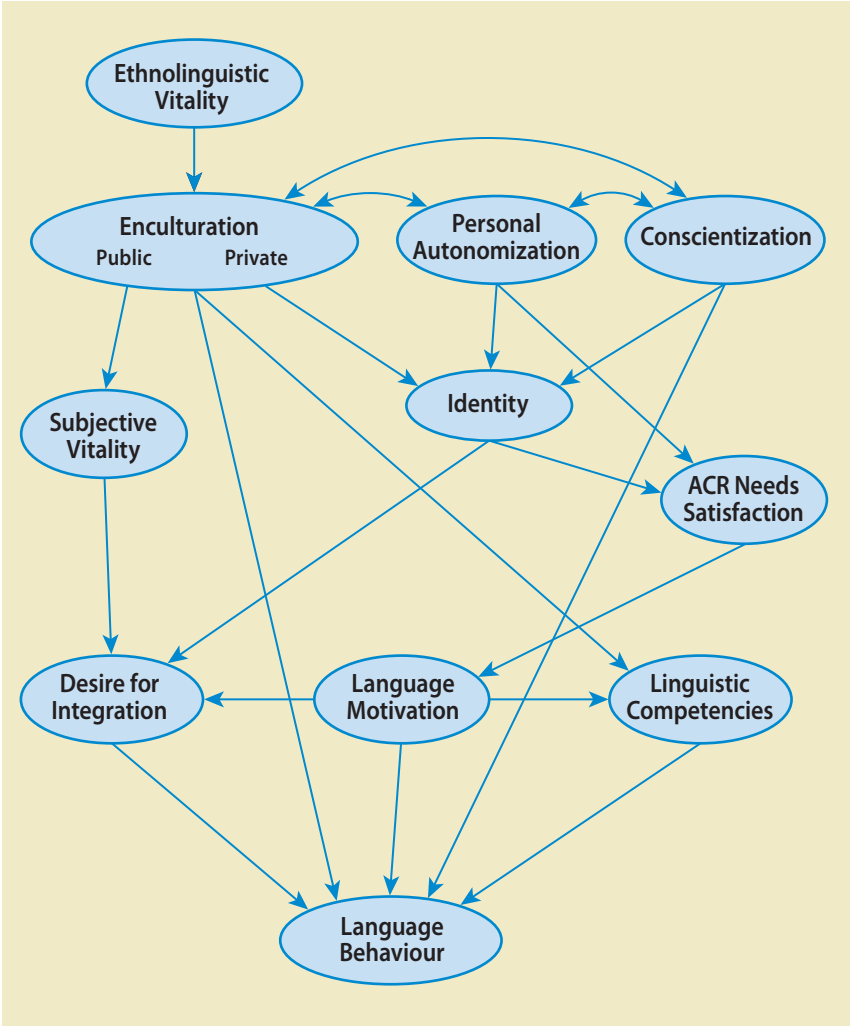
This model (refer to figure 2.1) suggests that language and cultural socialization may be placed on a continuum based on the degree to which learning by direct or indirect experience (through

1. The text in this chapter is an adaptation of part of chapter 2 in Landry, Allard, and Deveau (2010).

the observation of social models) fosters the acquisition of the group's language and cultural elements (enculturation), self-determination of language behaviour (personal autonomization), and critical consciousness of the group's situation and engaged community behaviour (social conscientization).

Figure 2.1

The Self-Determination and Ethnolinguistic Development Model (Landry, Allard, Deveau, & Bourgeois, 2005; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007b)



Since this model refers to the socialization process and its different aspects, it should be noted that two fundamental paradigms are usually recognized when defining socialization (Assoghba, 1999; Boudon & Bourricaud, 1989). The first, the determinism or conditioning paradigm, leaves little room for the actor as an "acting subject." According to this paradigm, socialization leads the individual to internalize social norms, attitudes and values of the socializing environment. Their environment and social structures shape them. The second, the interaction paradigm, regards social players as subjects in action, intentional beings capable of reasoning who can act and adapt to changing situations while capable of critical thought and creativity. In our model, we acknowledge the contributions of both paradigms. According to the continuum described by the three types of language experiences in the theoretical model, language behaviour may be, to a certain extent, the result of social determinisms and to a certain extent the result of autonomous and deliberate choice. Enculturation, especially when the person is not conscious of the process or attending to it, is subject to the first paradigm. Personal autonomization and social conscientization fall more under the second paradigm.

Before describing each component, we will provide a brief overview of the model as a whole. As shown in figure 2.1 and as explained in the previous chapter, the model hypothesizes a strong relationship between the ethnolinguistic vitality of the community and enculturation. As we specify below, language enculturation is much more closely related to the amount (quantity) of contact with each language and is believed to be an aspect of language socialization for which persons tend to be minimally aware of the consequences. Conversely, the more qualitative aspects of the language experience (personal autonomization and social conscientization) are much more associated with an awareness of the conditions of one's existence and make persons more autonomous and aware of their language experiences. If the language group's vitality can also be associated with the more qualitative experiences, the relationship occurs indirectly. In other words, a minimum amount of enculturation is needed to bring about conditions that allow for personal autonomization and social conscientization experiences. That is the meaning behind the bidirectional curved arrows linking the three types of language socialization in figure 2.1.

2.2 A global view of the model

Before describing each component of the model, we must first present the main hypotheses described by the arrows that connect certain components. A unidirectional arrow presupposes a relationship of effect of one variable over another. A curved bidirectional arrow is an indication of a correlation or interrelation, without discriminating in favour of a directional causal link. According to the proposed model, each of the three types of language experience helps to build a young person's identity (refer to section 2.3.2.1). It is the private aspects of enculturation that bolster identity building. Enculturation in the public domain (institutions and the linguistic landscape) fosters subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, that is, perceptions of the status or vitality of the language in the region in which one resides. The model also proposes that subjective ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnolinguistic identity are two components that influence a youth's desire to be associated with their group and use their community's language resources (the desire for integration). These hypotheses are empirically supported in a study on minority Francophones (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b).

The desire to integrate into the language community may also be indirectly influenced by feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness (A-C-R feelings) fostered by an autonomy-building language experience and the blossoming of a strong and involved ingroup identity. Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000 and 2002) states that these three fundamental feelings contribute to the development of inner-regulated motivation, that is, a self-determined motivation built into the individual's personal values (refer to sections 2.3.2.4 and 2.3.2.5). This language motivation is linked to language behaviour, the development of language competencies and the desire to integrate the language community. The more self-determined the language motivation, the more freely the person chooses to integrate the community and speak its language.

The desire for integration, language motivation and linguistic competencies are factors seen to be associated with language behaviour. Persons who have progressively acquired the desire to live in their language community, the internal motivation to speak the language and high proficiency in this language, will, as a rule, be willing to speak the language in their daily life.

According to the model, language behaviour does not depend solely on individual inclinations, but is directly influenced by certain aspects of enculturation and social conscientization (see, in figure 2.1, the direct downward arrows between these two language experiences and language behaviour). On the one hand, experience contexts (e.g., public institutions) leave individuals with little choice as to the language to be used. Thus, even a very autonomous and involved person may feel obliged, in these contexts, to use the language of the majority outgroup, even if their preference would be to communicate in their minority language.[2] Even within the home, situations like exogamy produce restrictions on minority language use. On the other hand, engaged language behaviours such as language valorization, identity affirmation and assertion of rights—refer to sections 2.3.1.3 and 2.3.2.7—are more closely associated with the consciousness-raising language experience, i.e. social conscientization (Allard, Landry, & Deveau, 2005, 2009; Landry, Allard, Deveau, & Bourgeois, 2005). A minimum of social conscientization is necessary for people to be conscious of the importance of—or necessity for—certain types of behaviours. Therefore, socialized language behaviours will tend to be related to past linguistic enculturation that fosters language habits of which a person may be little aware, whereas more conscious engaged behaviours will tend to be related to the more qualitative aspects of language socialization, especially social conscientization.

Finally, linguistic competencies are above all subject to enculturation, i.e., to the degree of contact with the language since childhood. Social networks and contacts with the media may contribute to the development of communication skills and the acquisition of vocabulary. While fostering the acquisition of oral communication skills, school and literacy experiences help above all to improve written skills and to strengthen language skills through the use of language as a thinking tool, called "cognitive-academic" competence (Cummins, 1979, 1981). Language motivation may also facilitate the acquisition of language proficiency. Motivated people tend to make a greater effort and show more interest in learning the language than less motivated people (Noels & Clément, 1998).

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2. A recent study (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2009) shows that different conditions of active offer of French language government services in Nova Scotia have a strong influence on the probability of use of this language.

2.3 The model's components

All of the model's components must be explained in detail for a full understanding of their respective roles in the psycholinguistic development of youth. The fourth chapter presents the results of our research in relation to each component. The first component, related to the ethnolinguistic vitality of the minority language community, was examined in the first chapter. Our initial hypothesis is therefore that this vitality mostly influences enculturation, i.e., the amount of contact with and experiences in each language.

2.3.1 The language socialization components

2.3.1.1 Enculturation

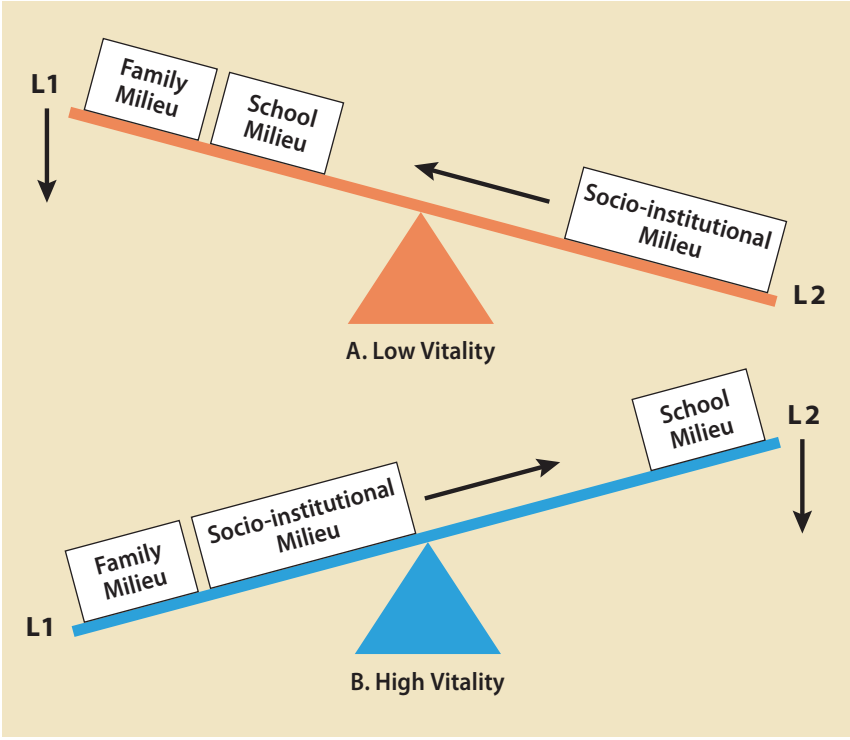
The three language experiences that the model identifies represent separate aspects or different forms of language socialization. The first on the model continuum is called "enculturation." We explained that it constitutes an aspect of language socialization that relates to the initial acceptance of this construct, that is, it falls under the first paradigm mentioned above. The social and the group are seen as anterior to the person and produce decisive effects on the person's future (Assoghba, 1999). Widely influenced by their environment, people internalize the social norms around them and adopt the beliefs, values, and behaviours of the socializing environment. As a result, the internalizing of social norms, which is a more or less conscious process, may be the result of a certain social determinism. The frequency of language contacts in various social and institutional domains becomes a determining variable that defines enculturation in a language. Ethnolinguistic enculturation is defined as all language and cultural contacts in an environment that form the foundation for language learning, the internalizing of social norms, and the adoption of the language, cultural values, and beliefs of the socializing environment. In a bilingual or multigroup context, language contacts may foster differentiated learning of languages and the adoption of cultural traits based on the relative dominance of the contacts with each of the languages and cultures. In a context of subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975), dominant enculturation in the language of the majority group may have deculturation effects for the minority language.

Research into the effects of enculturation in a Francophone minority environment has shown the existence of different relationships between categories of enculturation experiences and aspects of psycholinguistic development (Landry & Allard, 1994b and 1996; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Some studies on Anglophones living in a majority context have looked at the effects of enculturation through schooling and out of school socialization on French competencies and inclinations toward the French language and the Francophone community (Saindon, 2002; Saindon, Landry, & Boutouchent, 2011; Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003). We describe the nature of those effects in section 2.3.2.

One of the fundamental questions we must ask is whether the language contacts of a minority group foster additive or subtractive bilingualism. Lambert (1975) describes additive bilingualism as developing in a context that fosters the learning of a second language without having negative effects on the development and maintenance of the first language. Subtractive bilingualism occurs when the acquisition of a second language occurs at the detriment of the first, which is a very frequent situation in a minority language environment.

Landry and Allard (1990, 1997) have proposed the counterbalance model and the concept of "francité familoscolaire" (the optimal use of French within the family and at school) to explain conditions that promote additive bilingualism in a Francophone minority environment. According to this model (refer to figure 2.2), two conditions may contribute to the additive bilingualism of members of a language group living in a minority context (i.e., a low vitality group). The first condition is the widespread use of the minority language within the family and schooling, which partially counterbalances the effects of the dominant language in the socio-institutional environment (downward arrow, top part of figure 2.2). A study on Francophones outside Quebec has shown that children from exogamous families (in this case, a Francophone parent and an Anglophone parent) who spoke French with their Francophone parent and who went to a French school, obtained, in grade 12, the same linguistic competence scores in French and the same Francophone identity scores as students with two Francophone parents (Landry & Allard, 1997). The study found that exogamy is not a direct cause of language assimilation, the direct cause being the language dynamic within the exogamous family.

Figure 2.2
The Counterbalance Model (Landry & Allard, 1990)



The second condition that promotes additive bilingualism is the regular use of the minority language in the socio-institutional environment (upward arrow, top part of figure 2.2). Opportunities to speak the minority language in social networks and public institutions make it possible to create not only social spaces for increasing the use of the language, but also to give the language a legitimate status, which encourages youths to want to integrate the minority community.

The lower part of figure 2.2 illustrates the conditions for additive bilingualism applicable to groups with a strong ethnolinguistic vitality (e.g., Anglophones in Canada, especially outside Quebec). For these groups, the stronger the schooling in the second language (downward arrow), and the more frequent the use of the second language (French in this case) within the family and socioinstitutional environment

(upward arrow), the stronger the bilingualism. This bilingualism is called additive because the learning of English, the first language, is protected by strong social pressures that encourage the maintenance of that language and by the many opportunities to use it. Numerous studies on French immersion among Canada's Anglophones (e.g., Genesee, 1998; Swain & Lapkin, 1991) confirm the validity of the first condition established by the model. Another study on Anglophones outside Quebec (Saindon, 2002; Saindon, Landry, & Boutouchent, 2011) has shown that the use of French outside the school environment contributes as much as, if not more in certain respects, than schooling in French to the bilingualism of young Anglophone Canadians. Studies on the effects of French immersion have included Quebec Anglophones. In fact, the first immersion programs were tested in Montreal (e.g., Lambert & Tucker, 1972) but, to our knowledge, no study has compared the effects of language use in the home, the school and the community, on the bilingual development of Quebec Anglophones. The results of the present study could be used to that end; however these analyses are not reported here.

A simple principle governs all the conditions associated with additive bilingualism, whether among minority group students living in a minority setting, among students of exogamous families, or among majority group students living in a majority setting: priority must be given to learning the language with the lowest community vitality. In Quebec, conditions that foster additive bilingualism may vary with the vitality of the English-speaking communities.

2.3.1.2 Personal autonomization

Language contact experiences may vary in both their quantity and quality. While enculturation is defined primarily by the number of language contact experiences in various social domains, personal autonomization, like social conscientization, corresponds to qualitative aspects of language contacts. We define this experience using Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory (1985, 2000 and 2002), according to which people tend innately to learn and develop their human potential. Personal autonomization corresponds to the social and contextual conditions that facilitate the full realization of this human tendency. Essentially, autonomization is defined as any experience that results

in the satisfaction of three fundamental psychological needs: autonomy, competence and relatedness (see section 2.3.2.4). By applying the theory of self-determination to language learning experience in a bilingual context, we seek to determine the extent of a young person's personal autonomization experiences in two languages. In other words, have the experiences of living in English and in French helped youths meet their needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness in both languages? According to the conceptual model, the relationship between personal autonomization in English and feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness will be enhanced by the building of a strong and engaged or committed Anglophone identity (Deveau, 2007; Deveau, Allard, & Landry, 2008).

Different experiences in learning and using English in a minority context may be a source of autonomization. Opportunities for choosing different learning activities and for taking part in decision-making help to satisfy a need for autonomy. They develop the feeling of being the author or the origin of one's behaviours (de Charms, 1968). In contrast, external punishments and rewards may represent elements of control and have the opposite effect. In order to encourage the development of feelings of competence while fostering positive experiences, explanations must be provided for the reasons for, and the importance of, doing things, positive feedback must be given, and encouragement and accolades offered. The challenges in learning a language are a source of autonomization when they are set at an optimal level, that is, neither too easy nor too difficult. Finally, the experience of having warm and accepting relationships in a setting where the language is learned and used may be a source of autonomization by developing feelings of affiliation and belonging to the minority community. These conditions help fulfill the need for relatedness.

2.3.1.3 Social conscientization

Social conscientization is defined as all experiences, even informal, of members of ethnolinguistic groups in which group relatedness and identification are highlighted and the conditions of group vitality made salient. Through these experiences, group members develop an awareness of the personal and collective consequences, positive or negative, of their adhesion to their group and of the relationships between their

group (the ingroup) and the other group (the outgroup). Of course, ethnolinguistic experiences that contribute directly to the development of a "critical" ethnolinguistic consciousness (Allard, Landry, & Deveau, 2005) are rare. Indeed, ethnolinguistic conscientization experiences are located on a continuum ranging from mere awareness-raising to critical consciousness.

Individuals may experience ethnolinguistic conscientization every day, either directly as an actor or indirectly as an observer (see the vicarious learning experiences noted by Bandura, 1977). It may also occur in formal or informal contexts. A few examples follow.

In their relationships with the majority outgroup, members belonging to minority ethnolinguistic groups have positive and negative personal experiences related to the language and culture of their ingroup. These experiences cause people to be affected by behaviours that reveal negative or positive attitudes towards one's group. For example, group members may be the target of offensive remarks, be praised as members of an ethnolinguistic group, not be served in their language, or learn that their community is at risk of losing education or health services provided in their language.

Observing ethnolinguistic models within the family, among friends, neighbours, school staff and community leaders, or in the media, also contributes to ethnolinguistic conscientization. Family members may manifest varying degrees of commitment towards their ingroup. Their commitment may be expressed in a variety of behaviours: valorization of language and culture, self-affirmation on the ethnolinguistic level, and recognition or even assertion of their ethnolinguistic group's rights.

Finally, conscientization experiences may occur within the framework of formal education (at different levels of schooling) or informal education (in community associations and in non-governmental organizations). Workshops, seminars, courses and other activities that deal with subjects such as linguicism, ethnicism and the factors that contribute to or detract from the maintenance and development of an ethnolinguistic minority's language and culture are just a few examples.

Depending on the contexts where they are experienced and on the diversity of an individual's ethnolinguistic experiences, conscientization experiences may contribute to an awareness or critical consciousness of ethnolinguistic issues. This ethnolinguistic consciousness may be "magical," "naive," or "critical" (Allard, Landry, & Deveau, 2005). In our opinion, ethnolinguistic experiences that are limited to awareness-raising generally lead to a magical or naive ethnolinguistic consciousness, whereas awareness-raising ethnolinguistic experiences on which a consciousness-raising ethnolinguistic experience is built lead to a critical ethnolinguistic consciousness.

Magical ethnolinguistic consciousness. People whose awareness of ethnolinguistic phenomena is qualified as magical do not or barely understand the social factors that have any type of influence over their psycholinguistic development. They are prone to believing that their ethnolinguistic identity, linguistic competencies and the situation of their ethnolinguistic group are achieved by chance or are explained by independent forces beyond their control. They also tend to resign themselves and accept the existing linguistic situation, regarding themselves as powerless to set things straight.

Naive ethnolinguistic consciousness. People whose awareness of ethnolinguistic phenomena is described as naive have a limited, rather one-dimensional understanding of said phenomena, characterized by a short-term view that ignores the totality and complexity of the situation and context. This form of consciousness leads to the often erroneous sentiment that one understands language and culture-related issues well enough to propose changes to fix them, which naturally leads to a form of problem resolution that creates other problems. Since the ethnolinguistic issues observed are not fully grasped, individuals are usually unable to question the underlying social system.

In brief, magical ethnolinguistic consciousness and naive ethnolinguistic consciousness may explain the belief in myths that hinder the maintenance and self-realization of an ethnolinguistic minority group. For example, clinging to these myths may lead to behaviours that make achieving education goals in a minority setting difficult. The belief by certain Francophone parents outside Quebec that immersion represents an academic model designed to promote a high level of

additive bilingualism in their child in a Francophone minority situation illustrates this type of myth. Parents may make very little effort to encourage socialization in the minority language within the family (by using the media or literacy practices, for example), and may think that the school acting on its own can socialize their children optimally in the minority language. In such a situation, the school's challenge is to ensure that students and parents achieve a greater degree of ethnolinguistic consciousness, that is, critical ethnolinguistic consciousness.

Critical ethnolinguistic consciousness. Various aspects of the conscientization process leading to critical consciousness and involvement have been analyzed by Freire (1969, 1973 and 1981) and by other researchers, including Shor (1992), Kumashiro (2002) and Ferrer and Allard (2002a and 2002b), who have included aspects of Freire's reasoning in their analyses. We have used their works to define concepts of critical ethnolinguistic consciousness, ethnolinguistic conscientization and engaged ethnolinguistic behaviour.

By adapting Ferrer's and Allard's comments (2002b) to an ethnolinguistic minority group's psycholinguistic development and emancipation, Allard *et al.* (2005) defined critical ethnolinguistic consciousness as the ability to determine, observe, and analyze critically all of the factors that have a favourable or unfavourable influence on one's language, culture, and community, as well as on the language and culture of other people and communities. This type of consciousness helps to further understand these phenomena by looking at one's values, beliefs and belief systems from a completely different point of view.

In other words, the capacity for critical thought makes it possible to question myths and that which is presented as linguistically and culturally static or unchangeable, to doubt one's own linguistic and cultural choices and those of society. This capacity also makes it possible to agree to have one's complacency uprooted, to set aside one's "reassuring" concepts in relation to language and culture while taking into account the complexity, ambiguity and contradictions of ethnolinguistic reality in order to understand it more fully. By focusing on this new ability to question one's belief system and establish richer links between one's ethnolinguistic experiences and social issues, a person can more easily note that ethnolinguistic reality is a human reality that can be understood and transformed, and, thus, see it as a

construct that one can influence, and not as fate or destiny. In other words, such experiences help to cross the divide between social determinism and self-determination.

Along the same line of thought, Shor (1992) and Cummins and Sayers (1995), among others, speak of *critical literacy,* a concept akin to that of critical consciousness advanced by Freire. According to Shor, critical literacy consists of:

> …habits concerning thought, reading, writing and conversation that transcend the superficial meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official statements, traditional clichés, accepted ideas and simple opinion, in order to understand the deeper meaning, initial causes, social context, ideology and personal consequences of an action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, study subject, policy, mass media or speech. (p. 129)

All in all, ethnolinguistic critical consciousness, also called critical ethnolinguistic literacy, questions the ethnolinguistic reality and related information sources, and helps in making better informed choices.

In short, experiences that bring about a greater awareness of one's ethnolinguistic group, language, culture, and ethnolinguistic identity, may become the foundations of an ethnolinguistic experience that raises critical consciousness, in the sense that it fosters a clearer understanding of ethnolinguistic realities and issues. Ethnolinguistic experiences that promote awareness are therefore the prerequisites for improving critical analysis skills and acquiring an intuitive understanding of linguistic issues.

For a more complete presentation of the definition of the concept of consciousness-raising ethnolinguistic experience, see Allard, Landry, and Deveau, 2005 and 2009.

2.3.2 The effects of language socialization: psycholinguistic development

We propose discussing here each component of the theoretical model that refers to psycholinguistic development, i.e., the variables that define what happens psycholinguistically to youths given the different aspects of their linguistic socialization. As shown in the model (see

figure 2.1) these components are: ethnolinguistic identity, subjective vitality, desire for integration, feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness (ACR feelings), language motivation, linguistic competencies, and language behaviours. As shown below, it is hypothesized that different aspects of language socialization can have differential effects on these various psycholinguistic components.

2.3.2.1 Ethnolinguistic identity

Ethnolinguistic identity may be defined in light of two interrelated components (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005; Tajfel, 1981). The first consists of *self-definition*: individuals state what they are ethnically, linguistically and culturally. They may define themselves as members of a single group, or more than one group, or as persons having a combination of group attributes (e.g., they may give themselves a hybrid identity, refusing to identify themselves as Francophone or Anglophone, preferring the self-definition of bilingual). We recognize, however, that people may define themselves according to an identity without feeling bound to it. For example, youths may say that they are Anglophone without considering themselves to be like the other members of the group and without feeling a true affective attachment to the English-speaking community. The second component, *identity involvement,* relates to the value and affective meaning associated with identity. This component has three aspects: the degree to which persons consider themselves to be similar to the other members of the group; the degree to which identity is associated with self-esteem; and the degree to which persons are committed to working with and within the group. It is expected that these two identity components are positively related; that is, one does not generally manifest a strong identity involvement without first defining oneself as a member of the group. Yet, the components are distinct enough to constitute two independent factors in a factor analysis (Deveau *et al.*, 2005).

Studies (Deveau, 2007; Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005; Deveau, Landry, & Allard, submitted) have shown that the three types of linguistic experiences (enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization) are associated with the development of both of these ethnolinguistic identity components. Self-definition is more closely related to private enculturation, while identity involvement is

more closely associated with personal autonomization and social conscientization. It is above all the linguistic experiences in the "solidarity" domains (family, social network) and the media that are more closely related to self-definition (see also Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006b). Being in regular contact with the minority language in a private setting may help to develop one's self-definition as a member of the group, but it is the autonomization and conscientization qualities of these contacts that appear to contribute most to a strong and engaged or committed ethnolinguistic identity.

2.3.2.2 Subjective vitality

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality refers to an individual's perceptions and representations of the vitality of each of the linguistic communities that are in contact (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981; Allard & Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994). These beliefs are called "exocentric" because they refer to realities that, while important for the person, are external to her or him. It is first and foremost a look at a linguistic reality, i.e., the linguistic resources or capital the group has: "what is" (Allard & Landry, 1992 and 1994). But it is also a process of social comparison (Tajfel, 1974 and 1981). In this intergroup context, it is natural that the person compares the language resources of each group. Members of a minority group may come to judge the status of their group as being inferior to the status of the majority outgroup. This is particularly the case in a situation of diglossia. The majority language is then a "high language", a public language, a language of high status. The minority language may be perceived as a "low language", a private language, a language of solidarity but of low status. In certain contexts, specifically in a situation of exogamy, the minority language may even not be a language of solidarity. Private contacts with family members, friends and neighbours may occur in large part in the majority language.

Measuring the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Anglophone youths in Quebec is an operation devised to verify to what extent they view their language as legitimate and give it a status with sufficient value that they would want to learn it and use it in their daily lives. According to our previous studies, it is enculturation in public domains (i.e., language used in institutions and observed on commercial and

public signs) that best fosters high subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Allard, 1994b and 1996; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b).

2.3.2.3 The desire for integration

The desire for integration is the degree to which the person wishes to use the community resources and be part of the language group. It is therefore a personal stand—the "what I want"—assimilating, in a personal attitude or predisposition, beliefs concerning the vitality of one's group and feelings of identity. That is why the desire for community integration comprises "egocentric" beliefs that reflect beliefs based on how one sees oneself, one's attributes, wishes and desires. In short, the desire for integration, akin to a behavioural intention, is an excellent predictor of language behaviour (Allard & Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994).

For reasons of status, members of a minority group are sometimes swayed by the strong social attraction of the dominant language. To a certain point, they wish to be part of a dominant community. Full command of that community's language is crucial for social mobility and for meeting needs. Moreover, for reasons of solidarity, these persons may wish to be part of their group, even if their language does not have an enviable status in their region. The desire for integration into the minority ingroup is often fuelled by an attachment to identity. In a context of low ethnolinguistic vitality, many minority group members may want to find a compromise between the status that attracts them to the dominant outgroup and the solidarity that ties them to their ingroup. The scores do indeed often reflect the desire for equal integration into each linguistic community (e.g., Landry & Allard, 1991 and 1992).

Our previous research on Francophone youth has shown that it is enculturation in the field of media, through schooling and in interpersonal social networks, that is most strongly associated with the desire to integrate the Francophone community (Landry & Allard, 1996; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). A more recent study (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b) has shown that the desire to integrate the Francophone community is highly associated with the strength of Francophone identity, but also with beliefs concerning the social

status of the French language, that is, subjective Francophone vitality. In short, as predicted by our theoretical model (figure 2.1), the desire for community integration is the result of the strength of both identity and subjective vitality. Simply defining oneself as a member of a group is not enough; one must believe that the language is worth speaking. A study on Quebec Anglophones in the mid 1990's (Allard, Bourhis, & Landry, 1997; Landry, Allard, & Bourhis, 1997) found that the desire of secondary school students to integrate into the Anglophone community tended to be high even when they lived in communities that had less than 25% of Anglophones, and their desire to integrate into the Francophone community tended to be low.

2.3.2.4 Feelings: autonomy, competence and relatedness

The model looks at three types of feelings: autonomy, competence and relatedness. According to Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory (2000 and 2002), these three feelings reflect the level of fulfillment of the three fundamental or basic needs associated with the development of self-determination. We define need as an energizing state that, once met, leads to health and psychological well-being and that, when not met, results in distress and pathology (Hull, 1943). A basic need is not learned, it is innate. It is also not specific to a certain culture, but universal. It is essential. Failure to meet a need results in negative effects.

The need for autonomy consists of the need to perceive oneself as the source of one's actions and the need to act as one wishes (de Charms, 1968). In other words, autonomy is assimilated with the feeling of being guided by one's own reasons and personal values. It is therefore more than feeling free to choose. One must also feel capable of choosing. Autonomy and independence are not synonymous. The first refers to the need to find fulfilment as a unique self-sufficient person, while the second is more a need to stand out and apart from others.

The need for competence corresponds to the feeling of being able to have an effect on one's environment (White, 1959). Persons with feelings of competence feel personally in control of what they do and what happens to them, and that they are "effective," i.e. they have the feeling that their actions have the desired effect. When this feeling is absent, the person feels powerless and subject to external controls.

The need for relatedness refers to the importance of having positive and comforting affective human relationships that provide a feeling of belonging, of being loved, listened to, heard, understood and supported (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). It is important to note that this need does not conflict with the need for autonomy. On the contrary, they are complementary needs (Sheldon and Bettencourt, 2002). Moreover, according to the authors of self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2003), fulfilling fundamental needs in a given social context could even be favourable to identity development.

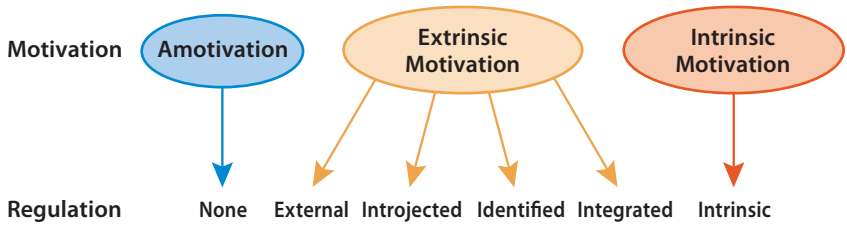
Fulfilling these three needs in a language learning context (see figure 2.1) is associated primarily with language socialization that is related to personal autonomization. However, we propose that enculturation and social conscientization are also important to their fulfillment. For example, it appears reasonable to state that the frequency of contacts in English reinforces feelings of competence and relatedness, and that experiences of ethnolinguistic conscientization fuel feelings of autonomy and relatedness. Furthermore, people are able to fulfill these three psychological needs by forming a strong and positive ethnolinguistic identity. We propose that identity promotes a particularly strong relationship with the feeling of relatedness. Our preliminary analyses on samples of Francophone students corroborate this by highlighting that the strength of Francophone self-definition is associated with the feeling of relatedness and that an engaged or committed identity is associated with the degree of fulfilment of the three needs, in particular the need for relatedness (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005; Deveau, 2007). Finally, a recent study (Landry, Deveau, Losier, & Allard, 2009) shows that the construction of identity in a context of autonomization is not only associated with the fulfilment of the three fundamental feelings, but also seems to enhance feelings of psychological well-being.

2.3.2.5 Language motivation

People may invoke different motivations for learning and speaking a language. Figure 2.3 presents the six types of motivation defined in self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) based on which we define language motivation (see also Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2006). Lack of motivation (amotivation) appears on the far left, while

intrinsic motivation appears on the far right. Four different forms of extrinsic motivation complete the intermediary span linking these two poles. Motivation could, therefore, be situated on a continuum according to the degree of self-determination. As shown in this figure, the degree of self-determination of motivation increases when moving from left to right.

Figure 2.3
Self-determination continuum (Ryan and Deci, 2000)



Intrinsic motivation is the prototype for self-determined motivation. People who are intrinsically motivated act for pleasure, stimulation or accomplishment. Learning through play reflects an intrinsic motivation. *Amotivation* is the opposite of intrinsic motivation. In this case, persons do not act in accordance with their intentions. Instead they feel that their behaviour is attributable to external factors beyond their control. In other words, amotivation corresponds to the absence of personal regulation. In reality, the person has no feeling of pleasure, satisfaction or accomplishment.

On the other hand, behaviours for which motivation is extrinsic are intentional. They differ, however, from intrinsic motivation because they are the result of motives that are distinct from the behaviour itself. *External regulation* corresponds to learning English to receive a reward or to avoid punishment. These consequences exercise an external control on the behaviour. *Introjected* regulation corresponds to the first phase of the internalization process. A person then learns and speaks English for reasons associated with rewards and internal punishments. The social pressure or influence is at least partially internalized. For example, actions are performed in order to receive approval or acceptance from a significant third party (parents, teachers). Since the behaviour in itself is not always valued, motivation is not self-determined. Avoiding adopting such a behaviour when this

type of motivation is pre-eminent may lead a person to feel guilty or ill at ease in relation to a significant third party (who may be someone from whom the person seeks approval). When the person is able to internalize the importance of learning and speaking English and attributes it to personal goals, the behaviour becomes identified. In *identified regulation* the person attributes the reasons for their learning and using English to important personal goals (e.g., being admitted to a choice university program). *Integrated regulation* is the next and last phase of the internalization process. With it, persons integrate into the self the value that learning and speaking English represents and seek to establish consistency between all of their values and identities. They learn and speak English because these behaviours correspond to who they are. The reason becomes, to a certain extent, more identity-related than instrumental.

Based on the theory of self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 2000 and 2002), the conceptual model proposes that internalizing the regulation of language behaviours, like the intrinsic motivation to learn and speak English, is fostered by an autonomy-building Anglophone experience (personal autonomization) and the development of feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness.

Two points warrant highlighting at the end of this section. First, a person's motivation to adopt a given behaviour never corresponds exclusively to a single type of motivation. On the contrary, there are different simultaneous reasons for a given behaviour. For example, students may do their English homework because they find the activity interesting and stimulating, because they find it personally important in order to reach personal goals, and because good grades are needed to obtain scholarships. What counts is that the more self-determined motivations dominate. Second, one must be able to clearly distinguish between the effects of self-determined extrinsic motivation (identified and integrated) and those of intrinsic motivation. While intrinsic motivation is valuable for the intensity of commitment in the behaviour, identified and integrated forms of regulation are essential for persevering when faced with constraints (Koestner & Losier, 2002). Finally, the internalization and integration process of regulation to learn and speak English could also correspond to a greater self-determination of identity building (Deveau, 2007; Deveau & Landry, 2007).

All examples given above are related to the learning of English. However, it must be understood that our study deals with the learning of both official languages and that we measure motivations to learn each of these languages. In certain minority contexts, it is possible that students, even though attending an Anglophone school, may be more strongly motivated to learn French than English for identity-related reasons. Such a situation would be found in a social context that favours personal experiences that are more favourable to basic needs satisfaction in French than in English.

2.3.2.6 Linguistic competencies

In the manner of Cummins (1979 and 1981), the model establishes two separate aspects of language competence: *cognitive-academic competence,* i.e., the ability to use language as a tool for thought and abstraction, and *communicative oral competence,* i.e., the ability to use language in contexts of interpersonal relationships. The first is much more associated with linguistic and intellectual aptitudes than the second (Genesee, 1976 and 1978; Cummins, 1984). Furthermore, it is acquired above all in decontextualized situations of language use (e.g., literacy and schooling experiences in the language), while the second is usually experienced in less cognitively demanding situations where extralinguistic indicators are present (e.g., in interpersonal contacts and informal discussions).

According to Cummins (1979 and 1981), there is a high degree of transfer between cognitive-academic competencies in one language and those in another language, provided that there are sufficient opportunities for contact with those languages. Landry and Allard (1991, 1992, 1993, 1997 and 2000) confirmed the validity of this theory by showing, in several studies, that Francophone students in a minority setting who are completely schooled in French (except for English as a second language, i.e., ESL classes) could obtain proficiency in English on the cognitive-academic level that was comparable to that of Francophone students completely schooled in English. This research supports the hypothesis of the counterbalance model (see figure 2.2) according to which schooling done mainly in the language with the lower vitality fosters acquisition of additive bilingualism (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007c).

Our previous studies on samples of Francophone students have shown that schooling in the minority language is the best predictor of cognitive-academic competence in French and of oral competence in French (Landry, 1995; Landry & Allard, 1996). These competencies also depend on use of the language within the family, in the media and in the social network (Landry & Allard, 1996 and 2000; Landry, Allard, & Théberge, 1991). In this study, the effects of the degree of schooling in English and French will not be analyzed because many factors need to be controlled (for example, the degree of vitality of the English-speaking communities, the contacts with the languages outside of school, and socioeconomic status). Such analyses are beyond the scope of the present report.

2.3.2.7 Language behaviours

The three types of language socialization described in section 2.3.1 influence language behaviours either directly (e.g., from past habits acquired through linguistic enculturation) or indirectly (by the influence of language socialization on psycholinguistic variables such as identity, motivation or competencies). We have defined two types of language behaviours in developing this conceptual framework: socialized language behaviour and engaged ethnolinguistic behaviour.

Socialized language behaviour

Enculturation as described in section 2.3.1.1 is associated with, among other things, the perception of the vitality of the language groups with which there is contact, with the development of linguistic competencies in the languages of those groups, and with the frequency of use of languages with which there was contact in intergroup contexts. The more frequent the contact with a language since childhood within the family, among friends and with neighbours, during schooling, in the media, in public institutions and in the linguistic landscape, the more the language will be used frequently. Using language is important not only for maintaining it, but also in order to identify with the group and for intergenerational transfer. Using a language also contributes to maintaining the linguistic socialization underlying the behaviour (see the retroactive loop on the right in figure 1.2 in the first chapter). In other words, people in contexts that promote the use of a language tend to internalize the social norms that encourage

said use. A young person who is in the habit of speaking in English with friends will tend to maintain this social network provided that those language experiences are significant and satisfying. Therefore, the effect of enculturation on current language behaviours may be seen as the effect of the language habits acquired since childhood. Socialized language behaviours currently observed in a person may be linked to specific current contexts, but also reflect past habits such as ethnolinguistic socialization accumulated since childhood. This is why the term "socialized" language behaviour is used.

Engaged ethnolinguistic behaviour

Social conscientization as described in section 2.3.1.3 may foster not only the acquisition of critical consciousness, but also the ability for greater involvement in one's psycholinguistic development and ethnolinguistic group. Let us recall that it is when a person is able to better understand the problems or issues observed as a whole that they are more inclined to question the underlying social system and act accordingly (Shor, 1992).

Ethnolinguistic involvement appears when the members of a minority group adopt behaviours that are intended to contribute to both the learning and maintenance of the language and culture, as well as the development of the language community. Depending on the private or public contexts where they are manifested, behaviours of ethnolinguistic valorization, affirmation and assertion may reflect different degrees of ethnolinguistic involvement. In our opinion, the assertion of ethnolinguistic rights is usually the result of a higher degree of involvement than ethnolinguistic affirmation and, in turn, this affirmation is usually the result of a higher degree of ethnolinguistic involvement than valorization of the group's language and culture. Therefore, it is hypothesized that valorization behaviours are on average more frequent than ethnolinguistic affirmation behaviours and that the latter are, in turn, more frequent, on average, than ethnolinguistic assertion behaviours. However, it is when they are taken as a whole that they manifest ethnolinguistic involvement more concretely.

That being said, we adapt the definition of involvement to the critical conscientization process proposed by Ferrer and Allard (2002b) in order to define ethnolinguistic involvement as follows.

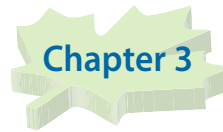
In a person who has acquired critical ethnolinguistic consciousness, ethnolinguistic involvement is defined as an action that consists in setting goals, formulating behavioural intentions, developing plans with respect to linguistic and cultural issues, and acting as a responsible citizen based on one's more in-depth understanding of the factors that influence ethnolinguistic reality. Through autonomous actions, aware and involved persons value the group's language and culture, affirm themselves ethnolinguistically and assert their group's language rights, thereby providing new existential and significant elements for the process of critical consciousness and involvement.

This dual process of conscientization and involvement, or reflection-action process, with respect to language and culture, constitutes, to a certain extent, an unending spiral. Autonomous involvement in an awareness-raising activity opens up the door to enriched, more thoughtful and critical consciousness capable of leading to the adoption of a new involvement, which, in turn, will result in other experiences constituting the potential focus of critical analysis.

Engaged behaviours are more likely to appear following a critical awareness of the legitimacy and stability of the situation created by power relationships that are unfavourable or favourable to one's group. The analytical approaches taken by Freire, Shor and Ferrer and Allard are actually based on this premise. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) similarly state that the perception of an illegitimate and unstable situation concerning relationships between ethnolinguistic groups is necessary for the disadvantaged minority group to apply strategies to improve its situation. In other words, it is when individuals perceive their group's situation as unfair and unstable (i.e., modifiable) that they feel best able and most willing to act to change the conditions of their experiences.

In this study we have tested secondary 4 students in Anglophone schools in Quebec. Some of these students do not live in a linguistic minority situation. Although they are part of a language group that constitutes a minority in the overall Quebec context, they are also part of a language majority in the global Canadian society. Moreover, many students live in municipalities where English speakers have a strong presence. Their language is also reinforced by the powerful influence of the United States that spreads English in many social domains,

especially through the media. However, as will be shown in chapter 4, other students live in municipalities where Anglophones constitute a very small minority in regions where social life is dominated by the French language. Our conceptual model offers many perspectives from which these students can be compared. The following chapter describes the study's methodology and chapter 4 presents a socio-linguistic profile of these students.



Methodology

In this chapter, we describe the sample of students who participated in the study, present the measuring instruments we used to gather the data, and describe the procedure for administering the questionnaires before we explain, in detail, the statistical analyses we conducted.

3.1 Sample

A total of 1,905 students from Anglophone schools in Quebec participated in the study, which covered the 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 school years. As shown in chapter 4, students are almost all at the secondary 4 level. In small schools, students from lower grades and secondary 5 students also took part in the study in order to have an optimal number of respondents per school.

The students come from seven of the nine Anglophone school boards in Quebec. However, since the decision to participate was sometimes made at the school level and, at other times, the district level, not all regions served by the school boards are uniformly represented. A total of 25 schools participated in the study. In order to make sense of the data collected, the students' municipality of residence was coded and the percentage of Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones in these villages, towns and cities was calculated. Since a large number of the participating students in the Montreal region did not specify in which part of the city they resided, the municipalities associated with their school was sometimes used to find more precise numbers relative to their approximate place of residence. In some regions of the province, the number of students that participated in the study was very small and therefore insufficient to represent a region.

We finally grouped the students into four regions. Students residing in Western Quebec were grouped together; they constitute the sample that, on average, has the highest percentage of Anglophones in the municipalities inhabited by respondents (the numbers are

presented in chapter 4). This group has 171 students and they constitute 9% of the total sample. A second group was formed with students schooled in the western part of Montreal. Although some students resided in municipalities that have a strong Anglophone population, others resided in parts of Montreal that are a mix of Anglophones and Francophones or French dominant. On average, however, they constitute the group that has the second highest percentage of Anglophones. A total of 1,029 students are in this group; they represent 54% of the sample. A third, relatively large group, was enrolled in schools in the eastern and northern parts of Montreal. These schools are in areas that have significant English-speaking populations but, globally, they represent a relatively small part of the predominantly French population. This third group has 586 students and constitutes 30.8% of the sample. Finally, the last group was created by grouping students from schools that are situated in homogeneous Francophone regions where the Anglophone population is small and represents a very small part of the total population. We refer to this group as the French Quebec region. This group is made up of 119 students and represents 6.2% of the total sample. Approximately 80% of the English-speaking population of Quebec resides in the Greater Montreal area. In our study, 85% of the participants reside in the Montreal area and in the vicinities of Montreal. Students from Western Quebec, mainly in the Outaouais region, and those from the French Quebec region represent 15% of our sample. No students from the Eastern Townships and the Gaspésie area participated in the study. It was therefore not possible to create regions that represented Anglophone populations in all parts of Quebec. Nonetheless, as the results show, the regions represent parts of Quebec that have Anglophone populations that vary considerably in the vitality of the Anglophone community and the geographic concentration of Anglophones. The different characteristics of the students from these four regions are described in the first section of the next chapter that presents the study's results.

3.2 Measuring instruments

We used a number of measuring instruments, which we describe below. Students completed two questionnaire booklets and wrote two linguistic competence tests. Many details not reported in this chapter

appear in the tables and in the chapter dedicated to the results, which also includes a more complete description of the scales.

3.2.1 Demographic data

General demographic information on the student, such as age and gender, mother tongue and second languages of the student and the parents, level of education and profession of the parents, and place of birth was collected in the first four sections of the first booklet.

3.2.2 Ethnolinguistic experience

We measured three forms of ethnolinguistic experience that correspond to the theoretical model described in the previous chapter: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization.

3.2.2.1 Enculturation

Language of instruction

In this questionnaire, the students indicated on nine-point scales the proportion of their schooling received in English and French for each of four levels (kindergarten to 3rd grade, 4th to 6th grade, secondary 1 and 2, and secondary 3 to 5) (1 = All classes in French, to 9 = All classes in English), as well as the degree to which the school environment outside the classroom was French or English (1 = Totally French, to 9 = Totally English).

Contact with Anglophones and Francophones

This questionnaire measured the enculturation of students from two perspectives: the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones in their social network and the languages spoken with contacts. Students were first asked to estimate, for 14 groups of different people (e.g., uncles and aunts, friends), how many were Francophone and how many were Anglophone, including all people the students have known since childhood. Students answered twice for each group, once for Anglophones and once for Francophones, circling the number that corresponded to their situation (1 = None, to 9 = All). For the same groups of people, students then indicated, on a nine-point scale, the degree to which English and French were used with those people (1 = Always French,

to 9 = Always English). Students answered for two periods of their life: ages two to six, and ages seven to twelve.

Media communication network

In another questionnaire, we measured enculturation through contact with the information and communication media. This questionnaire evaluated contacts with different forms of electronic media, music, print media, theatre, as well as signs and posters. It contained 13 questions, but each had to be answered twice, once for the period of ages two to six, and once for the period of ages seven to twelve. The student estimated the relative degree of contacts experienced in English and French by circling the number on a nine-point relative frequency scale ranging from always in French to always in English. For example, "I was exposed to television programs (shows) from ages 2 to 6" (1 = Always in French, to 9 = Always in English).

3.2.2.2 Personal autonomization

In the *Quality of Experiences* questionnaire, we measured three forms of personal autonomization: experiences of choice and decision (support for autonomy), positive and constructive feedback (support for competence) and affective quality of interpersonal contacts (support for relatedness). Each type of experience was assessed based on three statements related to experience (e.g., "Since childhood, I have been encouraged to be myself") in three different contexts: in the family, in class and with friends. Also, each statement had to be answered once for Francophone people or courses in French, and another time for Anglophone people or courses in English. The student answered by circling the number on a correspondence scale (1 = Does not correspond at all, to 9 = Corresponds fully) that best described the student's own experiences.

3.2.2.3 Social conscientization

We measured social conscientization using three questionnaires.

Valorization of English by people in the student's environment

This questionnaire used 12 questions to measure the extent to which students heard or saw people around them valorizing the English language and culture, affirming their Anglophone identity or asserting the

language rights of the Anglophone community. For example, "Since childhood, how often have you heard or seen people around you take part in demonstrations for English services?" The answer was provided on a frequency scale ranging from 1 = Never, to 9 = Very often.

Valorization of English by different categories of people

This very short questionnaire asked students to estimate how often they heard or saw people from six different social categories (e.g., family, teachers, artists) valorize the English language and culture. The students answered by referring to a nine-point frequency scale such as the one mentioned above.

Personal conscientization experiences

The purpose of this questionnaire was to evaluate the extent to which students had had, since childhood, personal experiences that may have made them aware of the situation of the English language and culture in their region. Students answered by indicating the extent to which each of the ten statements corresponded to their experiences on a correspondence scale (1 = Does not correspond at all, to 9 = Corresponds fully). For example, "I had opportunities to learn about Anglophone rights."

3.2.3 Psycholinguistic development

3.2.3.1 Ethnolinguistic identity

Two components of the student's ethnolinguistic identity were measured: self-definition and identity involvement.

Identity

This questionnaire measured the strength of six different self-definitions: Francophone, Anglophone, bilingual, Anglo-Quebecer, Quebecer and Canadian. It asked the students to indicate the extent to which each self-definition corresponded to what they were from five different perspectives: culture, language(s), ancestors, the future, and the territory. The answers to the questions were distributed on a semantic differentiation scale by placing an X between two poles (e.g., between non-Anglophone and Anglophone). For example,

"According to my culture (my way of thinking, my way of acting, my interests, my beliefs, my values), I consider myself to be:

Non-Anglophone _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Anglophone"

Identification with the official-language communities

This second questionnaire assessed the strength of the person's identity involvement with respect to both official language communities. It consisted of 12 statements that can be grouped into three types of identity involvement: self-categorization (e.g., "In general, I perceive myself as being similar to the members of the Anglophone community"), collective self-esteem (e.g., "In general, I feel valued by having an Anglophone identity), and affective involvement (e.g., "In general, I am willing to work for the development of the Anglophone community"). Students indicated to what extent each statement corresponded to how they viewed themselves (1 = No correspondence, to 9 = Full correspondence) with respect to each community.

3.2.3.2 Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality and the desire for integration

The questionnaire titled *Beliefs in Relation to the Official Language Communities* was divided into four parts, each evaluating a different type of belief. The first three measured different forms of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, while the fourth measured the desire for integration. Each type of belief was measured according to four types of language capital: political, economic, cultural and demographic.

Current resources of the official language communities

The first part of the questionnaire evaluated beliefs in relation to the current ethnolinguistic vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Students completed a series of 16 sentences (eight relating to the Anglophone community and eight to the Francophone community) by circling a number between 1 and 9. The closer the circled number is to 9, the more the students believe that the community's ethnolinguistic vitality is high in their region with respect to the aspect measured. For example, "In this region, French-language cultural activities (theatre, shows, movies) are (1 = Non-existent, to 9 = Very numerous)."

Future resources of the Francophone community in this region

The second part of the questionnaire contained four statements associated with beliefs in relation to the future vitality of the Anglophone community in the region. One statement corresponded to each type of linguistic capital. Students indicated what the Anglophone community's future situation would be, in their opinion, in comparison to its current vitality. For example, "Compared to the current situation, in 25 years, the use of English in this region in stores and industries will be (1 = Non-existent, to 9 = Much more frequent)."

What would be truly just and fair in this region

The third part looked at students' beliefs in relation to what would be truly just and fair in their region with respect to the ethnolinguistic resources of the Anglophone community, taking into account the number of Francophones and Anglophones. The students answered by circling a number between 1 and 9 to complete the sentence. For example, "Given the number of Francophones and Anglophones in this region, in order for things to be truly just and fair, the use of English in government services should be… (1 = Much less frequent, to 9 = Much more frequent)."

What I would like to do or be able to do (in this region)

Finally, the fourth part of the questionnaire invited students to complete 16 sentences (8 for each community) in order to evaluate their desire to integrate each of the official language communities. They had to circle a number between 1 and 9, which, according to them, best described their goals, wishes or desires. For example, "The territory where I would most like to live would have an English cultural and linguistic character (1 = Extremely weak, to 9 = Extremely strong)."

3.2.3.3 Feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness

Feelings of autonomy and competence with respect to learning and using English and French, and feelings of interpersonal relatedness with Francophones and Anglophones within the students' circle of friends and family, were measured using two questionnaires.

Feelings towards English and French

This questionnaire contained two series of ten statements, one in relation to English, the other in relation to French. Half the statements described feelings of competence and the other half, feelings of autonomy. Students had to state to what extent each statement corresponded to their own feelings by indicating to what extent they agreed (1 = Completely disagree, to 9 = Completely agree) with each feeling mentioned. For example, "Overall, when I need to learn or use French, I feel that I am competent."

Feelings regarding the people in your circle of friends and family

This very short questionnaire helped to evaluate students' feelings of relatedness with respect to the Francophones and Anglophones around them. Students answered by indicating to what extent they agreed with each of the five statements. They answered once with respect to Anglophones and once with respect to Francophones. For example, "I feel supported in my relationships with the Anglophones around me (1 = Completely disagree, to 9 = Completely agree)."

3.2.4 Language motivation

Two identical questionnaires were used to measure motivation for using and learning English and French: *Attitudes Towards French* and *Attitudes Towards English.* The first questionnaire began with the question: "Why do you speak or are learning English?" This introductory question was followed by 26 reasons for learning and speaking English. For example, "Because it's what others expect of me." These reasons can be grouped into six types of motivation: intrinsic motivation, four types of extrinsic motivation (integrated, identified, introjected and external), and amotivation. Students indicated to what extent each statement corresponded to their reasons for speaking or learning English by circling a number between 1 (Does not correspond at all) and 9 (Corresponds entirely). The second questionnaire began with the question: "Why do you speak or are learning French?" This introductory question was followed by the same 26 reasons as in the previous questionnaire.

3.2.5 Linguistic competence and linguistic insecurity

Linguistic competencies in English and French were evaluated directly using cloze tests, and indirectly using self-evaluation. We also measured students' feelings of linguistic insecurity when using French.

Cloze tests

A cloze test measures a student's cognitive-academic competence by asking them to complete a text with blanks. The English and French cloze tests administered in our study consisted of two-page, double-spaced texts where every fifth word had been omitted. Students had 20 minutes to complete it. All types of words had been removed: nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. In order for the results obtained to have a practical meaning, the test results were standardized so that a score of 50 points corresponded to the standard for a group of unilingual people having that language as their mother tongue. The French test standard was established based on a group of Francophone students in Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, and the English test standard, on a group of Anglophone students from the Moncton region in New Brunswick. The scores were also adjusted to obtain a standard deviation of 10 points.

Competence in English and French

This questionnaire asked students to conduct a self-evaluation of their ability to understand spoken and written English and French, as well as to express themselves orally and in writing in these languages. This evaluation was done based on a rating scale ranging from 1 = Very low, to 9 = Very good. For example, "Assess your ability to write an opinion letter in the student newspaper in English."

The French I speak

Quite often, the regional variety of the French that students speak can be quite different from international French or the students may feel insecure speaking in a second language. This questionnaire measured, based on 11 questions, the degree of linguistic insecurity (or linguistic confidence) students felt when speaking French. They answered by indicating, on a nine-point correspondence scale (1 = Does not correspond at all, to 9 = Corresponds entirely) the extent

to which each statement corresponded to their opinion. For example, "I'm afraid people will make fun of me because of my accent when I speak French."

3.2.6 Language behaviour

Two questionnaires were administered to measure language behaviours.

Degree of use of English and French

The frequency with which students use English and French was measured using 20 questions. They focused on different aspects, both private and public, of the student's daily life. To answer, the student completed a sentence by choosing a number on a scale of 1 = Always in French, to 9 = Always in English, which best represented the degree to which the student used each of these languages. For example, "At the convenience or corner store, I make my purchases (1 = Always in French, to 9 = Always in English)."

Your behaviour with respect to the English language and culture

This questionnaire sought to measure to what extent students tend to adopt behaviours that reflect ethnolinguistic involvement, i.e., engaged behaviours. Students had to indicate to what extent each of 12 behaviours corresponded to what they do or have done (1 = Does not correspond at all, to 9 = Corresponds entirely). Three categories of behaviours were presented: valorization of the English language and culture, Anglophone identity affirmation, and assertion of language and cultural rights of Anglophones. For example, "With friends, underline the importance of speaking English."

3.3 Procedure for administering questionnaires

Different procedures were used to administer the questionnaires and tests. Some boards appointed a person in charge of the study who then set up a small team of people to administer the questionnaires. A training session was organized in the form of a telephone conference during which the researchers presented the goal of the study, guidelines for organizing data collection, guidelines for administering the questionnaires, and an overview of the questions most frequently asked by students. Sometimes, research assistants associated with the

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities administered the instruments in the schools. Sometimes, the people in charge of questionnaire administration were trained on an individual basis. A document listing all the information was placed in each box containing the questionnaire booklets sent to the boards.

The questionnaires were administered over two days, in a 75-minute period on each day. The administrators began the first period of testing by reading an introduction to the study to inform students about the anonymous nature of the research and the confidential nature of their answers, as well as about the purposes of the study, among other things. Immediately afterwards, the English cloze tests were administered and timed (20 minutes). Following that test, students answered the first questionnaire booklet. The French cloze test was administered at the start of the second period and was also 20 minutes in length, following which students answered the second questionnaire booklet. A label containing an identification number assigned to the student was placed on each booklet and the tests in order to keep a student's answers to the two booklets of questionnaires and the cloze tests together.

3.4 Statistical analyses

Students were divided into four groups based on their geographical region and other characteristics (see first section above). Students from the Western Quebec region constitute the first group. Students from the West Montreal region form the second group, and those from the East and North regions of Montreal constitute the group named East/North Montreal. Finally the fourth group consists of students from different regions where the French population is very dominant. This group is referred to as the French Quebec region group.

Frequency analyses and mean scores are presented for each region. To facilitate the reading of the results, all nine-point answer scales were reduced to three-point scales for frequency analyses, thereby constituting three categories of answers. For example, the response scale for the questionnaire measuring language of instruction (1 = All classes in French, 2 = All in French except one English class; 3 = Most in French, 4 = A little over half in French, 5 = 50/50, 6 = A little over half in English, 7 = Most in English, 8 = All in English except one

French class, 9 = All in English) was reduced to 1 = Mostly in French (less than 3.5), 2 = About 50/50 (3.5 to 6.4999) and 3 = Mostly in English (6.5 and over). All frequencies on the scales changed to three categories are expressed as a percentage of students found in each category. Mean scores, except for scores in relation to the cloze tests, are on a nine-point scale. Scores for linguistic competence tests were divided into five categories: low (score of 1 standard deviation or more below the standard), relatively low (score between 1 and 0.5 standard deviation below the standard), average (score within more or less 0.5 standard deviation of the standard), relatively high (score between 0.5 and 1 standard deviation above the standard) and high (score of 1 standard deviation or more above the standard). We also present graphs giving the average student scores according to Anglophone concentration in their region. Anglophone concentration percentages were calculated based on Statistics Canada 2006 census data for the census sub-divisions.

The analyses were conducted using the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software.

Results

This chapter looks at the study results. We have decided to group the results into four regions of Quebec and to also present the results for the total of all students. The four regions are Western Quebec, West Montreal, East/North Montreal and French Quebec. These regions cannot be said to be representative of their respective municipal or provincial regions because of the unequal participation of schools, but as discussed in the methodology section, they represent regions having different vitality contexts as shown below. It must be noted that there were no participating schools from the Eastern Townships or Gaspésie regions. The fourth region which we refer to as French Quebec groups several regions where Anglophones constitute a small minority. Geographically, however, the schools come from a diversity of regions.

The results are presented in three sections. The first provides an overview of demographic variables that describe certain characteristics of the student samples that took part in the study. We then focus on the results that describe the three types of language socialization measured, namely enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization, which were described in our conceptual framework. Finally, the last section contains the results for the psycholinguistic variables, i.e., the student characteristics that stem from their ethnolinguistic experiences.

4.1 Demographic variables

The results presented in this chapter are for secondary 4 students. In certain schools with small numbers of secondary 4 (S4) students, we administered the tests and questionnaires to students in earlier grades and in secondary 5. As shown in table 4.1, S4 students represent close to 98% of the students who participated in the study. That is why we will refer to these students as S4 although there are minor exceptions.

Table 4.1

Percentage of Students Per Grade and Average Age

Region		Grade (Secondary 1 to 5)					Average Age
		1	2	3	4	5	
Western Quebec	%	0.6	1.3	0.6	94.3	3.2	15.6
West Montreal	%	0.0	0.1	0.2	97.9	1.7	15.6
East/North Montreal	%	0.2	0.0	0.0	98.9	0.9	15.6
French Quebec	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	94.8	5.2	15.8
Total	**%**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**97.7**	**1.9**	**15.6**

The students who participated in the study are on average 15.6 years of age.

We note in table 4.2 that there are slightly more girls (51.2%) than boys (48.8%), and the proportion of girls to boys varies across regions. Girls outnumber boys in two regions (Western Quebec and French Quebec) but the opposite is observed in the other two regions. We also see in table 4.2 that less than two thirds of the students (65.2%) have English as their mother tongue. French is the mother tongue of 20.7% of the students, and 14.1% have a mother tongue other than French or English. Most of the Allophone students are enrolled in the two Montreal regions. And, as would be expected, the highest proportion of students with French as their mother tongue (77.2%) can be found in the French Quebec region where Anglophones constitute a very small minority (see below), whereas the regions with the highest proportions of Anglophones are Western Quebec (88.0%) and West Montreal (71.1%).

Table 4.2

Student Gender and Mother Tongue

Region		Gender		Mother Tongue		
		Girls	Boys	English	French	Other
Western Quebec	%	55.7	44.3	88.0	7.0	5.1
West Montreal	%	47.3	52.7	71.1	9.4	19.6
East/North Montreal	%	47.5	52.5	58.3	31.3	10.4
French Quebec	%	56.9	43.1	21.1	77.2	1.8
Total	**%**	**51.2**	**48.8**	**65.2**	**20.7**	**14.1**

Table 4.3 presents the mother tongue distributions for the parents of the students in the four regions. The data on the parents' mother tongues allowed us to calculate the exogamy and endogamy rates shown in table 4.4.

Table 4.3

Mother Tongue of Parents

Region		Mother			Father		
		English	French	Other	English	French	Other
Western Quebec	%	77.7	13.4	8.9	72.9	17.4	9.7
West Montreal	%	52.6	11.5	35.9	48.9	12.6	38.4
East/North Montreal	%	46.7	34.1	19.2	43.9	34.3	21.8
French Quebec	%	22.4	74.1	3.4	18.3	79.1	2.6
Total	**%**	**51.0**	**23.2**	**25.8**	**47.5**	**24.6**	**27.9**

Table 4.4

Endogamy – Exogamy

Region		Anglophone Endogamy	Anglophone/ Allophone Exogamy	Anglophone/ Francophone Exogamy	Francophone Endogamy	Other
Western Quebec	%	59.1	7.8	24.0	2.6	6.5
West Montreal	%	37.4	12.7	13.9	3.7	32.3
East/North Montreal	%	29.4	8.0	23.5	20.0	19.1
French Quebec	%	4.3	1.7	30.4	60.9	2.6
Total	**%**	**34.6**	**10.0**	**19.1**	**12.8**	**23.6**

Globally and in each of the four regions, the students' mothers have English as their mother tongue slightly more often (51.0%) than the fathers (47.5%). There are a greater proportion of Anglophone parents in Western Quebec than in the other regions, which explains the higher proportion of students having English as their mother tongue. The highest proportion of Allophone parents is found in West Montreal and in the East/North region of Montreal, which is consistent with the answers provided by the students relative to their own mother tongue. Notice also in the French Quebec region the very high proportion of parents that have French as their mother tongue, a situation that also reflects the high number of students having that language as mother tongue in these regions.

In accordance with the results about the parents' mother tongue (table 4.3), table 4.4 shows that the highest Anglophone endogamy rate is found in Western Quebec where nearly six in ten students (59.1%) have two Anglophone parents. Francophone/Anglophone exogamy is highest in the French Quebec region, with about three out of ten students having one Francophone and one Anglophone parent. This region also reports the highest rate of Francophone endogamy. Approximately six out of ten students (60.9%) who attend an Anglophone school in this predominantly French environment have two Francophone parents. Table 4.4 also shows that the West Montreal

region has the highest proportion of students reporting they are the children of Anglophone/Allophone exogamous couples (12.7%). This region also has the highest percentage (32.3%) of other family structures such as Allophone endogamy thus reflecting the high proportion of Allophones in this part of Montreal.

The results in table 4.5 summarize the diversity of students' experiences with respect to the parental structure of the students' families.

Table 4.5
Number of Anglophone Parents

Region		No Anglophone Parent	1 Anglophone Parent	2 Anglophone Parents
Western Quebec	%	9.1	31.8	59.1
West Montreal	%	36.0	26.7	37.4
East/North Montreal	%	39.1	31.5	29.4
French Quebec	%	63.5	32.2	4.3
Total	**%**	**36.4**	**29.1**	**34.6**

Table 4.5 presents the percentage of students with no, one, or two Anglophone parent(s). Of note is the considerable difference between Western Quebec and French Quebec students. Among Western Quebec students, six in ten (59.1%) report they have two Anglophone parents and only 9.1% report having no parent of English mother tongue. In French Quebec, these figures are 4.3% and 63.5%, respectively. In the other regions, which are in the Montreal area, the three categories reflecting the number of Anglophone parents are more similarly distributed.

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 present the degree of schooling attained by the students' parents. The levels were estimated by the students based on a seven-point scale (see note below tables). An extrapolation using the percentages set out in these tables reveals that the degree of schooling of the students' mothers and fathers tend to be quite equal. On average the mean scores of 4.7 (mothers) and 4.8 (fathers) reflect an average level of schooling that is close to partial college or university

studies (see scale at the bottom of the tables). There are few differences across regions.

Table 4.6

Mother's Degree of Schooling

Region		Level of Education 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M
Western Quebec	%	0.0	0.0	9.8	31.4	32.0	19.6	7.2	4.5
West Montreal	%	1.6	1.0	4.7	32.0	35.5	20.7	4.5	4.7
East/North Montreal	%	0.6	0.6	4.2	33.8	35.2	21.1	4.5	4.8
French Quebec	%	0.9	0.9	6.2	33.6	39.8	16.8	1.8	4.6
Total	**%**	**1.1**	**0.8**	**5.1**	**32.6**	**35.4**	**20.5**	**4.6**	**4.7**

Note: 1 = Primary, 2 = Secondary 1 or 2, 3 = Secondary 3 or 4, 4 = High school completed, 5 = Partial college or university studies, 6 = Undergraduate university studies, 7 = Graduate and post-graduate studies (master's or doctorate).

Table 4.7

Father's Degree of Schooling

Region		Level of Education 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M
Western Quebec	%	1.4	2.0	21.1	29.3	21.1	19.0	6.1	4.8
West Montreal	%	2.3	1.5	9.7	30.7	30.0	18.2	7.6	4.8
East/North Montreal	%	1.0	0.6	9.4	32.9	26.1	21.5	8.4	4.8
French Quebec	%	0.9	0.0	13.2	34.2	29.8	17.5	4.4	4.7
Total	**%**	**1.7**	**1.2**	**11.0**	**31.5**	**27.9**	**19.3**	**7.5**	**4.8**

Note: 1 = Primary, 2 = Secondary 1 or 2, 3 = Secondary 3 or 4, 4 = High school completed, 5 = Partial college or university studies, 6 = Undergraduate university studies, 7 = Graduate and post-graduate studies (master's or doctorate).

We also grouped the students according to the geographic concentration of Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones in the municipalities where they resided. The results are presented in table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Distribution of Students (%) According to Geographic Concentration of Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones

Region	Anglophones	Francophones	Allophones
Western Quebec	64.4	24.0	11.6
West Montreal	21.7	52.1	26.2
East/North Montreal	10.7	71.3	18.0
French Quebec	2.2	95.4	2.4
Total	**20.8**	**56.7**	**20.5**

It is in Western Quebec that students in this study live in municipalities where the average percentage of Anglophones is the highest (64.4%) and it is in French Quebec where it is the lowest (2.2%). Conversely, it is in Western Quebec where the percentage of Francophones is the lowest (24.0%) and in French Quebec where it is the highest (95.4%). The region of West Montreal has the highest percentage of Allophones (26.2%). It is important that these differences be noted since many of the results in the following sections will reflect these demographic differences. As can be observed, the regions have been placed in order of decreasing geographic concentration of Anglophones. We expect that results that are influenced by this variable will be linearly related to the percentage of Anglophones in the regions.

In the following section, we present the results reported by students relative to language socialization.

4.2 Language socialization

Our conceptual framework focuses on three types of language socialization. Enculturation represents the amount of contact with the English and French languages. Our questionnaires measured these experiences for the childhood period, typically ranging from 2 to 12 years

of age. Although the students were on average 15.6 years old when they answered the questionnaires, we limited the childhood period to 12 years of age so as not to confound these results with those relative to their current language behaviours. For several questions, when answering, students had to distinguish their experiences at ages 2 to 6 from those at ages 7 to 12.

Personal autonomization was measured to identify the degree to which students' language experiences met their needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness based on the self-determination theory of Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000, 2002).

Finally, social conscientization was measured to estimate the extent to which students had contact with models that valued the English language and the degree to which they were exposed to personal experiences making them aware of the minority situation of Anglophones. This section is therefore divided into three parts. The first discusses the different aspects of enculturation, and the other two present the results for personal autonomization and social conscientization.

4.2.1 Enculturation

4.2.1.1 Language of instruction and language ambiance at school

One questionnaire measured the degree to which students were taught in English and in French from kindergarten up to the grade in which they were in high school at the time they completed the questionnaire. Students answered separately for the four levels: K to third grade, fourth to sixth grade, secondary 1 and 2, secondary 3 to 5. The answers were provided on a nine-point scale: 1 = All classes in French, 2 = All classes in French except one English class; 3 = Most in French, 4 = Slightly over half in French, 5 = Half in French and half in English, 6 = Slightly over half in English, 7 = Most in English, 8 = All in English except one French class, 9 = All classes in English. The student could indicate, for each level, if they received instruction in a language other than French or English.

Table 4.9 pools the results for each level. It creates four categories of students: a) those taught primarily in French (scores between 1 and 3.499), b) those taught nearly equally in English and French (scores between 3.5 and 6.499), c) those taught primarily in English (scores between 6.5 and 9) and d) those taught in a language other than French or English. The table also presents the mean scores of the students for each level of education, as well as the overall mean score for instruction since kindergarten.

Table 4.9

Proportion of Instruction in French and English

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
K to 3	Mostly in French (%)	22.8	20.0	26.8	16.4	22.0
	About 50/50 (%)	15.9	40.0	22.3	9.1	30.5
	Mostly in English (%)	53.8	31.3	45.4	70.9	40.2
	Other language (%)	7.6	8.7	5.5	3.6	7.3
	Mean score	**6.0**	**5.4**	**5.5**	**6.7**	**5.6**
4 to 6	Mostly in French (%)	12.4	6.9	16.6	5.5	10.1
	About 50/50 (%)	22.1	54.8	27.4	7.3	40.6
	Mostly in English (%)	57.9	29.8	51.6	84.5	42.5
	Other language (%)	7.6	8.5	4.5	2.7	6.8
	Mean score	**6.4**	**5.8**	**6.1**	**7.6**	**6.1**
Sec. 1 and 2	Mostly in French (%)	6.2	6.7	3.4	0.0	5.2
	About 50/50 (%)	24.1	42.3	20.6	4.5	31.7
	Mostly in English (%)	62.1	43.4	71.8	92.7	56.7
	Other language (%)	7.6	7.7	4.2	2.7	6.3
	Mean score	**6.8**	**6.2**	**7.1**	**7.9**	**6.6**
Sec. 3 to 5	Mostly in French (%)	2.8	0.8	0.4	0.9	0.9
	About 50/50 (%)	20.7	31.1	14.6	5.5	23.6
	Mostly in English (%)	68.3	60.8	80.7	90.9	69.3
	Other language (%)	8.3	7.3	4.2	2.7	6.2
	Mean score	**7.2**	**6.9**	**7.5**	**8.0**	**7.2**
K to Sec. 5	**Mean score**	**6.6**	**6.1**	**6.6**	**7.6**	**6.4**

We see in table 4.9, in general, that the percentage of students taught mostly in English increases from primary school to secondary school, a characteristic of Anglophone schools in Quebec that is the opposite of what is observed in Francophone schools outside Quebec, as was pointed out in chapter 1. In the West Montreal region, at all levels of schooling, there is a higher percentage of students being taught about equally in each language than in the other regions, this probably reflecting the high interest for French immersion programs in this region, especially at the primary level. On average, as the global mean score of 6.4 reflects, most students report having been schooled in between in English slightly more than in French and mostly in English. It is in French Quebec that the students have received the highest amount of schooling in English (mean score of 7.6) and in West Montreal that they have received the least (mean score of 6.1).

Table 4.10 presents the scores for language ambiance at school. The students estimated this ambiance for the same four levels as for language of instruction. Students evaluated for each level, on a nine-point scale, the school's linguistic ambiance outside the classroom: 1 = Completely French, 2 = Very French, 3 = Mostly French, 4 = A bit more French than English, 5 = As much English as French, 6 = A bit more English than French, 7 = Mostly English, 8 = Very English, 9 = Completely English. The student could also indicate if the ambiance was in another language.

The results presented in table 4.10 show that, for all regions, the linguistic ambiance of the schools is more English at the secondary level than at the primary level. Differences tend to be small, but it is interesting that the linguistic atmosphere becomes stronger in the minority language at the secondary level whereas the tendency is the opposite in French schools outside Quebec (Landry *et al.*, 2010). Secondly, as reflected in the regions' mean scores, at all grade levels, the English atmosphere of the school decreases as the percentage of Anglophones in the regions decreases. In the French Quebec region, the atmosphere of the English school, even if it slightly increases from primary to secondary school, remains more French than English overall. It is only in Western Quebec and in West Montreal that the overall school ambiance is strongly English.

Table 4.10

School's Language Ambiance Outside the Classroom

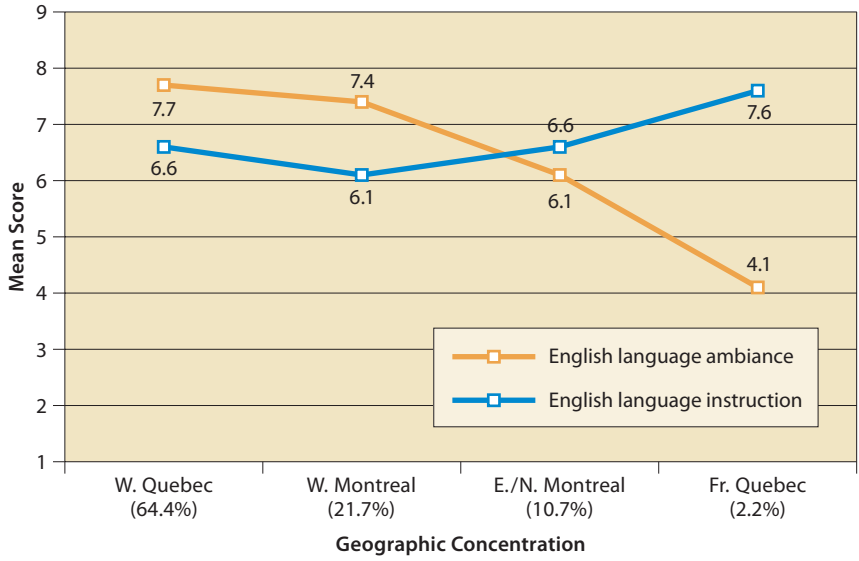
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
K to 3	Mostly in French (%)	6.9	7.2	25.1	53.6	15.6
	About 50/50 (%)	13.1	17.5	24.8	20.0	19.4
	Mostly in English (%)	72.4	66.1	45.0	20.9	57.4
	Other language (%)	7.6	9.2	5.1	5.5	7.6
	Mean score	**7.4**	**7.1**	**5.6**	**3.8**	**6.5**
4 to 6	Mostly in French (%)	3.4	3.2	16.8	40.0	9.7
	About 50/50 (%)	12.4	18.6	30.1	32.7	22.4
	Mostly in French (%)	77.2	69.3	48.8	21.8	60.8
	Other language (%)	6.9	8.9	4.2	5.5	7.1
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.4**	**6.0**	**4.3**	**6.8**
Sec. 1 and 2	Mostly in French (%)	3.4	1.4	11.3	45.5	7.4
	About 50/50 (%)	11.0	16.5	29.9	32.7	21.0
	Mostly in English (%)	78.6	73.7	54.6	18.2	64.7
	Other language (%)	6.9	8.5	4.2	3.6	6.8
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.6**	**6.3**	**4.2**	**7.0**
Sec. 3 to 5	Mostly in French (%)	2.1	0.7	9.6	46.4	6.5
	About 50/50 (%)	12.4	16.0	32.3	35.5	21.8
	Mostly in English (%)	78.6	75.3	53.9	14.5	65.2
	Other language (%)	6.9	8.0	4.2	3.6	6.5
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.6**	**6.4**	**4.0**	**7.0**
K to Sec. 5	**Mean score**	**7.7**	**7.4**	**6.1**	**4.1**	**6.8**

Figure 4.1 summarizes the relationship between the demographic concentration of Anglophones in the municipalities inhabited by the students and the proportion of instruction they received in English as well as the linguistic ambiance of the school from kindergarten until the end of high school. There is little difference between the ambiance of the schools in Western Quebec and those in West Montreal even though the schools are in municipalities that have an average of 22% of Anglophones in the latter and 64% in the former. It is possible that

the global urban atmosphere of Western Montreal contributes to this ambiance. There is, however, a steep drop in the English atmosphere of the school as the demographic concentration of Anglophones falls to 10% and below.

Figure 4.1

English Language Instruction and English Language Ambiance at School Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.2.1.2 The proportion of Anglophones in social networks and the degree of language socialization in English

Two approaches were used to measure the language of the social networks and the degree of language socialization in English and French, both in the public and private domains. The first method consisted in asking the students to estimate the proportions of their social contacts with Anglophones and with Francophones, respectively. Students were asked to consider in their estimates all the people they had known since childhood. The answers were provided on a nine-point scale: 1 = None, 3 = A third, 5 = Half, 7 = Two-thirds, and 9 = All. The results for private and public places are presented in table 4.11.

The results in table 4.11 include the percentages of students who have had one-third or less, half, and two-thirds or more of their contacts with Anglophones. The table also shows the mean scores on the nine-point scale. Note that the results for the Francophone proportions are not presented because they tend to simply show the reverse of the contacts with Anglophones.

The percentages and the mean scores show that Western Quebec students have the most anglophone social networks, both private and public. For example, 85.8% of these students describe their immediate family (parents, siblings and grandparents) as comprised of at least two-thirds of Anglophones, compared to 79.4% in the West Montreal region, 58.9% in East/North Montreal, and 16.5% in the French Quebec region. Overall, 69.4% of the students in the sample are in this category. The same linear trend, i.e. decrease of contacts with Anglophones as demographic concentration of Anglophones decreases, is found for all social domains, private and public.

Generally, there are more contacts with Anglophones in private places (mean score of 6.8) than in public places (health services, stores, grocery stores, shopping malls and restaurants; mean score of 5.8). The students who have had two thirds or more of their contacts with Anglophones in health services, for instance, range from 71.3% in Western Quebec to 14.3% in the French Quebec region. Only in Western Quebec and West Montreal do the contacts in public places tend to be more with Anglophones than with Francophones.

In short, as figures 4.2 and 4.3 show, the proportion of Anglophones known or met in private and public places tends to grow according to the density of the Anglophone population in the municipality of residence. Conversely, the proportion of Francophones known or met decreases. In the private sphere, it is the students from the East/North Montreal region that experience the strongest bilingual context, their contacts with Anglophones being only slightly more frequent than their contacts with Francophones. In the public domains (figure 4.3), it is in the two Montreal regions that the students experience the more bilingual contexts, contacts with Anglophones being more frequent in West Montreal and contacts with Francophones being more frequent in East/North Montreal

Table 4.11

Proportion of Anglophones in Students' Social Networks

Private Places		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Immediate family	One-third or less (%)	2.2	5.0	16.1	55.0	11.7
	About half (%)	11.9	15.6	25.0	28.4	19.0
	Two-thirds or more (%)	85.8	79.4	58.9	16.5	69.4
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.7**	**6.5**	**3.8**	**7.1**
Cousins	One-third or less (%)	3.0	6.8	18.6	54.3	13.2
	About half (%)	18.2	15.0	26.0	19.0	18.7
	Two-thirds or more (%)	78.8	78.3	55.5	26.7	68.0
	Mean score	**7.7**	**7.6**	**6.3**	**3.9**	**7.0**
Uncles and aunts	One-third or less (%)	2.4	5.6	16.0	53.2	11.9
	About half (%)	17.3	18.0	25.8	28.4	20.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	80.3	76.4	58.2	18.3	67.2
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.6**	**6.4**	**3.8**	**7.0**
Friends since childhood	One-third or less (%)	0.7	3.8	11.1	51.4	9.0
	About half (%)	5.8	12.2	24.9	20.0	15.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	93.4	84.1	64.0	28.6	75.2
	Mean score	**8.4**	**7.9**	**6.8**	**4.4**	**7.4**

Students who attended the same schools	One-third or less (%)	2.2	1.8	5.2	28.0	4.7
	About half (%)	11.0	14.8	29.4	35.5	20.2
	Two-thirds or more (%)	86.8	83.4	65.4	36.4	75.1
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.8**	**6.9**	**5.5**	**7.4**
Neighbours	One-third or less (%)	3.0	11.9	38.6	79.0	23.7
	About half (%)	27.4	30.4	34.5	11.4	30.0
	Two-thirds or more (%)	69.6	57.8	26.9	9.5	46.4
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.6**	**4.7**	**2.5**	**5.8**
Friends of your parents	One-third or less (%)	1.5	4.6	16.4	58.7	11.5
	About half (%)	19.0	21.3	32.9	27.9	24.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	79.6	74.1	50.7	13.5	63.5
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.5**	**6.2**	**3.3**	**6.8**
Young people who participated in social, cultural or sporting activities with you	One-third or less (%)	4.5	5.1	24.1	58.1	14.4
	About half (%)	19.4	24.9	35.3	28.6	27.7
	Two-thirds or more (%)	76.1	70.0	40.6	13.3	57.9
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.3**	**5.6**	**3.5**	**6.5**
Adults in charge of social, cultural or sporting activities in which you participated since childhood	One-third or less (%)	3.8	5.7	22.6	55.8	14.0
	About half (%)	22.7	25.5	37.6	24.0	28.7
	Two-thirds or more (%)	73.5	68.9	39.8	20.2	57.3
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.2**	**5.6**	**3.6**	**6.5**
Private places	**Mean score**	**7.8**	**7.5**	**6.1**	**3.8**	**6.8**

Table 4.11 (cont'd)

Proportion of Anglophones in Students' Social Networks

Public Places		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
People met in health services since childhood	One-third or less (%)	2.3	8.3	25.9	65.7	17.0
	About half (%)	26.4	30.8	40.0	20.0	32.3
	Two-thirds or more (%)	71.3	60.9	34.0	14.3	50.7
	Mean score	**7.5**	**6.9**	**5.3**	**3.1**	**6.2**
Vendors seen since childhood: neighbourhood convenience stores or corner stores	One-third or less (%)	6.9	10.9	37.1	73.6	22.6
	About half (%)	25.2	38.6	36.9	16.0	35.3
	Two-thirds or more (%)	67.9	50.6	25.9	10.4	42.1
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.5**	**4.7**	**2.6**	**5.7**
Vendors seen since childhood: grocery stores in your region	One-third or less (%)	6.8	10.7	39.3	77.1	23.4
	About half (%)	23.3	37.7	37.6	11.4	34.5
	Two-thirds or more (%)	69.9	51.6	23.1	11.4	42.1
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.5**	**4.6**	**2.5**	**5.7**
Vendors seen since childhood: shopping centres or major stores in your region	One-third or less (%)	6.2	10.6	36.2	74.0	22.1
	About half (%)	27.7	39.7	41.8	12.5	37.3
	Two-thirds or more (%)	66.2	49.8	22.0	13.5	40.6
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.4**	**4.6**	**2.6**	**5.7**

Waiters seen since childhood in restaurants in your region	One-third or less (%)	4.5	11.5	37.4	77.1	23.1
	About half (%)	28.4	38.5	40.4	13.3	36.3
	Two-thirds or more (%)	67.2	50.1	22.3	9.5	40.6
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.4**	**4.6**	**2.5**	**5.7**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**7.3**	**6.5**	**4.8**	**2.7**	**5.8**

Figure 4.2

Proportions of Francophones and Anglophones Known or Met in Private Settings Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration

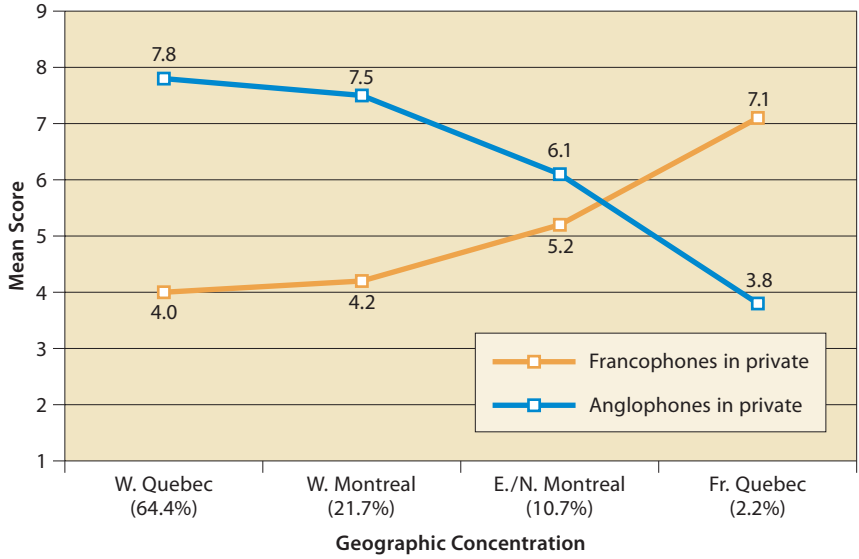
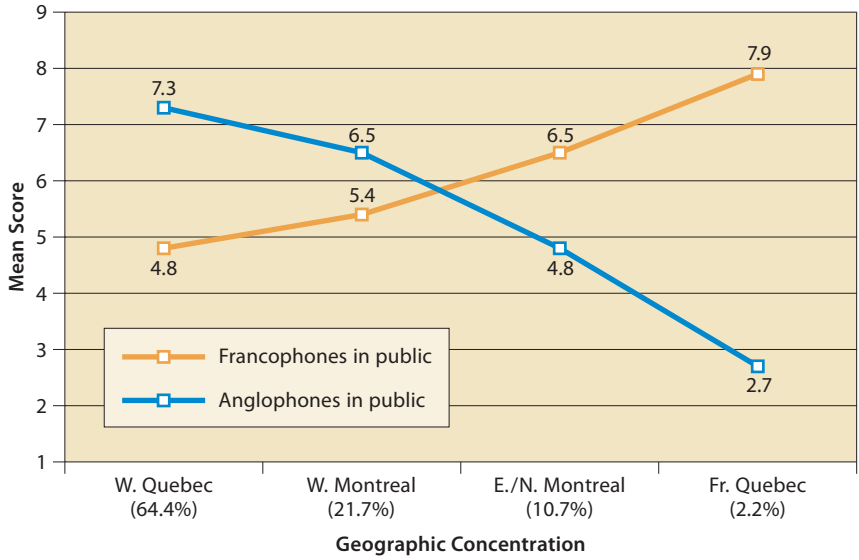


Figure 4.3

Proportions of Francophones and Anglophones Known or Met in Public Settings Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



The second method used to measure the languages of enculturation was to ask the students to estimate how often they used English and French with the people known since childhood. Students answered for two separate periods of their life: from 2 to 6 years of age, and from 7 to 12 years of age. For the needs of this report, we have grouped the results of the two periods together, to cover the period from 2 to 12 years of age. The private and public places are the same as those used in the scales measuring the proportion of Anglophones that make up their social networks (see table 4.11). The relative frequency of use of English and French was measured on the following nine-point scale: 1 = Always in French, 3 = More often in French, 5 = As much in English as in French, 7 = More often in English, 9 = Always in English. The results are presented in table 4.12. It contains the mean scores on a nine-point scale and the distribution of students according to three categories of language dominance. The scores that range from 1 to 3.499 designate a Franco-dominant experience, those between 3.5 and 6.499 a bilingual experience, and those over 6.5, an Anglo-dominant experience.

As expected, the language dominance scores tend to reflect the social network strength scores. Students with a strong Anglophone network have had an Anglo-dominant socialization since childhood, and vice versa. So, the differences between the regions are quite similar to those observed for the strength of the social networks. Also, as for the former, the mean score for English socialization is stronger in the private domains (mean score of 6.5) than in those that are public (mean score of 5.7). Language socialization from early childhood until the age of 12 is Anglo-dominant in both the private and the public domains in Western Quebec. In West Montreal, it is Anglo-dominant in the private domains and still more English than French in the public sphere. In East/North Montreal, students have used slightly more English than French in their private contacts but have experienced a mainly bilingual socialization in the public domains. The students from the French Quebec region have, on average, been socialized mostly in French in both their private and public contacts.

Table 4.12

Language Dominance during Childhood Experiences (2 to 12 Years of Age) in Social Networks

Private Places		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Immediate family	Franco-dominant (%)	0.8	5.1	16.1	53.8	11.5
	Bilingual (%)	25.8	22.0	33.6	30.2	26.3
	Anglo-dominant (%)	73.4	72.9	50.2	16.0	62.2
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.4**	**6.1**	**3.5**	**6.7**
Cousins	Franco-dominant (%)	3.1	7.0	21.0	61.0	14.6
	Bilingual (%)	24.4	18.2	28.2	26.7	22.2
	Anglo-dominant (%)	72.4	74.8	50.8	12.4	63.1
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.6**	**6.0**	**2.9**	**6.8**
Uncles and aunts	Franco-dominant (%)	3.9	5.4	18.3	59.0	13.0
	Bilingual (%)	24.2	19.0	31.3	29.5	23.8
	Anglo-dominant (%)	71.9	75.5	50.4	11.4	63.2
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.5**	**6.0**	**2.9**	**6.7**
Friends since childhood	Franco-dominant (%)	3.8	4.2	16.1	53.8	11.2
	Bilingual (%)	17.4	20.8	35.2	32.1	25.5
	Anglo-dominant (%)	78.8	75.0	48.7	14.2	63.2
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.5**	**6.0**	**2.9**	**6.7**

Students who attended the same schools	Franco-dominant (%)	2.3	2.6	11.2	33.3	7.3
	Bilingual (%)	17.3	23.2	41.2	47.6	29.7
	Anglo-dominant (%)	80.5	74.2	47.6	19.0	63.0
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.5**	**6.0**	**4.2**	**6.9**
Neighbours	Franco-dominant (%)	3.1	9.7	35.4	69.8	21.0
	Bilingual (%)	26.9	32.3	34.5	21.7	31.7
	Anglo-dominant (%)	70.0	58.0	30.0	8.5	47.3
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.7**	**4.8**	**2.5**	**5.9**
Friends of your parents	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	5.3	20.4	61.9	13.5
	Bilingual (%)	22.6	22.7	36.0	26.7	26.9
	Anglo-dominant (%)	75.9	71.9	43.6	11.4	59.6
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.7**	**4.8**	**2.5**	**5.9**
Young people who participated in social, cultural or sporting activities with you	Franco-dominant (%)	2.3	5.1	23.0	65.4	14.5
	Bilingual (%)	26.0	31.7	42.2	26.0	33.9
	Anglo-dominant (%)	71.8	63.2	34.8	8.7	51.6
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.0**	**5.2**	**2.8**	**6.2**
Adults in charge of social, cultural or sporting activities in which you participated since childhood	Franco-dominant (%)	0.8	6.0	24.8	67.6	15.5
	Bilingual (%)	25.4	32.4	43.6	25.5	34.6
	Anglo-dominant (%)	73.8	61.6	31.7	6.9	49.9
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.0**	**5.2**	**2.8**	**6.2**
Private places	**Mean score**	**7.5**	**7.2**	**5.7**	**3.2**	**6.5**

Table 4.12 (cont'd)

Language Dominance During Childhood Experiences (2 to 12 Years of Age) in Social Networks

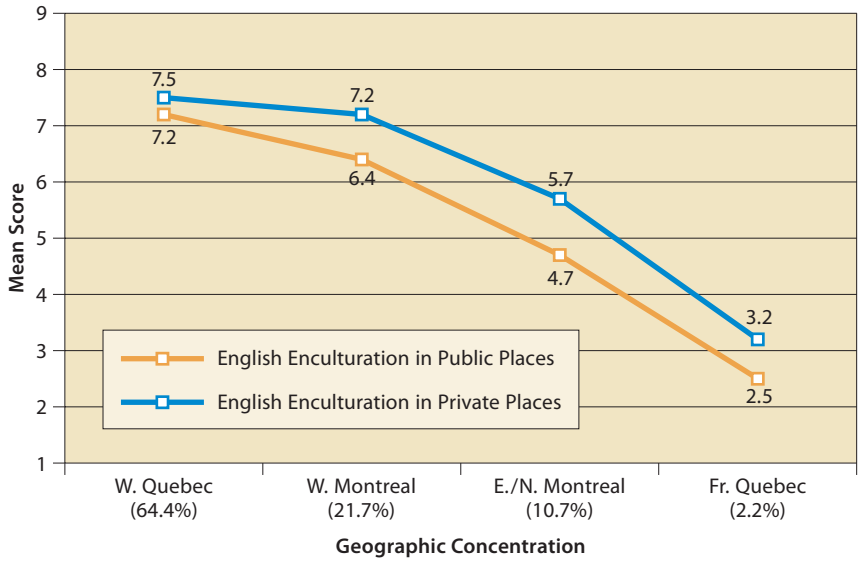
Public Places		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
People met in health services since childhood	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	8.3	27.6	67.0	17.6
	Bilingual (%)	34.6	33.2	39.8	24.3	34.6
	Anglo-dominant (%)	63.8	58.6	32.6	8.7	47.8
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.8**	**5.1**	**2.6**	**6.0**
Vendors seen since childhood: neighbourhood convenience stores or corner stores	Franco-dominant (%)	1.6	9.0	34.8	71.8	20.4
	Bilingual (%)	34.4	39.0	38.8	22.3	37.3
	Anglo-dominant (%)	64.1	52.1	26.5	5.8	42.3
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.5**	**4.7**	**2.4**	**5.8**
Vendors seen since childhood: grocery stores in your region	Franco-dominant (%)	3.1	8.5	37.3	73.5	21.2
	Bilingual (%)	30.5	39.7	37.7	17.6	36.7
	Anglo-dominant (%)	66.4	51.8	25.0	8.8	42.1
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.5**	**4.6**	**2.5**	**5.7**
Vendors seen since childhood: shopping centres or major stores in your region	Franco-dominant (%)	2.3	9.2	37.6	72.8	21.5
	Bilingual (%)	33.3	41.0	38.3	20.4	38.0
	Anglo -dominant (%)	64.3	49.7	24.1	6.8	40.4
	Mean score	**7.5**	**6.5**	**4.6**	**2.4**	**5.7**

Waiters seen since childhood in restaurants in your region	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	9.6	36.6	70.9	21.3
	Bilingual (%)	32.3	40.7	40.6	21.4	38.6
	Anglo-dominant (%)	66.2	49.6	22.8	7.8	40.2
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.5**	**4.6**	**2.4**	**5.7**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**7.2**	**6.4**	**4.7**	**2.5**	**5.7**

Figure 4.4 clearly shows that the relative use of English and French since early childhood is associated with the geographic concentration of Anglophones. Notice that enculturation in English in the private sphere is only slightly stronger than that in the public sphere, and that differences across regions are consistent, except in Western Quebec, where enculturation in English is strong in both spheres of activity. It is in East/North Montreal that students have experienced the most bilingual contexts, mean scores reflecting consistent use of both languages. It can be recalled that prior research (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b) has shown that enculturation in the private domain is above all highly associated with identity building, and that experiences in the public domain are associated with subjective vitality, i.e., with perceptions of the status of the languages in contact.

Figure 4.4

English Enculturation in Private and Public Places Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.2.1.3 The media and the linguistic landscape

There is little doubt that the media plays a large role in the lives of today's youth. As we stated in our conceptual framework, the media provide for both public and private enculturation. On the one hand, the media are managed by public corporations or private companies that serve the public interest (advertising ensures their survival). On the other hand, it is often in the private domain (e.g., at home) that media are consumed (e.g., television, radio, videos, music, newspapers and magazines). Despite its public nature, the enculturation experience through the media, in its relationship with psycholinguistic development, seems to be much more closely related to private enculturation than public enculturation. Research on Francophones outside Quebec has shown that the degree of contact with Francophone media is less closely related to Francophone subjective ethnolinguistic vitality than to Francophone identity. Also, contact with the Francophone media is closely associated with the desire of young people to integrate into the Francophone community (Landry & Allard, 1996; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007d). This relationship is not necessarily one of cause and effect. Although contact with Francophone media may foster Francophone identity building and the desire to integrate into the Francophone community, it is students with a strong Francophone identity and who are inclined to integrate into the Francophone community who are also better suited and willing to consume Francophone media. In short, this is most certainly an interactive and two-way relationship, as is usually the case with enculturation. These relationships have yet to be verified on samples of Anglophone students.

The results regarding media contact are presented in table 4.13. They were measured the same way as the language contacts in the social networks, i.e., with the same language dominance scale (1 = Always in French, 9 = Always in English) and for the two same periods of life (2 to 6 years of age and 7 to 12 years of age). As in table 4.12, we have grouped these two periods of life in order to form only one, that is, from 2 to 12 years of age.

Table 4.13

Language Dominance in Contacts with the Media During Childhood (2 to 12 Years of Age)

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Television	Franco-dominant (%)	0.7	4.7	8.6	37.7	7.8
	Bilingual (%)	12.4	19.2	29.0	35.8	22.7
	Anglo-dominant (%)	86.9	76.1	62.3	26.4	69.6
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.5**	**6.5**	**4.0**	**7.0**
Radio	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	2.9	7.3	61.5	8.1
	Bilingual (%)	13.9	17.0	24.4	26.0	19.5
	Anglo-dominant (%)	84.7	80.1	68.2	12.5	72.4
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.7**	**6.9**	**3.0**	**7.2**
Movies	Franco-dominant (%)	0.7	2.3	7.3	34.0	5.8
	Bilingual (%)	14.7	17.2	23.5	36.8	20.2
	Anglo-dominant (%)	84.6	80.5	69.2	29.2	74.0
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.7**	**7.0**	**4.2**	**7.3**
Internet	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	2.4	6.7	28.8	5.4
	Bilingual (%)	10.9	14.2	20.2	41.3	17.5
	Anglo-dominant (%)	87.6	83.4	73.0	29.8	77.0
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.9**	**7.2**	**4.3**	**7.5**
Music	Franco-dominant (%)	3.6	1.7	2.9	7.5	2.6
	Bilingual (%)	10.9	14.3	19.5	36.4	17.1
	Anglo-dominant (%)	85.4	84.1	77.6	56.1	80.3
	Mean score	**8.2**	**8.0**	**7.6**	**5.9**	**7.7**
News-papers	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	4.5	13.6	56.2	10.5
	Bilingual (%)	16.8	19.4	27.7	23.8	21.9
	Anglo-dominant (%)	81.8	76.1	58.7	20.0	67.6
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.6**	**6.5**	**3.5**	**7.1**
Magazines	Franco-dominant (%)	2.9	3.0	9.4	45.7	7.8
	Bilingual (%)	13.1	17.9	27.0	27.6	20.8
	Anglo-dominant (%)	83.9	79.1	63.6	26.7	71.4
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.7**	**6.7**	**3.9**	**7.2**

Table 4.13 (cont'd)

Language Dominance in Contacts with the Media During Childhood (2 to 12 Years of Age)

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Books at home	Franco-dominant (%)	0.7	3.5	8.3	25.5	6.2
	Bilingual (%)	12.4	19.9	28.6	39.6	23.2
	Anglo-dominant (%)	86.9	76.6	63.1	34.9	70.7
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.6**	**6.7**	**4.7**	**7.2**
Theatre and Shows	Franco-dominant (%)	1.5	4.0	7.6	44.3	7.6
	Bilingual (%)	13.9	18.2	28.7	34.9	22.1
	Anglo-dominant (%)	84.7	77.8	63.7	20.8	70.3
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.6**	**6.9**	**3.8**	**7.2**
Media	**Mean score**	**8.1**	**7.7**	**7.1**	**4.8**	**7.4**

Table 4.13 shows that, on average, the students consume mostly English language media. Mean scores for the total sample are higher than 7.0 on the nine point scale for all media domains. The mean scores for the global media scale range from 8.1 in Western Quebec to 4.8 in the French Quebec region. Therefore, although the students from the latter region tend to have experienced a Franco-dominant socialization in their social networks, they tend to be socialized more equally in both languages via the media. Nonetheless, language socialization varies across media domains for this group. Music consumption is stronger in English than in French (mean score of 5.9) and both languages are used equally for the reading of books at home (mean score of 4.7), but for all other domains use of media has been more frequent in French than in English. Mean scores range from 3.0 for the radio to 4.3 for the Internet. The students from the other regions tend to make a strong use of English in their media consumption. Use of English remains stronger in Western Quebec and in West Montreal than in the East/North Montreal region.

We present in table 4.14 the results of language dominance in contacts with commercial and public signs, commonly called a municipality's or region's "linguistic landscape" (Bourhis & Landry, 2002;

Landry & Bourhis, 1997). It has been shown that these contacts are associated above all with subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e., with the status or prestige that people attribute to the languages with which they are in contact.

Table 4.14

Language Dominance in Contacts with Commercial and Public Signs During Childhood (2 to 12 Years of Age)

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Road signs	Franco-dominant (%)	10.3	25.9	39.1	60.4	30.8
	Bilingual (%)	34.6	35.7	37.9	31.1	35.9
	Anglo-dominant (%)	55.1	38.4	23.0	8.5	33.3
	Mean score	**6.8**	**5.6**	**4.5**	**2.9**	**5.2**
Outside stores	Franco-dominant (%)	11.7	25.8	39.2	61.3	31.0
	Bilingual (%)	37.2	39.0	39.5	32.1	38.5
	Anglo-dominant (%)	51.1	35.2	21.3	6.6	30.6
	Mean score	**6.5**	**5.5**	**4.4**	**2.8**	**5.1**
Inside stores	Franco-dominant (%)	11.7	21.3	35.3	60.2	27.2
	Bilingual (%)	38.7	40.3	42.3	32.0	40.2
	Anglo-dominant (%)	49.6	38.4	22.4	7.8	32.6
	Mean score	**6.5**	**5.7**	**4.6**	**2.9**	**5.2**
Advertising inserts	Franco-dominant (%)	9.5	10.7	18.3	43.8	15.1
	Bilingual (%)	29.9	36.0	42.3	37.1	37.4
	Anglo-dominant (%)	60.6	53.3	39.4	19.0	47.5
	Mean score	**6.9**	**6.6**	**5.7**	**3.7**	**6.1**
Signs	**Mean score**	**6.6**	**5.7**	**4.7**	**3.3**	**5.3**

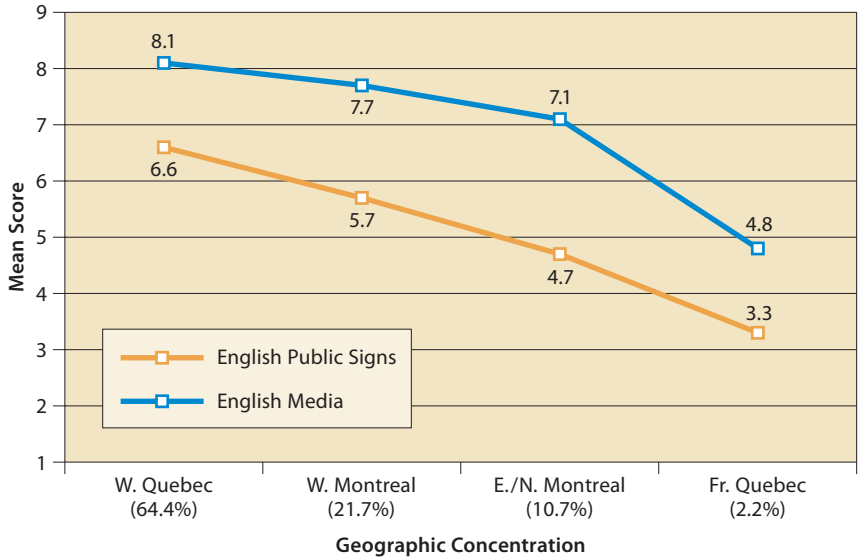
Despite the strong legislation by the Quebec government to ensure the dominance of the French language in the public domains, the students from Western Quebec and West Montreal still report having experienced more contacts with English than with French in the linguistic landscape since their early childhood (mean scores of 6.6 and 5.7, respectively). The dominance of English is relatively weak, however. Students from East/North Montreal tend to report a bilingual

experience with slightly more contacts in French than in English for road signs and signs outside and inside stores. Students from the French Quebec region report having experienced a Franco-dominant linguistic landscape.

Finally, figure 4.5 presents enculturation relative to the media and linguistic landscape based on the geographic concentration of Anglophones as reflected by the order of the four Quebec regions. We note that the two types of language experiences are linearly linked to the demographic density of Anglophones, with the relationship being stronger for linguistic landscape than for the media. For the media, use of English is strong in all regions except in the French Quebec region where there is an equal use of both languages.

Figure 4.5

Contacts with English Media and Commercial and Public Signs Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.2.2 Personal autonomization

We now present the results for the second type of ethnolinguistic socialization. As described in our conceptual framework, this is a qualitative aspect of language socialization. We identified aspects of language socialization that help to foster a person's autonomy when learning or using English and French based on self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000, 2002). According to this theory, autonomous people do not behave primarily for external or instrumental reasons, but for internal reasons. The reasons for their behaviour are integrated into their beliefs and values. In a minority language context, it is important to speak the language of one's ingroup not only for practical reasons or to please one's parents or teachers, but mainly for identity-based reasons. It is to be expected, however, that members of a minority group would learn the dominant language for practical or instrumental reasons due to the high status of that language in society. According to our theoretical framework, members of a minority group will be more willing to speak their language and encourage its transmission to other people if their reasons are built into their linguistic and cultural identity.

A child who is raised in a bilingual context may develop different motivations for using both languages (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2006). For example, the child may wish to learn and speak the mother tongue for identity reasons, yet still be motivated to learn and speak the language of the dominant group for instrumental reasons (e.g., to increase chances for social mobility). Another child from an exogamous couple may want to be part of each of the parents' cultures and be motivated to learn both languages for identity reasons. Our conceptual framework presents the theory that these different types of motivation are highly associated with the degree to which their language experiences provide for personal autonomization. Further on, we look at the students' language motivations. In this section, we analyze their personal autonomization, i.e., the degree to which their language experiences have encouraged or promoted their autonomy for language learning and language use. According to self-determination theory, a person's autonomy is fostered if the experiences help to satisfy three fundamental human needs: autonomy, competence and relatedness (see the conceptual framework).

Personal autonomization was measured using three questionnaires. Each measured personal autonomization in three separate life contexts: relationships with members of the family, relationships with friends and acquaintances, and during classes at school. For the school context, students evaluated the quality of their contacts during their classes in English and during their classes in French. For the two other contexts, students evaluated their contacts with English-speaking and French-speaking people separately.

In the first questionnaire, for each of the three life contexts, students evaluated experiences that, according to self-determination theory, encourage autonomy. Students evaluated the degree to which, since childhood, they had been encouraged to be themselves, and had opportunities to make their own decisions and choices.

The second questionnaire measured the support given to competence. For each of the three contexts, students indicated the degree to which they were encouraged when they encountered difficulties, if they were explained the reasons for doing things, and if they were praised when they succeeded in an activity or task.

In the third questionnaire, students answered three questions that measured the support given to relatedness and which indicated the degree to which they perceived that they received a warm welcome, felt there was sincere interest in what they were doing, and whether they were appreciated.

In each of the three questionnaires, students indicated, on a nine-point scale, to what degree each situation corresponded to their life experiences since childhood (1 = Does not correspond at all, 3 = Corresponds a bit, 5 = Corresponds moderately, 7 = Corresponds highly, 9 = Corresponds entirely). The results of these three questionnaires are presented, for each context, in tables 4.15 and 4.16, the first table providing a profile of personal autonomization experiences in English, and the second providing a profile of personal autonomization experiences in French. Each table gives the mean scores on a nine-point scale and creates three categories of students: those with low support (scores from 1 to 3.499), moderate support (3.5 to 6.499) and high support (6.5 to 9) for autonomy, competence and relatedness.

Table 4.15

Personal Autonomization Experiences in English since Childhood

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Support for Autonomy						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	1.5	2.8	6.0	18.6	4.7
	Moderate (%)	13.4	14.2	19.3	28.4	16.6
	Strong (%)	85.1	83.0	74.7	52.9	78.7
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.9**	**7.5**	**6.3**	**7.7**
School	Weak (%)	2.2	2.0	3.2	4.9	2.6
	Moderate (%)	17.9	18.9	22.2	19.4	19.8
	Strong (%)	79.9	79.1	74.6	75.7	77.6
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.8**	**7.5**	**7.4**	**7.7**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	1.5	2.2	3.7	12.6	3.3
	Moderate (%)	15.0	15.0	18.8	19.4	16.4
	Strong (%)	83.5	82.8	77.5	68.0	80.3
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.9**	**7.6**	**7.0**	**7.8**
Autonomy	**Mean score**	**8.0**	**7.9**	**7.5**	**6.9**	**7.7**
Support for Competence						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	0.0	2.6	7.3	19.6	5.0
	Moderate (%)	13.0	17.5	21.1	20.6	18.4
	Strong (%)	87.0	79.8	71.7	59.8	76.7
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.8**	**7.3**	**6.5**	**7.6**
School	Weak (%)	0.0	1.8	4.9	6.9	2.9
	Moderate (%)	14.5	19.0	25.5	20.6	20.6
	Strong (%)	85.5	79.2	69.6	72.5	76.5
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.8**	**7.3**	**7.3**	**7.6**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	0.0	2.0	4.9	12.7	3.4
	Moderate (%)	15.3	18.7	23.6	24.5	20.2
	Strong (%)	84.7	79.3	71.5	62.7	76.3
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.8**	**7.3**	**6.8**	**7.6**
Competence	**Mean score**	**8.1**	**7.8**	**7.3**	**6.9**	**7.6**

Table 4.15 (cont'd)

Personal Autonomization Experiences in English since Childhood

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Support for Relatedness						
Family and Relatives	Weak (%)	0.8	2.8	7.6	16.7	5.0
	Moderate (%)	8.5	15.7	16.5	20.6	15.6
	Strong (%)	90.8	81.6	75.9	62.7	79.4
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.9**	**7.4**	**6.6**	**7.7**
School	Weak (%)	3.1	2.0	5.9	7.8	3.6
	Moderate (%)	16.2	18.9	23.2	26.2	20.5
	Strong (%)	80.8	79.0	71.0	66.0	75.9
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.7**	**7.3**	**7.1**	**7.6**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	1.5	1.9	4.7	10.7	3.3
	Moderate (%)	12.3	17.5	19.5	26.2	18.3
	Strong (%)	86.2	80.6	75.8	63.1	78.4
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.9**	**7.5**	**6.9**	**7.7**
Relatedness	**Mean score**	**8.0**	**7.8**	**7.4**	**6.9**	**7.7**

On average, all regions grouped together, the students assess their support in English for each of the three needs as being very strong (mean scores of 7.7 for autonomy, 7.6 for competence, and 7.7 for relatedness). Table 4.15 also shows that there is little variation based on life contexts. We note, however, regional differences. Mean scores decrease linearly with the decrease of the density of the Anglophone population. For example, mean scores for support for competence range from 8.1 in Western Quebec to 6.9 in the French Quebec region. Support for competence in English is therefore still relatively strong even in regions with only about 2% of Anglophones on average.

Personal autonomization scores for French are weaker than those in English for the total sample of students (mean scores of 5.9 for autonomy, 6.0 for competence, and 6.0 for relatedness). These scores can be said to be moderately strong whereas they were very strong in English. There is one exception to this trend, however. The students from the French Quebec region have stronger scores for support in

Table 4.16

Personal Autonomization Experiences in French since Childhood

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Support for Autonomy						
Family and Relatives	Weak (%)	33.8	27.4	15.5	3.9	22.8
	Moderate (%)	30.1	34.3	34.3	17.5	32.7
	Strong (%)	36.1	38.2	50.2	78.6	44.4
	Mean score	**5.0**	**5.3**	**6.2**	**7.7**	**5.7**
School	Weak (%)	28.6	19.9	9.2	7.8	16.6
	Moderate (%)	37.6	38.2	36.5	27.2	36.8
	Strong (%)	33.8	41.9	54.4	65.0	46.5
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.7**	**6.6**	**7.0**	**6.0**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	30.3	25.7	13.1	3.9	20.8
	Moderate (%)	34.1	31.5	27.9	15.5	29.5
	Strong (%)	35.6	42.9	59.0	80.6	49.7
	Mean score	**5.1**	**5.5**	**6.6**	**7.7**	**6.0**
Autonomy	**Mean score**	**5.1**	**5.5**	**6.5**	**7.5**	**5.9**
Support for Competence						
Family and Relatives	Weak (%)	32.8	26.0	14.8	3.9	21.7
	Moderate (%)	26.6	33.5	35.3	20.6	32.5
	Strong (%)	40.6	40.5	49.9	75.5	45.8
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.5**	**6.3**	**7.6**	**5.8**
School	Weak (%)	28.7	18.7	9.8	4.9	16.0
	Moderate (%)	28.7	36.5	34.0	30.4	34.6
	Strong (%)	42.6	44.7	56.2	64.7	49.4
	Mean score	**5.5**	**5.9**	**6.6**	**7.1**	**6.1**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	32.6	23.0	12.0	5.9	19.4
	Moderate (%)	26.4	34.1	34.0	17.6	32.2
	Strong (%)	41.1	42.9	54.0	76.5	48.4
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.6**	**6.5**	**7.5**	**6.0**
Competence	**Mean score**	**5.3**	**5.7**	**6.4**	**7.4**	**6.0**

Table 4.16 (cont'd)

Personal Autonomization Experiences in French since Childhood

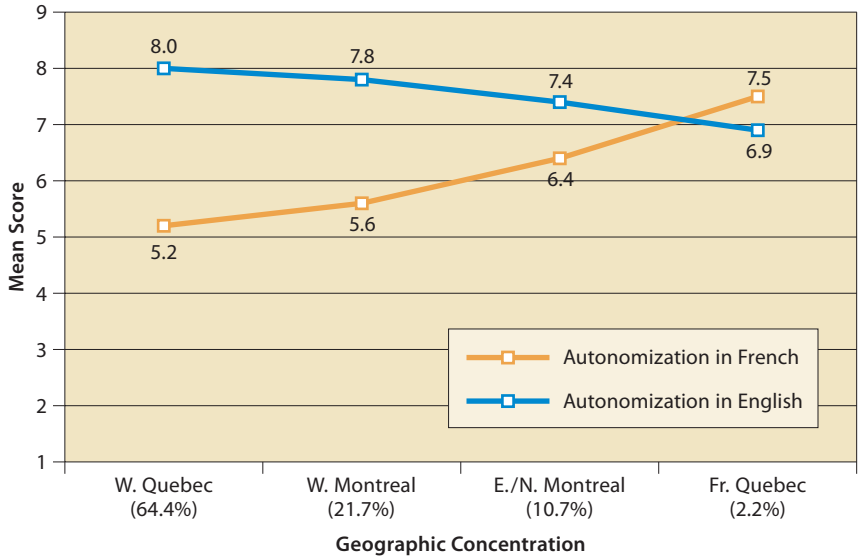
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Support for Relatedness						
Family and Relatives	Weak (%)	32.3	26.2	15.9	3.9	22.1
	Moderate (%)	23.6	29.5	29.1	15.5	27.9
	Strong (%)	44.1	44.2	55.0	80.6	50.0
	Mean score	**5.3**	**5.5**	**6.5**	**7.7**	**5.9**
School	Weak (%)	32.0	19.8	11.2	5.8	17.3
	Moderate (%)	27.3	35.2	34.0	27.2	33.6
	Strong (%)	40.6	45.0	54.8	67.0	49.1
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.8**	**6.5**	**7.1**	**6.0**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	29.7	22.9	11.1	2.9	18.6
	Moderate (%)	25.8	33.2	28.5	20.4	30.3
	Strong (%)	44.5	43.8	60.5	76.7	51.1
	Mean score	**5.3**	**5.6**	**6.7**	**7.6**	**6.1**
Relatedness	**Mean score**	**5.3**	**5.7**	**6.5**	**7.5**	**6.0**

French than in English (mean scores of 7.5, 7.4 and 7.5 for personal autonomization in French and three scores of 6.9 for personal autonomization in English). This group reports relatively strong support for autonomy, competence and relatedness in both languages. As for the other three groups their support for the three basic needs tends to be from very strong to strong in English, but from moderate to moderately strong in French.

Figure 4.6 shows that geographic density is associated with the strength of personal autonomization experiences in each language. When the Anglophone population is under 5%, personal autonomization experiences tend to be slightly stronger in French than in English. Otherwise it tends to be stronger in English but scores still tend to vary with population density. As the Anglophone population density increases, personal autonomization in English becomes increasingly dominant. Personal autonomization in French nevertheless remains at least moderate.

Figure 4.6

Personal Autonomization in English and in French Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



It should be noted that the three life contexts considered here are in the private or interpersonal domain. School is a public institution managed by the minority but where, for students, life experiences are associated mainly with interpersonal contacts.

4.2.3 Social conscientization

As discussed in the chapter presenting our conceptual framework, social conscientization comprises vicarious experiences that value language and culture, as well as personal experiences that contribute to the development of "critical consciousness" with respect to factors that may be associated with the minority status or the legitimization of one's group in society. In this study, Anglophone social conscientization alone was measured since the study deals with students in Anglophone minority schools. In some regions, it is possible that the students will not see themselves as part of a linguistic minority. But the study also allows us to observe if this type of language socialization changes in different vitality contexts. We note as well that, according to our conceptual framework, social conscientization tends to promote identity and community involvement.

Three questionnaires measured different aspects of Anglophone social conscientization. The first asked students to what degree they had been in contact with awareness-raising models over their lifetime, that is, with significant people around them who valued the English language and culture, demonstrated identity-affirming behaviours, or asserted language rights for Anglophones. This questionnaire contained twelve questions, four measuring how often they observed people demonstrating valorization behaviours, four questions on affirmation behaviours, and four on assertion behaviours. The answers were provided on a nine-point frequency scale (1 = Never, 3 = Rarely, 5 = Sometimes, 7 = Often, 9 = Very Often). Table 4.17 presents the results for the three categories of behaviours and for all contacts with awareness-raising models.

Table 4.17

Social Conscientization in Relation to the English Language and Culture: Frequency of Contact with Models Since Childhood

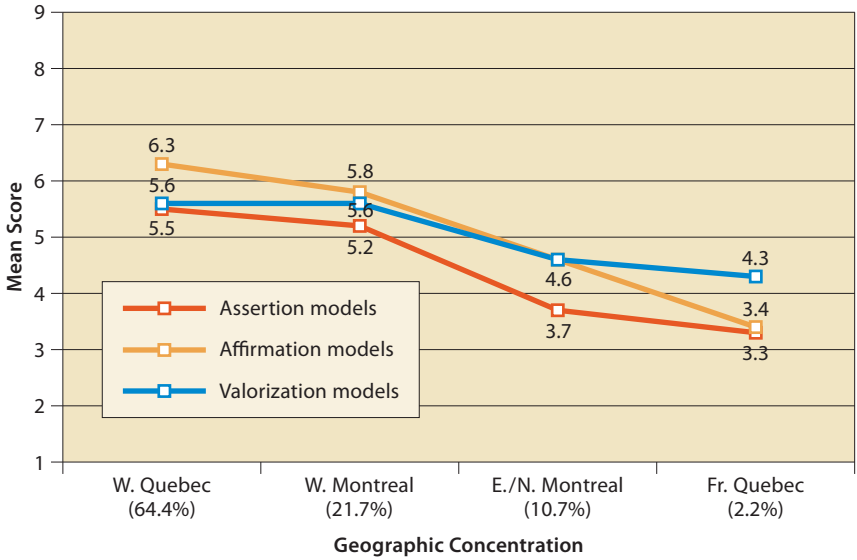
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Valorization	Weak (%)	18.2	18.5	30.9	36.5	23.4
	Moderate (%)	40.9	42.0	47.6	48.1	44.0
	Strong (%)	40.9	39.5	21.6	15.4	32.6
	Mean score	**5.6**	**5.6**	**4.6**	**4.3**	**5.2**
Affirmation	Weak (%)	12.1	17.2	34.0	58.7	24.7
	Moderate (%)	36.4	41.0	42.4	31.7	40.3
	Strong (%)	51.5	41.8	23.6	9.6	35.0
	Mean score	**6.3**	**5.8**	**4.6**	**3.4**	**5.3**
Assertion	Weak (%)	22.7	27.9	53.8	62.5	37.6
	Moderate (%)	36.4	38.8	32.5	27.9	35.9
	Strong (%)	40.9	33.3	13.7	9.6	26.5
	Mean score	**5.5**	**5.2**	**3.7**	**3.3**	**4.6**
Models (overall score)	**Mean score**	**5.8**	**5.5**	**4.3**	**3.7**	**5.0**

The first finding is that these behaviours do not correspond completely to the hypotheses of the conceptual framework. According to our conceptual framework, it is expected that the observation of models that valorize the English language and culture occurs more frequently than observation of models publicly affirming their identity, while the latter is expected to occur more frequently than observing people asserting their rights. As shown in table 4.17, students tend to be in equal or slightly greater contact with identity-affirming models (mean score of 5.3 for the total sample) than with models of valorization (mean score = 5.2). However, as expected, contacts with assertion models have the lowest frequency (mean score = 4.6). If we summarize by grouping together the scores for the three categories of behaviours, we note that the mean scores indicate a rather moderate frequency of contacts with awareness-raising models (overall mean score of 5.0), but that contacts with models are stronger in regions where the geographic concentration of Anglophones is higher, especially in the case of identity affirming models and models asserting the rights of Anglophones.

Table 4.17 also shows that regions have different profiles of observed conscientization behaviours. Although the global scores follow a linear trend according to geographic concentration of Anglophones when scores for each level of conscientization are pooled together, smaller differences are found among regions for the first level of conscientization, that is, models of valorization of the English language and culture, than for the other levels. For both affirming and assertion behaviours, the linear relation with the vitality contexts represented by the regions is steeper. These differences in trends can be more easily seen in figure 4.7. It shows the mean scores for each type of behaviour of awareness-raising models according to the regions. The frequency of observation of identity affirming models is at least moderately strong in Western Quebec and West Montreal, but tends to be quite rare in the French Quebec region. It may be that it is easier and, from the minority group members' perspective, more legitimate, to affirm oneself when the community is at least moderately strong and vital than when it is weak and lacking resources.

Figure 4.7

Contacts with Valorization, Affirmation and Assertion Models Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



The second questionnaire was aimed at determining what categories of people tend to be models for the valorization of English language and culture. The students used the same frequency scale as for the first questionnaire (1 = Never, 9 = Very often) to assess the frequency of their contacts with six categories of people. They indicated how often, since childhood, they had seen or heard these people promote the English language and culture. These categories and the results of the questionnaire are presented in table 4.18. Note that frequency scores are for contacts with different categories of models showing behaviours of valorization, and not for affirmation or assertion.

Global scores range from moderately strong to moderate, the Western Quebec students having the strongest scores and the Quebec French students having the weakest. Scores tend to be linearly related to the geographic concentration of Anglophones. In the region where the geographic concentration of Anglophones is the highest, the scores are quite evenly distributed across categories, the strongest mean scores being associated with family members and friends. Interestingly, it is in the region where the geographic concentration of Anglophones is

Table 4.18

Social Conscientization: Frequency of Observation of Categories of People Valorizing the English Language and Culture

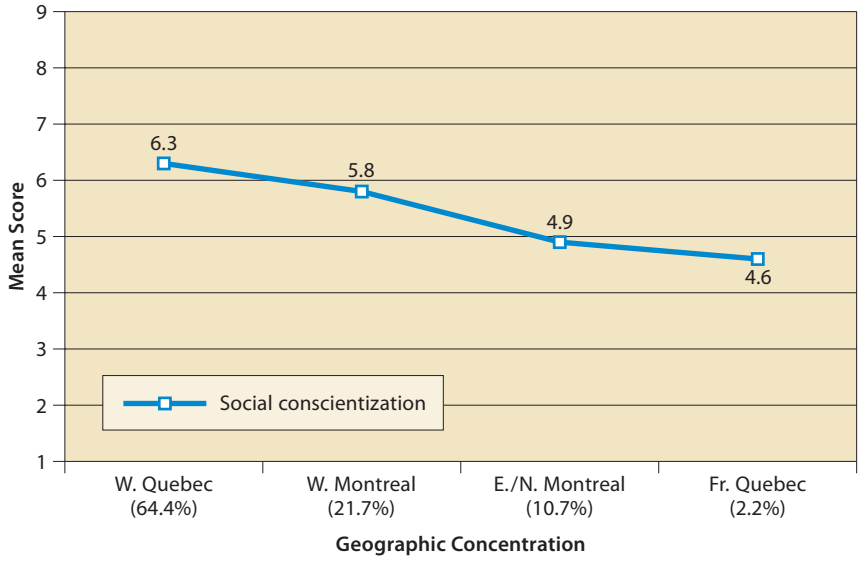
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Family and Relatives	Weak (%)	16.5	24.1	31.7	42.6	27.0
	Moderate (%)	22.0	28.0	31.4	34.7	29.0
	Strong (%)	61.4	47.8	36.9	22.8	44.0
	Mean score	**6.6**	**5.9**	**5.1**	**4.4**	**5.6**
Teachers	Weak (%)	14.2	20.2	23.0	10.9	19.8
	Moderate (%)	36.2	37.4	43.1	29.7	38.5
	Strong (%)	49.6	42.4	33.9	59.4	41.7
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.7**	**5.4**	**6.7**	**5.7**
Friends	Weak (%)	17.5	20.5	28.5	39.6	24.0
	Moderate (%)	21.4	23.3	32.1	45.5	27.3
	Strong (%)	61.1	56.2	39.4	14.9	48.7
	Mean score	**6.6**	**6.3**	**5.4**	**4.3**	**5.9**
Other Acquaintances	Weak (%)	17.3	23.3	39.4	58.6	30.0
	Moderate (%)	36.2	38.0	35.8	28.3	36.5
	Strong (%)	46.5	38.7	24.8	13.1	33.5
	Mean score	**6.1**	**5.6**	**4.5**	**3.4**	**5.1**
Artists	Weak (%)	16.5	21.7	29.7	30.0	24.2
	Moderate (%)	33.1	32.3	37.8	35.0	34.2
	Strong (%)	50.4	46.0	32.5	35.0	41.6
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.9**	**5.1**	**5.0**	**5.6**
Community Leaders	Weak (%)	18.1	28.1	43.9	53.0	33.7
	Moderate (%)	32.3	36.9	33.7	34.0	35.3
	Strong (%)	49.6	34.9	22.3	13.0	30.9
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.3**	**4.2**	**3.7**	**4.9**
Category total	**Overall score**	**6.3**	**5.8**	**4.9**	**4.6**	**5.5**

lowest that teachers are seen as the models that most often valorize English language and culture. Close to six students out of ten (59.4%) in the Quebec French regions report having frequently observed teachers valorize the English language. For Francophones outside Quebec, teachers were also the most frequently observed models, followed by family and relatives in all regions (Landry *et al.*, 2010).

Figure 4.8 shows the relationship of the mean frequency of contacts with the different categories of models according to the density of the Anglophone population. Contacts with these models, on average, tend to decrease as the Anglophone population becomes less concentrated.

Figure 4.8

Social Conscientization (mean score for all categories) Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



The last questionnaire regarding social conscientization contained 12 questions measuring a variety of awareness-raising personal experiences about the Anglophone situation. A factor analysis groups these experiences under two categories: experiences with discrimination (e.g., strong experiences that make the student aware of the injustices borne by the Anglophone minority, or being a victim of unjust treatment because they were speaking in English) and awareness-raising experiences (e.g., awareness of Anglophone rights). Students answered on a nine-point scale, enabling them to indicate to what degree each statement corresponded to their own life experiences (1 = Does not correspond at all, 9 = Corresponds fully). The results are set out in table 4.19.

Table 4.19

Social Conscientization in Relation to English Language and Culture: Personal Experiences Since Childhood

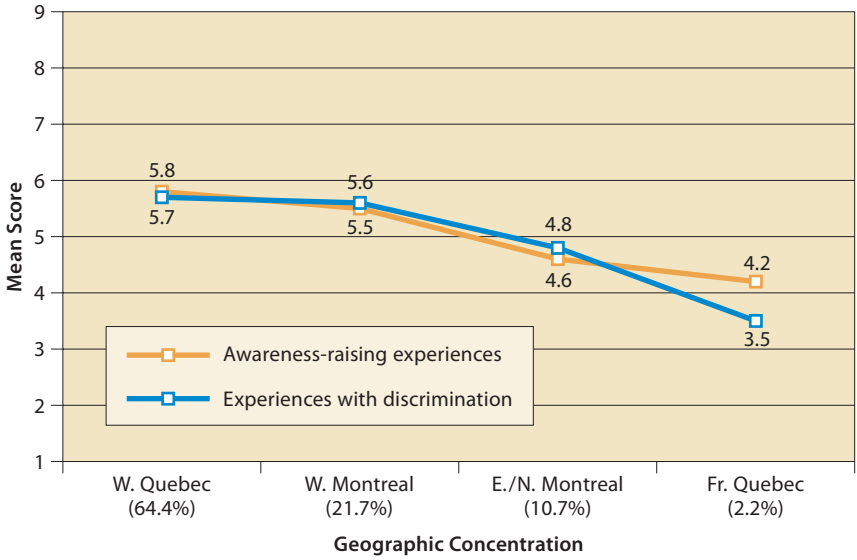
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Awareness-raising Experiences	Weak (%)	21.3	23.3	36.7	58.0	29.6
	Moderate (%)	33.9	35.6	34.3	29.0	34.6
	Strong (%)	44.9	41.1	29.0	13.0	35.9
	Mean score	**5.7**	**5.6**	**4.8**	**3.5**	**5.2**
Discrimination Experiences	Weak (%)	13.4	20.7	32.3	44.0	25.1
	Moderate (%)	49.6	45.5	47.6	42.0	46.2
	Strong (%)	37.0	33.8	20.1	14.0	28.6
	Mean score	**5.8**	**5.5**	**4.6**	**4.2**	**5.2**
Personal Experiences	**Mean score**	**5.8**	**5.5**	**4.7**	**3.8**	**5.2**

On the whole, students feel that the situations described in the questionnaire correspond moderately to their own as concerns both awareness-raising experiences and experiences with discrimination (mean score of 5.2 for each category). Nevertheless, if we focus on the percentage of students having had different types of experiences, we note that the percentage of students having had strong discrimination experiences (28.6%) is slightly lower than the percentage having had strong awareness-raising experiences (35.9%). It is in the Western Quebec region that the highest proportion of students feels that they have had strong experiences, both for awareness-raising experiences (44.9%) and for discrimination (37.0%). Mean scores decrease linearly with decreasing density of the Anglophone population. It is relevant to note the relatively high percentage of students (58.0%) who state having been only weakly made aware of the Anglophone situation in the French Quebec region. In other words, it is in the contexts where the English language has the least vitality that the students report having been made least aware of the situation. This trend is in the opposite direction of that found in the Francophone regions outside Quebec (Landry *et al.*, 2010).

Figure 4.9 shows that experiences of discrimination and those of awareness-raising are reported to have been at quite similar frequencies. Moreover, they follow the same linear relationship with minority population density.

Figure 4.9

Experiences with Discrimination and Awareness-Raising Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3 Psycholinguistic development

In this last section of the chapter on results, we present a profile of the students' different language and identity characteristics, that is, the psycholinguistic traits that result from language socialization experiences in both of the country's official languages. We first present the students' results on different measurements of their ethnolinguistic identity. We then analyze the students' cognitive-affective attitudes towards both language groups. How do they perceive the status or vitality of these groups (subjective ethnolinguistic vitality) and to what extent do they wish to integrate or be part of each language community? In the second section, we present the results of the measurements that enabled the students to estimate their feelings of autonomy, competence and

relatedness with respect to each language. In the following section, we present the results on the students' language motivations. To what extent are they motivated for instrumental and identity-related reasons to learn and use English and French? The chapter ends with an analysis of the students' linguistic competence scores and the presentation of a profile of the students' language behaviours in the family and with relatives in the social network, in public places, and in their media consumption. Finally, the section on language behaviours includes an analysis of the students' community involvement behaviours.

4.3.1 Ethnolinguistic identity

We should recall that our conceptual framework sets out two separate components of ethnolinguistic identity: self-definition (stating that one considers oneself a member of a group) and identity involvement (the value or meaning attributed to that identity). Although they are separate, these components are also interrelated (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005). For example, a person can say they are Anglophone without that identity having any profound meaning or affective importance for them. On the other hand, it is improbable that a person be very involved in their affirmation of their Anglophone identity without first recognizing themselves as Anglophone. As we have already stated in the introduction to the conceptual framework, different types of language experiences may be more closely related to one identity component than to the other. Enculturation in the private domain tends to be more highly correlated with the self-definition component than with the identity-involvement component, whereas the more qualitative aspects of personal autonomization and social conscientization are more closely related to the identity involvement component than to enculturation in the private domain (Deveau, 2007).

4.3.1.1 Self-definition

Persons may identify themselves with several groups. Our questionnaire measured six identities: Anglophone, Francophone, Bilingual, Anglo-Quebecer, Quebecer and Canadian.

Students answered for each of the six identities based on five perspectives: a) culture (way of thinking, acting, interests, beliefs, values), b) languages spoken, c) history of ancestors, d) future (what the student wants to be and do), and e) the territory inhabited (city or town, region, country). For each of these perspectives, the student evaluated each of the six identities mentioned above on a nine-point semantic scale. For example, to the statement "In view of my ancestors' history, I feel that I am…," the student placed an X on a semantic differential scale for each of the six identities. Each scale had two poles describing an identity continuum, for example:

Non-Anglophone _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Anglophone

We calculated each self-definition identity score by grouping together the five 'perspective' answers. The mean scores on the nine-point scale and the percentages of students with a weak identity (scores from 1 to 3.499), a moderate identity (3.5 to 6.499) and a strong identity (6.5 to 9) are presented in table 4.20.

We see in table 4.20 that Canadian identity is the strongest on the scores for the total sample. The scores are very high in Western Quebec and in the French Quebec region (mean scores of 8.2 and 8.1, respectively). The somewhat lower percentage of high scores in the two Montreal regions is explained by the higher percentage of immigrants in these schools. On the other hand, it is the Quebecer identity that is weakest (mean score of 5.5). Globally it is a moderate score. The Quebecer identity is strong (mean score of 7.6) in the French Quebec region and moderate in West Montreal (mean score of 4.9). It is moderately strong in Western Quebec and in East/North Montreal. The weaker scores in West Montreal may be partly explained by the higher percentage of immigrants. We note, globally, that 41.2% of the students identify themselves strongly as Quebecer compared to 83.0% that identify strongly as Canadian. We also note that another 33.9% of students have a moderate Quebecer identity.

Table 4.20
Categories of Identity Self-Definition

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Anglophone	Weak (%)	2.7	2.5	5.1	8.4	3.8
	Moderate (%)	13.4	18.9	24.5	49.5	22.3
	Strong (%)	83.9	78.6	70.4	42.1	73.9
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.6**	**7.3**	**6.1**	**7.4**
Francophone	Weak (%)	43.2	40.3	24.0	5.6	32.8
	Moderate (%)	44.6	40.8	35.1	23.4	38.1
	Strong (%)	12.2	19.0	40.9	71.0	29.1
	Mean score	**4.0**	**4.3**	**5.6**	**7.2**	**4.9**
Bilingual	Weak (%)	17.6	6.6	5.5	1.9	6.9
	Moderate (%)	37.8	30.5	23.2	22.4	28.3
	Strong (%)	44.6	62.9	71.3	75.7	64.8
	Mean score	**5.9**	**6.9**	**7.2**	**7.3**	**6.9**
Anglo-Quebecer	Weak (%)	9.5	13.3	12.7	10.3	12.5
	Moderate (%)	26.5	35.2	34.6	46.7	35.0
	Strong (%)	63.9	51.4	52.7	43.0	52.5
	Mean score	**6.9**	**6.2**	**6.2**	**5.8**	**6.3**
Quebecer	Weak (%)	18.1	32.1	20.3	3.8	24.9
	Moderate (%)	29.5	38.3	31.8	17.0	33.9
	Strong (%)	52.3	29.6	47.9	79.2	41.2
	Mean score	**6.1**	**4.9**	**5.9**	**7.6**	**5.5**
Canadian	Weak (%)	3.3	3.0	2.8	0.0	2.8
	Moderate (%)	6.7	16.5	13.4	11.2	14.2
	Strong (%)	90.0	80.4	83.8	88.8	83.0
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.6**	**7.8**	**8.1**	**7.8**

The four other identities measured are linguistic in nature. The strongest among them are the Anglophone (mean score of 7.4) and bilingual (mean score of 6.9) identities. Three in four students (73.9%) have a strong Anglophone identity and very few have a weak Anglophone identity (3.8%). The other 22.3% identify themselves as moderately Anglophone. Anglophone identity is not uniform across regions. In

Western Quebec, more than eight in ten students (83.9%) state having a strong Anglophone identity. In the French Quebec region, fewer than one in two students (42.1%) identify themselves strongly as Anglophone. As can be observed, the mean scores are linearly related to the concentration of Anglophones in the municipalities.

As for the strength of Francophone identity, students from the French Quebec region stand out once again from the other regions. Their mean score is strong (7.2) and, in the other regions, the mean scores range from moderately weak (4.0) to moderate (5.6). Again, the scores are linearly related to the geographic concentration of Anglophones. Globally, less than one third (29.1%) of the students have a strong Francophone identity.

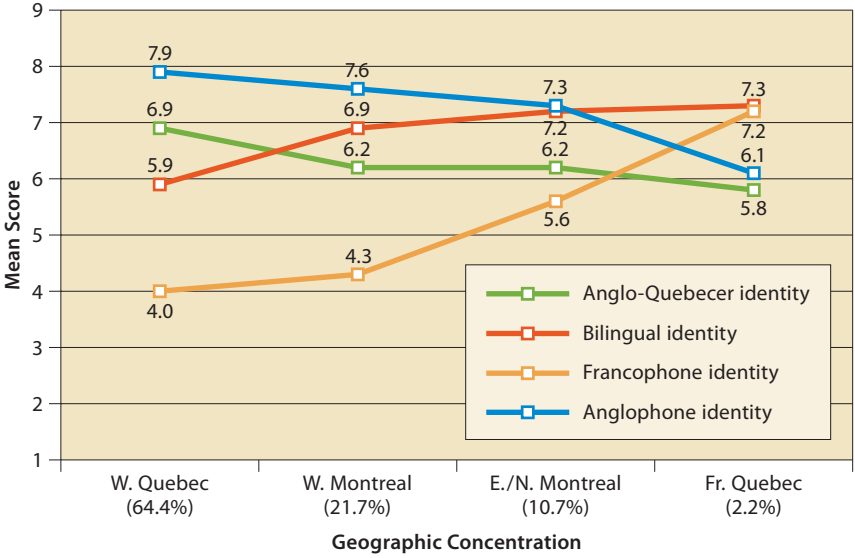
Francophone students outside Quebec are increasingly bilingual in their identity (Dallaire & Roma, 2003; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003). If this bilingual identity is looked at on a continuum going from a Franco-dominant to an Anglo-dominant identity, it tends to be associated with the vitality of the Francophone community (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006c). However, when taken alone, bilingual identity of Francophones tends to be strong in all regions, either for reasons of relatedness or competence (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, submitted for publication). In this Quebec sample, close to two in three students (64.8%) report strong bilingual identity, but this identity is inversely related to the density of the Anglophone population, 75.7% having a strong bilingual identity in the French Quebec region and the percentage dropping to 44.6% in Western Quebec.

As for the Anglo-Quebecer identity, it tends to be weaker than the Anglophone identity although it is at least moderately strong in all regions. It is strongest in the Western Quebec region (mean score of 6.9) and weakest in the French Quebec region (mean score of 5.8). The two Montreal regions have equal and moderately strong mean scores of 6.2.

Figure 4.10 shows the relationship between Anglophone geographic density and the four language-based identities. The strongest linear relationship is that of Francophone identity. It decreases with the increasing density of the Anglophone population. Anglophone identity is also linearly related to geographic density, but the linear relationships of bilingual identity and Anglo-Quebecer identity with Anglophone geographical concentration are not particularly significant.

Figure 4.10

Ethnolinguistic Identity Self-Definitions Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.1.2 Identity involvement

Identity involvement, the second component of ethnolinguistic identity, was measured with respect to both of Canada's official language communities. Our conceptual framework groups together three categories of highly correlated variables that constitute a single statistical factor (Deveau, Landry, & Allard, 2005) that we call identity involvement. These three categories of variables are self-categorization, collective self-esteem and affective involvement. The first can be described as the degree to which persons perceive themselves as similar to the members of the language community (e.g., I have a lot in common with the members of the Anglophone community). Collective self-esteem is summarized as the pride felt at the idea of belonging to the group (e.g., Belonging to the Anglophone community is a source of pride for me). Affective involvement is the willingness or propensity to want to defend the community and work for its development (e.g., I am someone who wants to defend the language rights of the Anglophone community).

In the questionnaire measuring identity involvement, students indicated, for each official language community, the extent to which each statement corresponded to how they saw themselves (1 = Does not correspond at all, 5 = Corresponds moderately, 9 = Corresponds entirely). We grouped together the statements measuring self-categorization, collective self-esteem, and affective engagement, respectively, in order to present the results for each of these identity components. We also calculated an overall score for all 12 statements. Table 4.21 presents the results relating to Anglophone identity involvement, and table 4.22 presents those corresponding to Francophone identity involvement.

Table 4.21

Anglophone Identity Involvement

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Self-categorization	Weak (%)	2.2	2.0	6.9	7.1	4.0
	Moderate (%)	16.3	20.9	26.1	39.4	23.5
	Strong (%)	81.5	77.0	67.0	53.5	72.6
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.5**	**6.9**	**6.4**	**7.3**
Collective self-esteem	Weak (%)	0.0	3.3	7.7	2.0	4.3
	Moderate (%)	19.1	20.1	23.0	30.6	21.7
	Strong (%)	80.9	76.7	69.3	67.3	74.0
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.4**	**7.0**	**6.9**	**7.3**
Affective involvement	Weak (%)	3.0	5.1	9.0	4.0	6.1
	Moderate (%)	19.3	20.1	25.5	36.4	22.9
	Strong (%)	77.8	74.8	65.5	59.6	71.0
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.4**	**6.9**	**6.8**	**7.2**
Anglophone involvement	**Mean score**	**7.8**	**7.4**	**6.9**	**6.7**	**7.2**

Table 4.21 shows Anglophone identity involvement scores for all students, with mean scores of 7.2 for affective involvement and 7.3 for collective self-esteem and self-categorization. The percentages of high scores (strong identity involvement) are greatest in the Western Quebec region and lowest in the French Quebec region. All mean scores tend to follow a linear distribution with the density of the Anglophone population. Scores range from very strong (7.8) to strong (6.7).

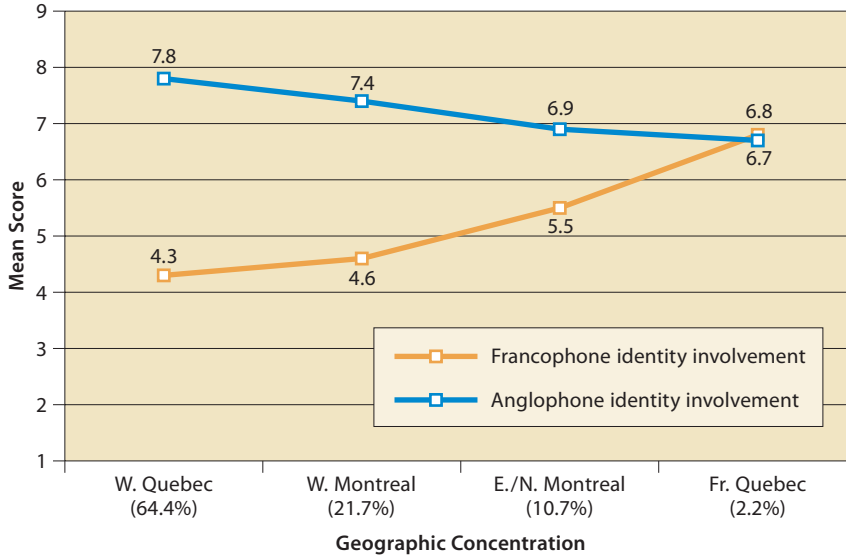
Table 4.22
Francophone Identity Involvement

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Self-categorization	Weak (%)	40.2	32.5	22.1	5.0	27.8
	Moderate (%)	43.3	46.9	44.0	30.7	44.4
	Strong (%)	16.5	20.7	33.8	64.4	27.8
	Mean score	**4.0**	**4.5**	**5.3**	**6.9**	**4.9**
Collective self-esteem	Weak (%)	32.5	30.4	20.4	7.8	25.7
	Moderate (%)	50.0	46.0	39.4	28.4	42.9
	Strong (%)	17.5	23.6	40.3	63.7	31.4
	Mean score	**4.3**	**4.7**	**5.6**	**6.9**	**5.1**
Affective involvement	Weak (%)	34.6	30.6	21.7	7.8	26.4
	Moderate (%)	46.5	45.6	38.8	33.3	42.6
	Strong (%)	18.9	23.8	39.5	58.8	31.1
	Mean score	**4.4**	**4.7**	**5.4**	**6.6**	**5.0**
Francophone involvement	**Mean score**	**4.3**	**4.6**	**5.5**	**6.8**	**5.0**

Scores for identity involvement with respect to the Francophone community (see table 4.22) range from strong in the French Quebec region (mean score of 6.8) to moderately weak in Western Quebec (mean score of 4.3). Scores tend to be linearly related to the concentration of the Anglophone population. Students from the French Quebec region therefore tend to be equally emotionally attached to both their Anglophone and Francophone identity (mean scores of 6.7 and 6.8, respectively), whereas in the other regions, the stronger the emotional attachment to the Anglophone identity, the weaker the attachment to the Francophone identity.

As shown in figure 4.11, it is clear that the students from the French Quebec region are equally involved in defending both of their identities and that, for the other groups of students, their being emotionally involved with a Francophone identity decreases with the increasing density of the Anglophone population. Anglophone identity involvement tends to be strong in all regions but decreases slightly as the density of the Anglophone population diminishes.

Figure 4.11
Identity Involvement
Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.2 Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality comprises the perceptions and beliefs people have about the societal status of a language and the vitality of the language group. It was measured by asking students to estimate the language resources currently available to each of Canada's official language communities in the regions where they resided. The eight questions measuring the "current vitality" included two questions for each of the four types of language capital that make up the group's language vitality (Landry & Allard, 1990). The answers were provided on nine-point scales where a high score indicated a high number of resources or strong language capital, and a low score indicated low vitality with respect to those resources. The availability of cultural activities and the number of television broadcasts available in the group's language constitute indexes of the language group's cultural capital. Control over industries and companies and use of the language at work constitute the economic capital indexes of each language group. Political capital is estimated by evaluating government services in the language

Table 4.23

Subjective Current Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Anglophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Demographic Capital	Weak (%)	2.6	4.7	6.6	22.9	6.3
	Moderate (%)	47.4	55.7	62.2	67.0	57.8
	Strong (%)	50.0	39.6	31.2	10.1	35.9
	Mean score	**6.4**	**5.9**	**5.6**	**4.4**	**5.7**
Political Capital	Weak (%)	3.3	8.9	10.4	18.9	9.5
	Moderate (%)	39.2	51.5	53.2	48.6	50.7
	Strong (%)	57.5	39.6	36.4	32.4	39.8
	Mean score	**6.4**	**5.7**	**5.6**	**5.3**	**5.7**
Economic Capital	Weak (%)	1.9	5.1	10.9	37.5	8.9
	Moderate (%)	43.2	46.6	57.5	49.1	49.9
	Strong (%)	54.8	48.4	31.6	13.4	41.2
	Mean score	**6.5**	**6.1**	**5.5**	**4.2**	**5.8**
Cultural Capital	Weak (%)	0.7	2.5	1.9	27.7	3.9
	Moderate (%)	18.1	24.2	33.6	58.9	29.1
	Strong (%)	81.2	73.2	64.5	13.4	67.0
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.2**	**6.8**	**4.6**	**6.9**
Anglophone Vitality	**Mean score**	**6.7**	**6.2**	**5.9**	**4.7**	**6.0**

and by the degree of compliance with the group's language rights in public institutions. Finally, demographic capital is measured by the language group's perceived power of attraction for people coming from elsewhere (would they use mostly French or English?) and by an estimation by students of the proportions of Francophones and Anglophones in their region. The students estimated these types of language capital in relation to their region, and not for the province or country. The results for subjective ethnolinguistic vitality concerning the Anglophone community are presented in table 4.23, whereas those for the Francophone community are presented in table 4.24.

Table 4.24

Subjective Current Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Francophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Demographic Capital	Weak (%)	10.4	4.3	1.7	0.9	3.9
	Moderate (%)	63.6	46.4	45.7	26.4	46.5
	Strong (%)	26.0	49.2	52.5	72.7	49.7
	Mean score	**5.3**	**6.1**	**6.3**	**6.9**	**6.2**
Political Capital	Weak (%)	3.9	3.5	1.0	0.9	2.6
	Moderate (%)	35.7	26.9	17.8	8.0	23.5
	Strong (%)	60.4	69.6	81.3	91.1	74.0
	Mean score	**6.5**	**7.0**	**7.4**	**7.9**	**7.1**
Economic Capital	Weak (%)	7.1	3.0	0.8	0.9	2.5
	Moderate (%)	40.6	25.1	18.0	6.2	23.0
	Strong (%)	52.3	71.9	81.2	92.9	74.5
	Mean score	**6.2**	**6.9**	**7.3**	**7.7**	**7.0**
Cultural Capital	Weak (%)	25.8	11.7	5.3	0.0	10.2
	Moderate (%)	54.2	46.5	37.0	14.9	42.0
	Strong (%)	20.0	41.8	57.6	85.1	47.9
	Mean score	**4.7**	**5.7**	**6.5**	**7.7**	**6.0**
Francophone Vitality	**Mean score**	**5.7**	**6.4**	**6.9**	**7.6**	**6.6**

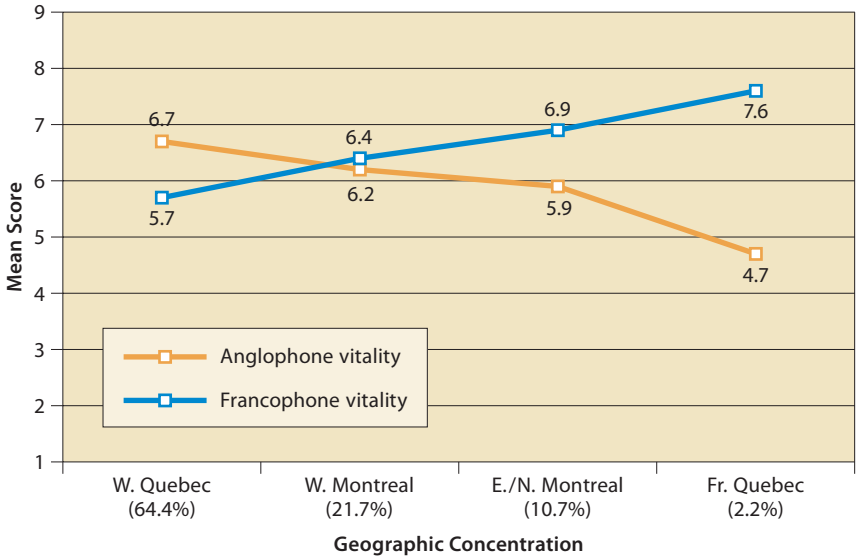
Students evaluate the cultural capital of the Anglophone community more positively than the other types of language capital (mean score of 6.9 as compared to mean scores of 5.7 to 5.8 for the other types of capital). Cultural capital is evaluated as being strong whereas the other types of capital are rated as being moderately strong. This evaluation varies according to the regions, with Western Quebec having the highest mean score (6.7) and the French Quebec region having the lowest mean score (4.7). Scores tend to be linearly related to the demographic concentration of Anglophones.

Scores relative to the subjective present ethnolinguistic vitality of the Francophone community (table 4.24) tend to present the opposite of table 4.23. Where the vitality of the Anglophone community is considered the strongest (the cultural capital) is also where the vitality of the Francophone community is evaluated least positively. There is also a tendency to evaluate the demographic capital of the Francophone community less positively than the political and economic capitals. There are, however, regional differences. It is in Western Quebec and in West Montreal that the demographic capital of the Francophone community is rated the weakest. Ratings of all categories of linguistic capital are linearly related with the concentration of Anglophones in the municipalities inhabited.

If we compare the results of table 4.23 to those of table 4.24, it can be observed that, generally, the students rate the vitality of the Francophone community as stronger than that of the Anglophone community for all types of linguistic capital except for cultural capital. The strong presence of Anglophone media is probably the basis for this result. Differences in scores on demographic capital remain small because students responded for their own region. The demographic capital of the Anglophone community relative to that of the Francophone community is rated as stronger in Western Quebec, equal in West Montreal and weaker in both the East/North Montreal and the French Quebec regions. Political and economic capital tend to be considered equally strong for the two communities in Western Quebec, but as stronger for the Francophone community than for the Anglophone community in the other regions. Figure 4.12 shows that it is in West Montreal that the students evaluate the Francophone and the Anglophone vitalities as being relatively equal. Generally, global subjective vitality scores vary linearly with the demographic density of Anglophones and Francophones.

Figure 4.12

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



An additional subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire asked students to estimate the future vitality of the Anglophone community. For the four questions, each associated with one of the four types of language capital described above, students were asked to estimate, on a nine-point scale, the situation of the Anglophone community 25 years from now relative to its present situation. Estimates of the future vitality of their Anglophone community could range from much weaker (1) to much stronger (9). A score of 5 means a future vitality that is similar to the current one. These results are presented in table 4.25.

Table 4.25

Subjective Future Ethnolinguistic Vitality (in 25 Years) of the Anglophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Anglophone population	Weaker (%)	9.2	13.3	13.2	9.9	12.6
	Stable (%)	50.0	47.3	42.5	55.0	46.6
	Stronger (%)	40.8	39.4	44.3	35.1	40.8
	Mean score	**5.9**	**5.8**	**5.9**	**5.6**	**5.8**
Government services	Weaker (%)	10.5	19.5	16.5	13.5	17.3
	Stable (%)	50.7	46.6	43.1	49.5	46.0
	Stronger (%)	38.8	34.0	40.4	36.9	36.7
	Mean score	**5.9**	**5.5**	**5.6**	**5.6**	**5.6**
Businesses and industry	Weaker (%)	8.6	18.9	11.9	12.6	15.2
	Stable (%)	59.6	54.2	57.7	59.5	56.2
	Stronger (%)	31.8	26.9	30.4	27.9	28.5
	Mean score	**5.7**	**5.3**	**5.5**	**5.5**	**5.4**
Cultural activities and the media	Weaker (%)	7.9	16.2	15.2	9.9	14.7
	Stable (%)	47.4	46.4	40.3	55.0	45.1
	Stronger (%)	44.7	37.4	44.6	35.1	40.2
	Mean score	**6.1**	**5.7**	**5.9**	**5.6**	**5.8**
Future vitality	**Mean score**	**5.9**	**5.5**	**5.7**	**5.6**	**5.6**

On average, the students in our sample evaluated the future vitality of the Anglophone community in their region as being slightly stronger in 25 years than it is now. The overall mean score is 5.6. Very few differences exist across types of language capital or across regions. Therefore, generally speaking, students feel slightly optimistic about the probability that the linguistic capital in their Anglophone communities will have improved in 25 years time.

Another questionnaire regarding subjective ethnolinguistic vitality measured the perceived legitimacy of the current vitality of the Anglophone community. Students were required to estimate what the vitality of the Anglophone community in their region should be like if things were truly just and fair given the number of Francophones

Table 4.26

Perception of Just and Equitable Vitality of the Anglophone Community Based on the Number of Anglophones and Francophones in the Region

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Anglophone character	Weaker (%)	6.0	5.7	5.6	6.4	5.7
	Stable (%)	59.7	53.2	54.3	57.3	54.4
	Stronger (%)	34.2	41.1	40.1	36.4	39.8
	Mean score	**5.8**	**6.0**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**5.9**
Government services	Weaker (%)	2.0	3.9	4.5	8.2	4.2
	Stable (%)	54.4	42.3	43.6	60.0	45.0
	Stronger (%)	43.6	53.9	51.9	31.8	50.8
	Mean score	**6.2**	**6.5**	**6.4**	**5.7**	**6.4**
Businesses and industry	Weaker (%)	2.0	4.9	5.4	9.1	5.1
	Stable (%)	66.9	47.7	52.1	56.4	51.5
	Stronger (%)	31.1	47.5	42.4	34.5	43.4
	Mean score	**5.8**	**6.2**	**6.1**	**5.7**	**6.1**
Cultural activities and the media	Weaker (%)	3.9	3.2	5.0	9.1	4.2
	Stable (%)	61.2	47.4	51.6	53.6	50.5
	Stronger (%)	34.9	49.5	43.3	37.3	45.3
	Mean score	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.1**	**5.8**	**6.2**
Legitimate vitality	**Mean score**	**5.9**	**6.3**	**6.1**	**5.7**	**6.2**

and Anglophones in their region. The students judged on a nine-point scale whether the resources of the Anglophone community should be much weaker (1), equal (5) or much stronger (9) than at the present time. The results on the legitimacy of the vitality of the Anglophone community are presented in table 4.26.

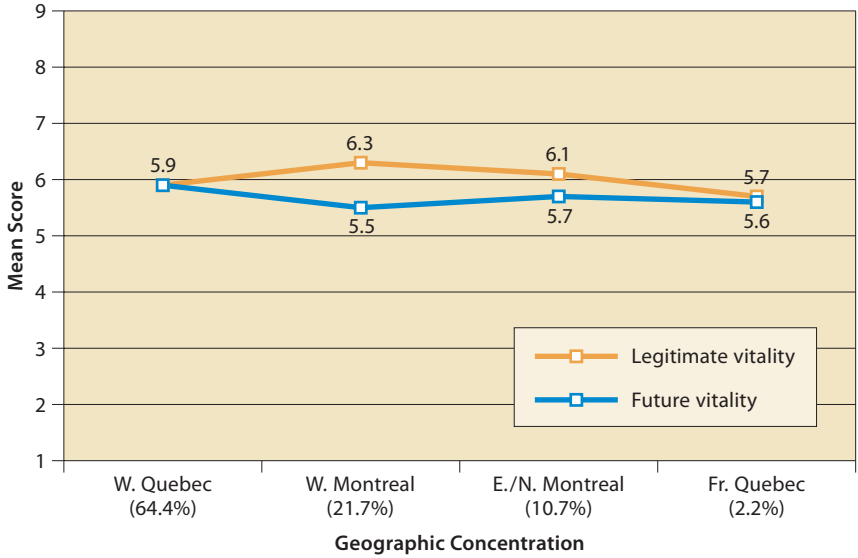
On average, students feel that in order for things to be just and equitable given the number of Anglophones and Francophones in their region, the Anglophone community's resources should be moderately stronger (mean score of 6.2). Interestingly, it is in the French Quebec region, where the vitality of the English language is weakest, and in Western Quebec, the region where the demographic vitality is strongest, that the need to improve the community's resources in English

is rated slightly weaker (mean scores of 5.7 and 5.9 compared to 6.1 and 6.3 in the other regions). Differences are small but are statistically significant between the French region and the two Montreal regions. Globally, it is in the domain of government services that the need to improve the Anglophone community's vitality is rated the strongest (mean score of 6.4), but this tendency is salient only in the two Montreal regions.

Figure 4.13 shows the results on the perceived future and legitimate vitalities of the Anglophone community according to the geographic concentration of Anglophones. One notes that these aspects of subjective Anglophone vitality vary little according to geographic density.

Figure 4.13

Future and Legitimate Vitalities Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.3 Desire for integration

According to our conceptual framework, the desire for integration is influenced by ethnolinguistic identity and subjective vitality. The desire for integration comprises the person's personal beliefs, wishes and goals, which are indicators of the person's desire to be part of a community and to integrate into it (Allard & Landry, 1992, 1994). In order for persons to wish to be part of a community, they must above all identify themselves with it; however, this desire may also be associated with the vitality or status that they attribute to their community. Let us recall that identity is associated above all with the experiences of "solidarity" that the person may have had in the private domain (family, friends, classmates), whereas subjective vitality, that is, the status attributed to the community, is more closely associated to ethnolinguistic contacts in the public domain (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b).

Youths living in a minority environment can be exposed to certain identity-related tensions. On the one hand, they may feel solidarity towards the minority community for identity-related reasons, while on the other hand, they may be quite aware of the superior status of the dominant language in many aspects of their daily life. As was shown in table 4.4, an important percentage of the students that participated in the study live in families where one parent is Anglophone and the other is Francophone (19.1%) or Allophone (10.0%). Depending on the family's language dynamics, they may wish to become part of either language community, of both, and in some cases, of all three. In a very small minority context, a youth may live in English at home, yet speak French with friends and neighbours. All of these situations lead youths to make identity-based choices and develop strategies for social and community integration. For them, a way to reduce identity-based tensions may be to take on a bilingual identity and attempt to integrate into both language communities. In this study, we measured the desire of students to integrate into each of Canada's two official language communities. The desires and goals of the students were evaluated in relation to eight categories of language and community resources: cultural activities (theatre, shows, movies), television broadcasts, working language, communication with future employers and bosses at work, accessing government services, compliance with language rights,

communication with new immigrants, and wishes concerning the cultural and linguistic character of the territory they live in. We note that this questionnaire contains two indexes for each of the four types of language capital measured in the subjective vitality questionnaires: cultural, economic, political and demographic. For example, a student who wishes to listen to television mainly in English and to take part in cultural activities in English would have the desire to integrate the Anglophone community, particularly when the cultural capital of the English community is strong. Students answered this questionnaire by indicating how often they wished to use the linguistic and cultural resources of each community (1 = Never, 9 = Always). The results relative to the desire to integrate into the Anglophone community are presented in table 4.27 and those for the desire to integrate into the Francophone community are in table 4.28.

The desire to integrate into the Anglophone community ranges from very strong in Western Quebec to moderately strong in the French region. The mean scores in all domains tend to be linearly related to the demographic concentration of the Anglophone population in the municipalities inhabited by the students.

The scores set out in table 4.28 enable us to contrast the desire to integrate into the Anglophone community with the desire to integrate into the Francophone community. The overall mean scores (average of eight indexes) can be found at the bottom of each table. Students in all regions, on average, have a stronger desire to integrate into the Anglophone community than into the Francophone community. However, differences between mean scores increase as the demographic concentration of Anglophones increases. For instance, in Western Quebec, where, on average, students live in municipalities with 64% of Anglophones, the desire to integrate into the Anglophone community is very strong (mean score of 7.8) and the desire to integrate into the Francophone community is weak (mean score of 3.2). Conversely, in the French Quebec region where Anglophones constitute on average 2.2% of the local population, the desire to integrate with the Anglophone community is moderately strong (mean score of 6.5), but so is the desire to integrate with the Francophone community (mean score of 6.0). Students in the French Quebec region tend to aspire to integrate with both linguistic communities, a strategic goal of many

Table 4.27
Desire to Integrate into the Anglophone Community

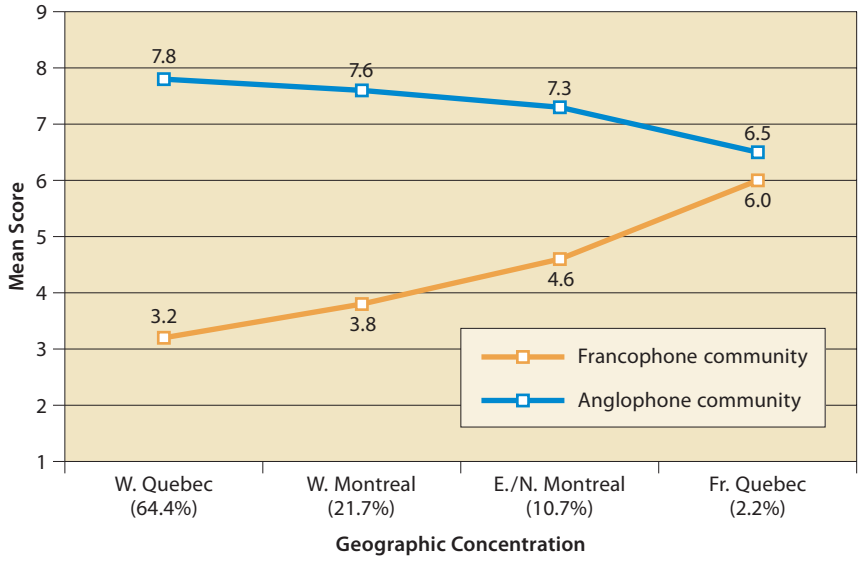
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Cultural activities	Weak (%)	8.7	3.9	4.5	15.0	5.3
	Moderate (%)	16.0	20.7	19.4	26.2	20.2
	Strong (%)	75.3	75.4	76.1	58.9	74.5
	Mean score	**7.3**	**7.5**	**7.5**	**6.3**	**7.4**
Television broadcasts	Weak (%)	0.7	2.9	3.7	11.2	3.5
	Moderate (%)	10.0	13.3	11.8	19.6	12.9
	Strong (%)	89.3	83.8	84.5	69.2	83.5
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.9**	**7.9**	**7.0**	**7.9**
Working language	Weak (%)	2.0	1.8	2.9	5.7	2.4
	Moderate (%)	16.4	17.1	23.5	24.5	19.6
	Strong (%)	81.6	81.0	73.6	69.8	77.9
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.4**	**6.9**	**7.6**
Language of communication with my employers	Weak (%)	1.9	2.7	3.7	10.2	3.4
	Moderate (%)	11.7	16.5	25.0	30.6	19.7
	Strong (%)	86.4	80.8	71.3	59.3	76.8
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.7**	**7.3**	**6.4**	**7.5**
Language of communication with government services	Weak (%)	2.0	1.8	3.9	11.2	3.1
	Moderate (%)	15.1	16.7	22.2	35.5	19.6
	Strong (%)	82.9	81.5	73.9	53.3	77.3
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.8**	**7.4**	**6.2**	**7.6**
Language of communication with public services	Weak (%)	0.7	1.5	4.1	13.0	3.0
	Moderate (%)	17.0	23.1	30.6	41.7	26.2
	Strong (%)	82.4	75.4	65.3	45.4	70.8
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.5**	**7.1**	**6.0**	**7.3**
Language of communication with other youths	Weak (%)	2.0	2.6	3.9	8.4	3.3
	Moderate (%)	22.9	26.0	30.0	41.1	28.0
	Strong (%)	75.2	71.4	66.1	50.5	68.6
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.4**	**7.0**	**6.4**	**7.2**
Cultural and linguistic character of my territory	Weak (%)	0.0	1.2	3.5	5.6	2.1
	Moderate (%)	22.2	23.1	28.0	37.4	25.6
	Strong (%)	77.8	75.7	68.5	57.0	72.3
	Mean score	**7.7**	**7.6**	**7.1**	**6.6**	**7.4**
Anglophone	**Mean score**	**7.8**	**7.6**	**7.3**	**6.5**	**7.5**

Table 4.28
Desire to Integrate into the Francophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Cultural activities	Weak (%)	75.7	65.1	54.7	24.1	60.0
	Moderate (%)	21.7	26.0	30.2	34.3	27.5
	Strong (%)	2.6	8.9	15.2	41.7	12.5
	Mean score	**2.6**	**3.1**	**3.7**	**5.4**	**3.4**
Television broadcasts	Weak (%)	74.3	63.6	52.6	26.9	58.6
	Moderate (%)	19.7	25.0	27.5	23.1	25.2
	Strong (%)	5.9	11.4	19.9	50.0	16.2
	Mean score	**2.5**	**3.2**	**3.9**	**5.5**	**3.5**
Working language	Weak (%)	50.7	44.0	31.7	13.9	38.6
	Moderate (%)	32.2	37.4	38.3	34.3	37.0
	Strong (%)	17.1	18.6	30.1	51.9	24.4
	Mean score	**3.7**	**4.1**	**4.8**	**6.0**	**4.4**
Language of communication with my employers	Weak (%)	67.3	49.2	33.3	11.9	43.3
	Moderate (%)	25.5	36.0	37.4	32.1	35.2
	Strong (%)	7.2	14.8	29.3	56.0	21.5
	Mean score	**3.0**	**3.9**	**4.8**	**6.2**	**4.2**
Language of communication with government services	Weak (%)	66.0	52.8	38.1	13.8	46.6
	Moderate (%)	24.8	33.4	35.6	32.1	33.2
	Strong (%)	9.2	13.8	26.3	54.1	20.2
	Mean score	**3.0**	**3.7**	**4.5**	**6.1**	**4.1**
Language of communication with public services	Weak (%)	57.5	43.0	26.7	6.4	36.6
	Moderate (%)	30.1	40.6	40.9	40.4	39.6
	Strong (%)	12.4	16.4	32.4	53.2	23.7
	Mean score	**3.4**	**4.1**	**5.1**	**6.4**	**4.5**
Language of communication with other youths	Weak (%)	47.4	38.2	24.7	7.3	32.6
	Moderate (%)	40.1	39.2	40.7	45.0	40.2
	Strong (%)	12.5	22.5	34.6	47.7	27.2
	Mean score	**3.7**	**4.4**	**5.3**	**6.2**	**4.8**
Cultural and linguistic character of my territory	Low (%)	48.7	42.5	29.9	11.9	36.9
	Moderate (%)	40.1	41.6	40.8	46.8	41.5
	High (%)	11.2	16.0	29.3	41.3	21.6
	Mean score	**3.7**	**4.0**	**4.9**	**6.0**	**4.4**
Francophone	**Mean score**	**3.2**	**3.8**	**4.6**	**6.0**	**4.2**

Figure 4.14

Desire for Integration into the Anglophone and Francophone Communities Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



Francophones outside Quebec living in low Francophone vitality contexts (Landry *et al.*, 2010). It is with respect to cultural activities and television broadcasts that the students least aspire to access French community resources. However, with respect to communication with Francophone youths, they are more willing to do so.

In figure 4.14, we note that Francophone geographic density in municipalities is a significant factor in the desire for integration. Only in the French Quebec region, however, do the students desire to integrate both linguistic communities nearly equally.

4.3.4 Feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness

According to self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000, 2002), personal autonomization is the foundation for acquiring feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness. In section 4.2.2, we noted that Anglophone personal autonomization was stronger than Francophone personal autonomization in all regions except for the French Quebec region. However, the relative difference in the strength of personal autonomization between the two languages decreased as Anglophone population density became weaker.

In this section, we present the students' assessments of their feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness in relation to each language and each language group. Two questionnaires measured these feelings. The first assessed feelings of autonomy and competence. Students expressed their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements on a nine-point scale (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Agree moderately, 9 = Completely agree). The statements were related to whether students used English and French freely and based on personal choice (feelings of autonomy), and whether, overall, they felt competent and efficient when they learned and spoke those languages (feelings of competence). The second questionnaire assessed the feeling of relatedness. Students expressed, on the same nine-point scale as in the other questionnaire, their level of agreement with statements indicating that, in their relationships with Anglophones and Francophones, they felt supported, confident in them, attached to them, listened to and respected. The results are presented in tables 4.29 and 4.30.

In table 4.29, we note that a strong majority of the students have strong feelings of autonomy and competence in relation to the English language and relatedness towards members of the Anglophone community (percentages range from 63.7% to 78.3%). A much lower number (see table 4.30), from 28.5 to 38.8%, have the same feelings towards the French language and members of the Francophone community. There are, however, regional differences. In the French Quebec region, the percentage of students who have strong feelings of relatedness towards members of the Anglophone and Francophone communities are exactly the same (71.3%), whereas feelings of autonomy and

Table 4.29

Feelings of Autonomy and Competence in Relation to the English Language and Feelings of Relatedness in Relation to Members of the Anglophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Autonomy	Weak (%)	3.5	1.3	1.2	2.9	1.6
	Moderate (%)	39.2	38.4	29.8	24.5	34.7
	Strong (%)	57.3	60.3	68.9	72.5	63.7
	Mean score	**6.9**	**7.0**	**7.3**	**7.2**	**7.1**
Competence	Weak (%)	1.4	0.8	1.0	2.0	1.0
	Moderate (%)	28.7	36.1	28.2	30.4	32.4
	Strong (%)	69.9	63.1	70.7	67.6	66.6
	Mean score	**7.4**	**7.1**	**7.3**	**7.1**	**7.2**
Relatedness	Weak (%)	0.7	2.6	1.7	2.0	2.1
	Moderate (%)	18.3	18.5	19.9	26.7	19.5
	Strong (%)	81.0	78.9	78.4	71.3	78.4
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.6**	**7.6**	**7.1**	**7.6**
Anglophone	**Mean score**	**7.3**	**7.2**	**7.4**	**7.1**	**7.3**

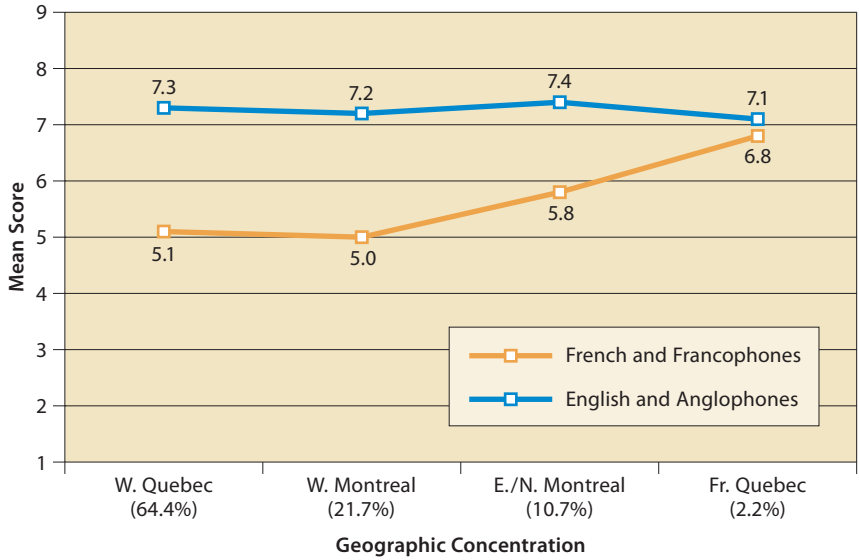
competence, although slightly stronger towards the English language, are at least moderately strong toward both languages. Basic feelings toward Anglophones and the English language vary little according to the demographic concentration of Anglophones but feelings toward French and Francophones tend to follow a linear relationship as shown in figure 4.15.

According to our conceptual model, it is above all the strength of personal autonomization that tends to be strongly associated with the satisfaction of needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness which, in turn, is associated with the internalization of the motivation for language learning and use (Deveau, 2007). The results for language motivation are presented in the following section.

Table 4.30
Feelings of Autonomy and Competence in Relation to the French Language and Feelings of Relatedness in Relation to Members of the Francophone Community

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Autonomy	Weak (%)	21.3	24.5	19.0	8.9	21.3
	Moderate (%)	61.0	56.0	48.4	28.7	52.1
	Strong (%)	17.7	19.4	32.6	62.4	26.5
	Mean score	**4.8**	**4.8**	**5.5**	**6.6**	**5.2**
Competence	Weak (%)	16.3	14.2	14.8	4.0	13.9
	Moderate (%)	54.6	58.8	46.6	39.6	53.1
	Strong (%)	29.1	26.9	38.6	56.4	33.0
	Mean score	**5.3**	**5.4**	**5.7**	**6.6**	**5.6**
Relatedness	Weak (%)	26.8	30.8	16.8	5.0	24.1
	Moderate (%)	39.4	39.5	35.5	23.8	37.1
	Strong (%)	33.8	29.6	47.7	71.3	38.8
	Mean score	**5.2**	**4.9**	**6.1**	**7.1**	**5.5**
Francophone	**Mean score**	**5.1**	**5.0**	**5.8**	**6.8**	**5.4**

Figure 4.15
Satisfaction of Basic Needs in English and French Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.5 Language motivation

In our conceptual framework, we described how language motivation might be analyzed on a continuum ranging from amotivation to intrinsic motivation, while encompassing four types of extrinsic motivation: external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation and integrated regulation. Identified regulation and integrated regulation are the most important when targeting well internalized and engaged language motivation. When motivational regulation is identified, the person tends to learn and use the language to fulfill personal goals. Regulation is integrated when it corresponds to the person's deep-rooted values and beliefs. Integrated regulation best corresponds to identity-related reasons for using and learning a language. For example, students with this type of motivational orientation could say they are learning and speaking English because this corresponds to their personal identity and cultural values. When using and learning English constitute sources of accomplishment and personal satisfaction, motivational regulation is intrinsic. We note that an Anglophone student who has personal autonomization experiences in both languages could be as intrinsically motivated, if not more, to learn French than to learn English.

In this study, we measured six motivational orientations for each of the two languages. The student answered two identical questionnaires containing 26 questions: one adapted for learning and using English and the other for learning and using French. Using a nine-point scale, students responded to each statement by indicating if the reason given in the statement for learning and using the language corresponded to their personal motives (1 = Does not correspond at all, 5 = Corresponds moderately, 9 = Corresponds entirely). The statements associated with amotivation were of the type: "I don't know; I don't understand why." Students who identify with this motive do not feel that they have any command or control over the reasons for learning and speaking the language. Their motives are therefore far from being internalized and personal. The statement "To be more financially comfortable in the future" is an external regulation based on rewards for the behaviour. They are learning the language for instrumental reasons. An introjected regulation refers to social pressures the person has more or less internalized. For example, students who say they are learning

and using English "Because I didn't want to disappoint my parents" may internalize guilt associated with the social pressure felt, but they do not necessarily have their own personal and integrated reasons to guide this learning. Identified regulation results in statements such as "Because it is important to be good in English to achieve my life plans." Persons saying this associate the learning and study of English with their personal needs and goals, and begin to make the reasons for learning this language their own. Integrated regulation is reflected by motives such as "I'm learning and using English because English reflects who I am" or "Because I want to live in English." In this case, persons are expressing motives that are integrated into their identity, into who they believe they are and want to be. It can be said that these persons are learning and speaking English for identity-based reasons. Finally, persons who say they are learning English "For the pleasure I experience in feeling completely absorbed by what I learn about English language and culture" are expressing a reason that corresponds to intrinsic motivation. At this level of the motivational continuum, language usage and learning become in and of themselves sources of satisfaction and accomplishment. Learning English is motivating in itself.

In an additive bilingualism context, internal and integrated motivation for learning and using the minority language does not mean that the person is not motivated to learn the majority language. Rather, learning the former for identity-based reasons may be accompanied by instrumental reasons for learning the majority language (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2009). In a context of exogamy, however, it would be normal and expected for the person to be able to learn and use both languages for identity-based reasons. The language motivation results with respect to each of the languages are presented in tables 4.31 and 4.32.

Table 4.31

Motivation for Learning and Using English

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Amotivation	Weak (%)	53.8	63.8	73.4	81.9	67.2
	Moderate (%)	35.4	27.3	22.2	16.4	25.7
	Strong (%)	10.8	8.9	4.4	1.7	7.1
	Mean score	**3.4**	**3.0**	**2.5**	**2.0**	**2.8**
Extrinsic motivation: external regulation	Weak (%)	11.4	14.6	13.0	2.6	13.0
	Moderate (%)	42.4	37.8	36.1	31.0	37.2
	Strong (%)	46.2	47.5	51.0	66.4	49.8
	Mean score	**6.2**	**6.1**	**6.3**	**6.9**	**6.2**
Extrinsic motivation: introjected regulation	Weak (%)	49.7	58.8	74.1	77.6	64.1
	Moderate (%)	41.4	30.4	20.7	18.1	27.5
	Strong (%)	8.9	10.8	5.2	4.3	8.4
	Mean score	**3.5**	**3.2**	**2.6**	**2.5**	**3.0**
Extrinsic motivation: identified regulation	Weak (%)	8.3	10.0	13.2	6.9	10.6
	Moderate (%)	40.1	38.4	31.5	35.3	36.2
	Strong (%)	51.6	51.6	55.3	57.8	53.2
	Mean score	**6.5**	**6.3**	**6.3**	**6.7**	**6.3**
Extrinsic motivation: integrated regulation	Weak (%)	9.6	10.2	16.4	29.3	13.5
	Moderate (%)	30.6	38.0	33.0	37.9	35.7
	Strong (%)	59.9	51.8	50.6	32.8	50.8
	Mean score	**6.7**	**6.3**	**6.1**	**5.2**	**6.2**
Intrinsic motivation	Weak (%)	27.8	25.2	30.0	24.1	26.9
	Moderate (%)	44.3	49.0	43.9	46.6	46.8
	Strong (%)	27.8	25.8	26.1	29.3	26.3
	Mean score	**4.9**	**4.9**	**4.8**	**5.0**	**4.9**

Table 4.32
Motivation for Learning and Using French

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Amotivation	Weak (%)	59.4	58.0	66.9	76.5	62.3
	Moderate (%)	27.7	29.4	23.5	20.0	26.7
	Strong (%)	12.9	12.6	9.6	3.5	11.0
	Mean score	**3.3**	**3.4**	**2.9**	**2.3**	**3.1**
Extrinsic motivation: external regulation	Weak (%)	13.5	14.4	15.7	14.0	14.7
	Moderate (%)	29.7	39.3	33.5	43.0	36.8
	Strong (%)	56.8	46.4	50.8	43.0	48.5
	Mean score	**6.4**	**6.1**	**6.2**	**6.0**	**6.1**
Extrinsic motivation: introjected regulation	Weak (%)	49.4	55.7	62.6	67.8	58.2
	Moderate (%)	39.6	34.1	26.9	27.0	31.8
	Strong (%)	11.0	10.1	10.6	5.2	10.0
	Mean score	**3.7**	**3.3**	**3.1**	**2.8**	**3.3**
Extrinsic motivation: identified regulation	Weak (%)	16.1	21.4	19.5	13.9	19.8
	Moderate (%)	28.4	39.7	36.8	37.4	37.6
	Strong (%)	55.5	38.9	43.7	48.7	42.7
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.4**	**5.7**	**6.0**	**5.6**
Extrinsic motivation: integrated regulation	Weak (%)	40.0	51.2	42.7	17.4	45.1
	Moderate (%)	42.6	34.4	32.8	39.1	35.0
	Strong (%)	17.4	14.4	24.5	43.5	19.9
	Mean score	**4.2**	**3.7**	**4.4**	**5.8**	**4.1**
Intrinsic motivation	Weak (%)	33.5	40.4	42.0	36.5	40.0
	Moderate (%)	48.4	43.2	39.2	39.1	42.1
	Strong (%)	18.1	16.4	18.8	24.3	17.9
	Mean score	**4.4**	**4.1**	**4.2**	**4.4**	**4.2**

In table 4.31, we note low mean scores for two types of regulation. For the entire sample, only 7.1% of students have strong amotivation scores for learning and using English (mean score = 2.8). Likewise, only 8.4% of students have strong introjected regulation scores (mean score = 3.0). Three types of regulation are associated with the highest

scores: external, identified and integrated regulation (mean scores of 6.2, 6.3 and 6.2, respectively). Approximately one in two students has high scores for these three types of regulation. As for intrinsic motivation, the mean score is fairly moderate (4.9). It is students in the Western Quebec region who learn English the most for identity-related reasons (integrated regulation; mean score of 6.7) whereas it is students in the French Quebec region that learn it most for instrumental reasons (external regulation; mean score of 6.9). On average, students tend to have moderately strong scores on the identified regulation scale, that is, learning for personal goals.

Table 4.32 presents the motivation scores for the French language. We note that, similar to the scores for English, the mean scores for introjected regulation and amotivation for French are low (3.1 and 3.3, respectively). On average, motivation for French for instrumental reasons (mean score = 6.1) is equal to that for English (mean score = 6.2). Learning for identified regulation reasons is weaker in French than in English (5.6 versus 6.3). Learning for identity-related reasons (integrated regulation) is much stronger in English (6.1) than in French (4.2) except for students from the French Quebec region who have a higher mean score in French (5.8) than in English (5.2). While 32.8% of the students in this region state strong identity-based reasons for using and learning English, 43.5% choose these reasons for using and learning French. Finally, intrinsic motivation for English (mean score = 4.9) is slightly stronger than for French (4.2).

Figures 4.16 and 4.17 present the mean scores for external and integrated regulations for each language based on Anglophone geographic concentration. We note that even if the relationship is fairly weak, identity-based reasons for learning and using English tend to increase with Anglophone population density. Instrumental reasons for learning and using English are moderately strong for all groups except for the students in the French Quebec region where this orientation is rather strong. Instrumental reasons for using and learning French are uniformly moderately strong but identity-related reasons increase with frequency of contacts with Francophones. In the French Quebec region, students seem to be equally motivated to learn and use French for instrumental and identity-related reasons.

Figure 4.16

Instrumental and Identity-based Motivations for Learning English Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration

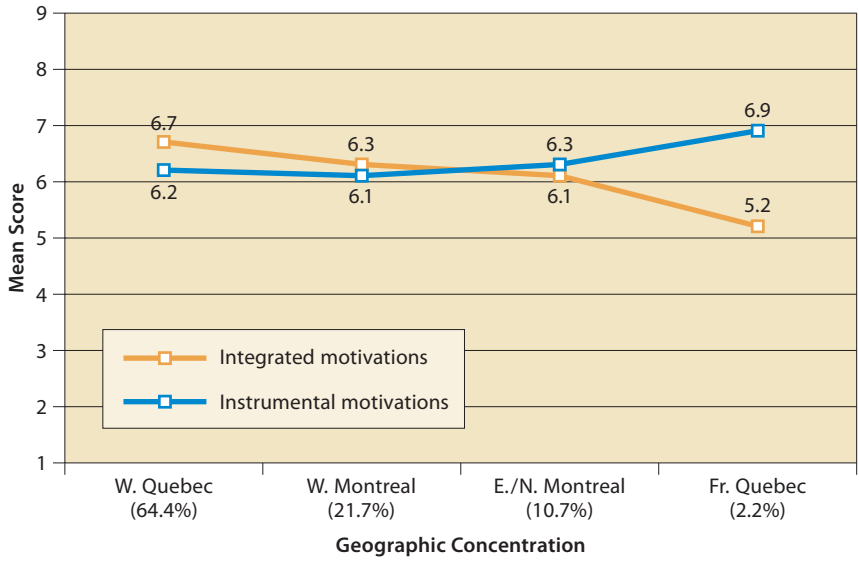
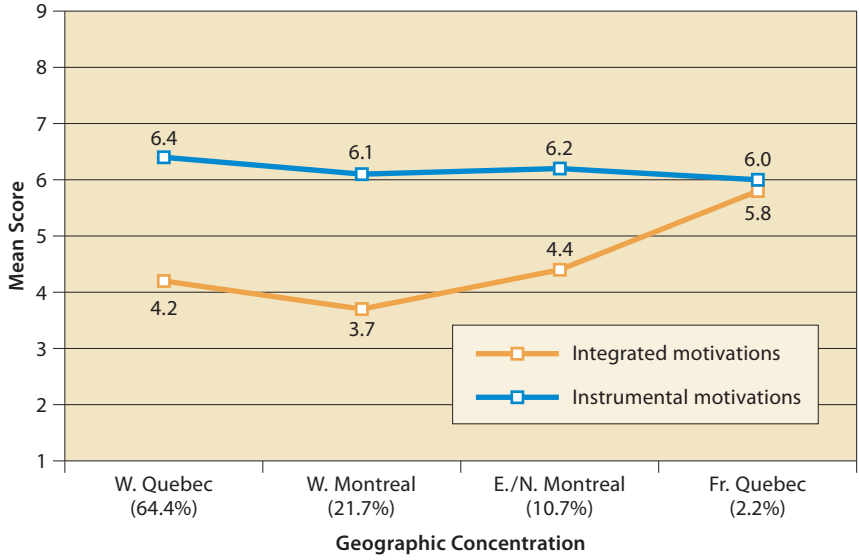


Figure 4.17

Instrumental and Identity-based Motivations for Learning French Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.6 Linguistic competencies and linguistic insecurity

Three types of scores are presented in this section. First, we present the results of English and French literacy scores. Two cloze tests were administered to determine what Cummins (1979, 1981) calls cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency. This proficiency relates to literacy skills but, according to Cummins, it reflects the ability to use the language without assistance from extralinguistic support. These skills are highly associated with schooling experiences in the language, as well as with literacy experiences within the family and elsewhere. More so than oral-communicative proficiency, it is highly associated with intellectual aptitudes (Genesee, 1976, 1978). Moreover, for Francophones, cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency in French is strongly associated with the degree of schooling in French, while there is very little association between cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency in English and the degree of schooling in this language (Landry & Allard, 1996). A study of Anglophones in a majority context outside Quebec (Saindon, 2002; Saindon, Landry, & Boutouchent, 2011) also found that degree of schooling was related to French cognitive-academic competencies, but not to these competencies in English. Also, students with the strongest cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency in one language tend to have the strongest cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency in the other language (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007c). There is therefore strong interdependence between cognitive-academic linguistic competencies in two languages (Cummins, 1979, 1981; Landry & Allard, 2000; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2009).

Second, we also asked students to evaluate their ability to learn, speak, read, and write each language.

Third, we developed a questionnaire to measure what is called linguistic insecurity (e.g., Francard, 1994; Boudreau & Dubois, 1992). French is a language that imposes many norms, and when required to speak so-called "standard" French, some persons may feel intimidated and insecure with respect to the expected quality of language. These fears and insecurities occur particularly when people believe they speak a "bad or poor French." In this study we administered the same questionnaire that has been used in our study of Francophones outside Quebec (Landry *et al.*, 2010) to measure the degree of insecurity students may feel when they have to use French.

In the first section, we present the results of the cloze tests measuring cognitive-academic language proficiency in English and French. The results of the self-evaluations and for linguistic insecurity in French follow.

4.3.6.1 Cognitive-academic competencies

Cognitive-academic competence in English and French is measured using cloze tests. A cloze test consists in filling in the missing words in a text. In the English test (366 words) and in the French test (365 words), one in every five words was missing and the student had to try to identify the missing words. This task requires having the appropriate vocabulary, knowing the grammar (e.g., knowing that the missing word is a verb) and knowing how to grasp the meaning of the text. There are two possible scoring methods: a) accepting only the original words of the text (exact words method) and b) accepting the original words and other appropriate words (e.g., synonyms), ("acceptable words" method). We used the latter method. However, we note that scores for both methods provide very similar results (correlations of 0.97 for English and 0.99 for French).

Since we cannot directly compare English and French scores, we use standardized scores. Students from Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, were tested in French and the mean score of these students was used to establish a norm for the French tests. Anglophone students in Moncton, New Brunswick, completed the English test and their mean score constitutes the norm for the English test. Even though these norms have been used for about 20 years (see Landry & Allard, 1990), they offer the benefit of providing points of comparison over time and make it possible to compare English and French scores with those of unilingual populations. At the time of testing, Rivière-du-Loup was a region with a Francophone population of 99%, and the Anglophone students in Moncton whose scores were used to develop the English norm were students with a very low degree of bilingualism. Score standardizations ensure that a score of 50 in French is equal to the mean score of the students in Rivière-du-Loup (unilingual Francophone group in a region with very high Francophone community vitality) and a score of 50 in English is equal to the mean score of Anglophone students in Moncton (region with high Anglophone vitality). By measuring the

cognitive-academic competence of students in Anglophone schools of Quebec in both languages, we are able to determine the extent to which the mean scores of the students in French are similar to those of students in a region with high Francophone vitality, and the extent to which the mean scores in English are similar to those of Anglophone students living in a region with high Anglophone vitality. Note that these two norms are only approximations. They cannot be used as national standards or even be representative of the students of Rivière-du-Loup and Moncton today. The scores were standardized so that each ten-point deviation from the standard corresponds to a distance of one standard-deviation from the average on a normal curve. A mean score of 60, for example, is equal to one standard-deviation beyond the unilingual standard of 50. A score of 30 would be equivalent to two standard-deviations below the standard. The cognitive-academic competence scores of the students in our sample in both languages are presented in table 4.33.

Table 4.33

Cognitive-Academic Competence in English and French

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
French	Weak (%)	97.0	85.4	71.8	56.7	80.0
	Moderately weak (%)	0.0	7.7	12.6	18.3	9.3
	Average (%)	3.0	5.9	14.2	22.1	9.5
	Moderately strong (%)	0.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.8
	Strong (%)	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.9	0.3
	Mean score	**20.2**	**25.2**	**31.4**	**37.6**	**27.6**
English	Weak (%)	40.7	52.2	39.2	36.3	43.6
	Moderately weak (%)	14.8	17.1	13.2	22.5	16.1
	Average (%)	22.2	16.7	28.2	33.3	24.2
	Moderately strong (%)	13.6	10.0	11.7	2.0	9.9
	Strong (%)	8.6	4.0	7.7	5.9	6.2
	Mean score	**45.5**	**40.5**	**46.2**	**42.8**	**42.9**

Note: Weak – one standard-deviation (SD) or more below the standard of a majority group
Moderately weak – between one-half and one SD below the standard
Average – between one-half SD below and one-half SD above the standard
Moderately strong – between one-half and one SD above the standard
Strong – one SD or more above the standard

The students' scores were grouped into five categories in English and French. The percentage of students in the "weak" category corresponds to those with a score of one standard-deviation or more below the standard, therefore, 40 or less. The "strong" category corresponds to students with a score of one standard-deviation or more above the average (60 or more). The "moderately weak" and "moderately strong" categories group together students whose scores are between one half and one standard-deviation below the standard, and between one half and one standard-deviation above the standard, respectively. Students categorized as average have scores that are less than one half standard-deviation below or above the standard. The table also presents the mean scores of the students for each region and for the entire sample.

We note, first of all, that, on average, students' results are more than two standard-deviations below the French norm in French and 0.7 standard deviation below the English norm in English (mean score = 27.6 in French and 42.9 in English). However, these mean scores hide significant regional differences.

Percentages of weak scores in French (one standard deviation or more below the norm) range from 90% in Western Quebec to 56.7% in the French Quebec region. Less than 1% of the students have strong scores in French. Mean scores in French are inversely related to the percentage of Anglophones that inhabit the region or, put otherwise, are related linearly to the percentage of Francophones in those regions. Mean scores in French range from 20.2 in Western Quebec to 37.6 in the French Quebec region, with a global mean score of 27.6. On average, on the same tests, the mean scores of students in Francophone schools outside Quebec ranged from 38.7 in the Western provinces to 41.9 in New Brunswick, with a global mean score of 40.7. The results in French of the Anglophone schools students in the French Quebec region are therefore relatively close to those of students in minority Francophone schools.

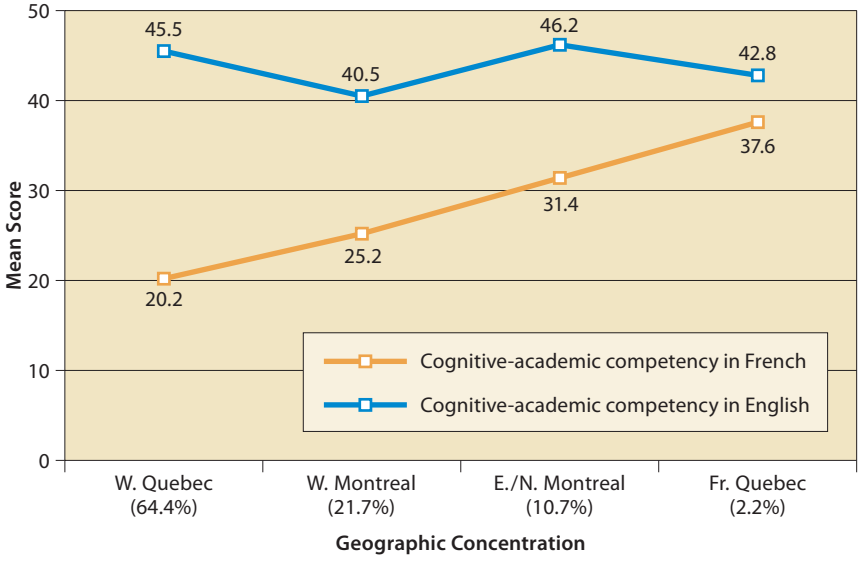
Regional mean scores in English show only minor differences and are not linearly related to the density of the Anglophone population. Strongest scores are in East/North Montreal (mean score of 46.2) and Western Quebec (45.5). Weakest scores are in West Montreal, a score that could be related to the higher number of Allophones in this region. The mean score of 42.8 in English by the students in the

French Quebec region is about 0.5 of a standard deviation above their mean score of 37.6 in French. It is this group that is the most bilingual, their score in English being equal to the global mean of the entire sample and their mean score in French being exactly one standard deviation above the sample mean.

On the same tests, the mean scores of the students in the Francophone schools outside Quebec in English ranged from 36.9 in New Brunswick to 49.2 in the other Atlantic provinces, and 49.5 in the western provinces and northern territories. The mean score for the province of Ontario was 45.8. The grand mean for the entire sample was 41.1 (Landry *et al.*, 2010). Hence, except for the students in New Brunswick who, on average, resided in municipalities having 74% of Francophones, the students in French minority schools outside Quebec tend to match or outscore the students of Quebec Anglophone schools in English. Since their scores in French are much stronger, their degree of bilingualism is therefore also stronger.

As shown in figure 4.18, cognitive-academic competence in French is inversely related to Anglophone geographic concentration, but cognitive-academic competence in English is not related to Anglophone geographic concentration.

Figure 4.18
Cognitive-Academic Competencies Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.6.2 Self-assessment of competencies

Since language testing occurs in a group setting, the students' oral language skills could not be measured through one-on-one interviews. Instead we asked students to evaluate their own English and French comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing skills, by assessing their capability to do different tasks in each language (for example, understanding the news on the radio, doing an oral presentation in class, reading the instructions for electronic devices, writing an opinion letter in the student newspaper). For each skill, students self-evaluated their competence on three tasks on a nine-point scale (1 = Very weak, 5 = Moderate, 9 = Very good).

The mean scores for each skill in English are presented in table 4.34, and for skills in French in table 4.35.

Table 4.34
English Competence Self-Assessment

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Comprehension	Weak (%)	0.0	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.6
	Moderate (%)	4.3	5.9	5.6	10.9	6.0
	Strong (%)	95.7	93.6	93.2	89.1	93.4
	Mean score	**8.6**	**8.5**	**8.5**	**8.2**	**8.5**
Speaking	Weak (%)	0.0	0.7	1.7	0.9	0.9
	Moderate (%)	6.3	8.6	13.0	30.9	11.2
	Strong (%)	93.7	90.7	85.3	68.2	87.8
	Mean score	**8.3**	**8.2**	**7.9**	**7.2**	**8.1**
Reading	Weak (%)	0.7	1.4	1.9	1.8	1.5
	Moderate (%)	7.1	6.9	7.9	12.7	7.6
	Strong (%)	92.2	91.7	90.2	85.5	90.8
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.3**	**8.3**	**7.7**	**8.3**
Writing	Weak (%)	0.7	0.9	1.7	1.8	1.2
	Moderate (%)	7.7	9.0	10.0	18.2	9.8
	Strong (%)	91.5	90.1	88.2	80.0	89.0
	Mean score	**8.3**	**8.2**	**8.1**	**7.7**	**8.1**
English	**Mean score**	**8.4**	**8.3**	**8.2**	**7.7**	**8.2**

Table 4.35
French Competence Self-Assessment

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Comprehension	Weak (%)	31.9	17.7	11.1	4.5	16.1
	Moderate (%)	44.7	35.7	29.1	10.9	32.8
	Strong (%)	23.4	46.6	59.7	84.5	51.1
	Mean score	**4.7**	**5.9**	**6.7**	**7.8**	**6.1**
Speaking	Weak (%)	21.1	15.4	9.2	6.4	13.5
	Moderate (%)	47.2	44.4	39.8	21.1	41.7
	Strong (%)	31.7	40.2	51.0	72.5	44.8
	Mean score	**5.3**	**5.7**	**6.3**	**7.1**	**6.0**
Reading	Weak (%)	35.5	20.0	13.7	5.5	18.5
	Moderate (%)	34.0	34.9	29.6	24.8	32.5
	Strong (%)	30.5	45.1	56.7	69.7	49.0
	Mean score	**4.7**	**5.8**	**6.4**	**7.1**	**6.0**
Writing	Weak (%)	28.9	20.7	16.5	8.3	19.3
	Moderate (%)	38.7	41.0	39.0	31.2	39.5
	Strong (%)	32.4	38.3	44.5	60.6	41.2
	Mean score	**5.0**	**5.5**	**5.9**	**6.6**	**5.7**
French	**Mean score**	**4.9**	**5.7**	**6.3**	**7.1**	**5.9**

Globally, for the entire sample and for the four competencies combined, students' mean scores are very high in English (mean score of 8.2) and moderately high in French (mean score of 5.9). As for cognitive-academic competencies, these mean scores hide regional differences. Students from the French Quebec region score slightly lower on English skills than students from other regions but score much higher on their self evaluations of their French skills. Within regions, scores for a given language vary only minimally according to the skills considered.

Figure 4.19

Self-assessment of Competencies Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration

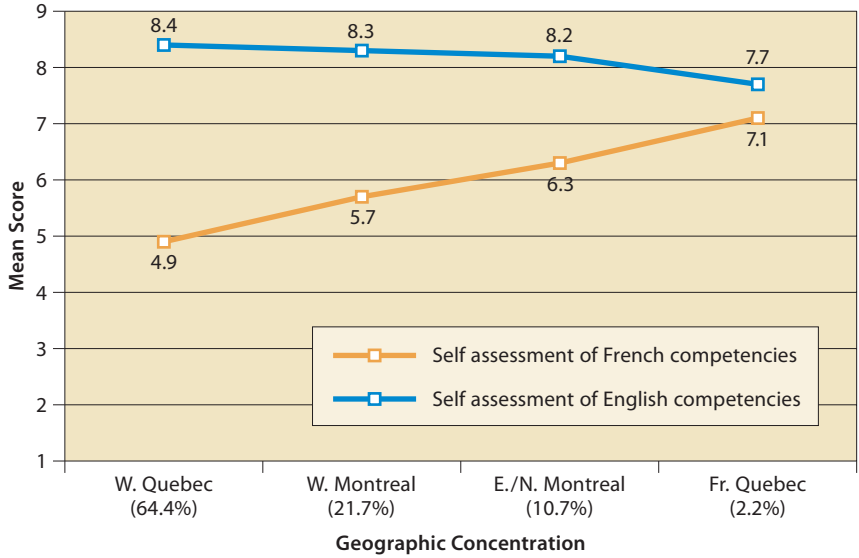


Figure 4.19 presents global self-assessments combining the four competencies in English and French based on Anglophone geographic concentration. The similarities between the profiles of the students' self-assessments of their English and French competencies and those for their tested cognitive-academic skills shown in figure 4.18 are striking, with the exception being that global scores of self-evaluated skills in English are more similar than are the scores on the cloze tests in English. Only skills in French are linearly related to Anglophone population density.

4.3.6.3 Linguistic confidence and insecurity

Table 4.36 presents the results of the questionnaire "The French that I speak," which measures the linguistic confidence of students to speak "standard French" as well as their linguistic insecurity. A factorial analysis grouped together the scores of the 11 statements into two factors: a linguistic confidence factor and a linguistic insecurity factor. The scores are placed on a nine-point scale. We note that the "confidence" factor is not simply the opposite of the "insecurity" factor since the analysis identifies two separate factors. The first factor may

Table 4.36

Feelings of Confidence and Insecurity in Relation to the Use of "Standard French"

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Linguistic confidence	Weak (%)	26.8	14.1	10.0	4.8	13.4
	Moderate (%)	43.5	44.8	35.0	13.3	39.7
	Strong (%)	29.7	41.0	55.0	81.9	46.9
	Mean score	**5.1**	**5.8**	**6.5**	**7.7**	**6.1**
Linguistic insecurity	Weak (%)	25.4	40.2	57.4	76.2	46.4
	Moderate (%)	47.1	40.9	28.2	17.1	36.1
	Strong (%)	27.5	19.0	14.4	6.7	17.5
	Mean score	**4.9**	**4.3**	**3.5**	**2.3**	**4.0**

reflect more a feeling of competence (e.g., I feel comfortable when I speak "standard French"), while the second reflects more the feeling of having a French that differs from the standard (e.g., I'm afraid of being ridiculed for the type of French I speak). For each statement, students assessed the degree to which the situation corresponded to their personal situation (1 = Does not correspond at all, 9 = Corresponds entirely). "Standard French" was explained to students as representing the French taught at school and spoken on radio and television. In brief, we could interpret the first factor as confidence in being able to communicate using standard French, whereas the second is more a reflection of the insecurity that students may feel in being someone with an accent or having language peculiarities that make the student's language different from the social standard expected.

Table 4.36 shows that students are relatively strongly confident that they communicate well in "standard French" (mean score = 6.1). They are therefore more or less at ease when required to communicate in standard French. Students in the French Quebec region stand out from those of the other regions on this factor. More than eight out of ten students (81.9%) feel strongly capable of properly communicating in standard French, while in the other regions the percentages of students who report strong confidence range from 29.7% in Western Quebec to 55% in East/North Montreal. Mean scores decrease linearly with increasing density of the Anglophone population.

Close to two students out of ten (17.5%) feel strong linguistic insecurity when required to communicate in "standard French." Mean scores tend to increase with the concentration of Anglophones in the municipalities inhabited. On average, the global mean score is moderately low (4.0).

Figure 4.20

Linguistic Confidence and Linguistic Insecurity Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration

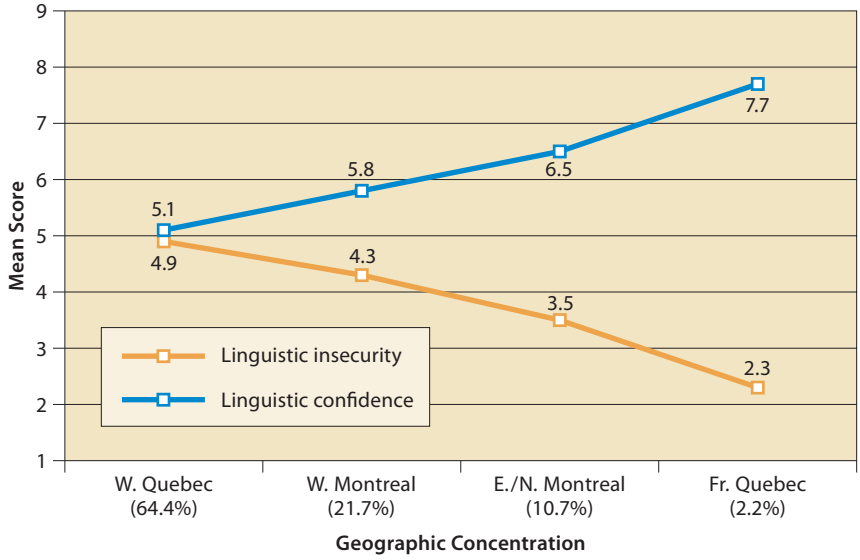


Figure 4.20 shows that linguistic confidence and linguistic insecurity in French tend to be related to Anglophone geographic concentration, with linguistic confidence tending to be stronger where Francophones are in higher numbers in the territory inhabited and the inverse being the case for linguistic insecurity. In Western Quebec, students in Anglophone schools seem to be, on average, both moderately confident and moderately insecure. Conversely, students in the French Quebec region feel highly confident in their ability to communicate in standard French and tend not to be insecure in using this language variety.

4.3.7 Language behaviours

In the last section of this chapter, we present the results of two categories of language behaviour: the extent to which English and French are used in different social contexts and the engaged behaviour towards English language and culture.

The first category involves measuring how the students are *currently* using both languages. The three categories of language socialization, the results of which we presented above (enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization), dealt with past language experiences beginning in early childhood. We measured enculturation for the period of life between ages 2 and 12, so that the students would not confuse their past language experiences with their current language behaviours. Enculturation therefore represents language habits acquired through previous socialization experiences, while language behaviours reflect the degree of current usage of both languages. Our conceptual framework proposes that current language behaviours result from language habits acquired in different contexts, linguistic competencies, the desire to integrate each language community and the type of language motivation governing language usage (see figure 2.1).

The second category, which looks at engaged behaviours towards the English language and culture, groups together English language and culture valorization behaviours, identity affirmation and language assertion. Our conceptual framework establishes that students with a high degree of social conscientization are those most likely to adopt engaged behaviours (Allard *et al.*, 2005, 2009).

4.3.7.1 Frequency of English and French usage

A total of twenty language behaviours were measured. For each behaviour, students indicated their use of English and French on a nine-point scale: 1 = Always in French, 3 = Most often in French, 5 = In both languages equally, 7 = More often in English than French, 9 = Always in English. This frequency scale with respect to language use is aimed at evaluating the relative dominance of a language in language behaviours, rather than the absolute frequency of use of each language. In presenting the results, we group the 20 language behaviours into four categories: language spoken with the family and

relatives, language spoken in social circles, language spoken in public places, and language of the media consumed. For each of these categories, we present the averages scores for all students and those of the four regions while specifying the percentages of students who use mostly French (scores from 1 to 3), who use both languages fairly equally (scores from 4 to 6), and who use mostly English (scores from 7 to 9).

Table 4.37 presents the results of English and French usage frequency with members of the family and relatives. An initial finding relates to regional differences in the mean scores and in the percentage of students who use mostly English. On the overall score for the seven behaviours, it is in the Quebec French region that the use of English is weakest (overall score of 3.1). For all of the language behaviours, mean scores are linearly related to the density of the Anglophone population. Mean scores range from almost exclusive use of English in Western Quebec (mean score of 8.0) to quite frequent use of French in the French Quebec region (mean score of 3.1). For each of the regions, frequency of use of English varies little across the different categories of family members. Nonetheless, for the global sample of students, there is a tendency to use slightly less English with grandparents than with parents and siblings. This is the opposite of what was found among the Francophone students outside Quebec where a "generation effect" was found; students tended to use French more frequently with their grandparents than with succeeding generations (Landry *et al.*, 2010). The results of the Anglophone students may be a reflection of the stronger heterogeneity in the ethnic origins of Anglophones in Quebec (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). This would explain a lesser use of English with grandparents since a variety of languages could be used. More analyses, while controlling for the mother tongue of the parents, would be needed to better understand these numbers.

Table 4.38 shows the results concerning the language spoken by students with members of their social circles. The table presents the results for five types of networks (friends, classmates, neighbours, social encounters, and social and cultural organizations). A mean score was also calculated for all networks combined.

Table 4.37

Language Spoken with the Family

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Father (Guardian)	Mostly French (%)	4.4	7.7	24.7	66.7	16.7
	Both equally (%)	7.4	7.4	14.7	15.7	10.2
	Mostly English (%)	88.1	84.9	60.6	17.6	73.1
	Mean score	**8.2**	**7.9**	**6.3**	**3.3**	**7.1**
Mother (Guardian)	Mostly French (%)	2.2	5.0	23.5	63.0	14.2
	Both equally (%)	10.1	9.7	13.8	19.4	11.6
	Mostly English (%)	87.8	85.4	62.7	17.6	74.1
	Mean score	**8.1**	**8.0**	**6.5**	**3.4**	**7.2**
Siblings	Mostly French (%)	3.1	3.7	16.4	57.8	11.2
	Both equally (%)	10.7	10.8	20.4	23.5	14.6
	Mostly English (%)	86.3	85.5	63.2	18.6	74.2
	Mean score	**8.2**	**8.1**	**6.7**	**3.7**	**7.4**
Cousins	Mostly French (%)	5.1	5.6	25.3	75.5	16.2
	Both equally (%)	17.5	16.1	22.4	9.4	17.6
	Mostly English (%)	77.4	78.2	52.3	15.1	66.2
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.8**	**6.0**	**2.8**	**6.9**
Aunts and uncles	Mostly French (%)	5.8	6.3	21.6	69.4	15.2
	Both equally (%)	13.1	15.4	26.9	13.0	18.4
	Mostly English (%)	81.0	78.3	51.5	17.6	66.4
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.7**	**6.1**	**3.1**	**6.9**
Paternal grand-parents	Mostly French (%)	8.8	13.7	35.8	76.5	25.5
	Both equally (%)	7.2	12.9	10.7	8.2	11.2
	Mostly English (%)	84.0	73.4	53.5	15.3	63.3
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.3**	**5.7**	**2.5**	**6.4**
Maternal grand-parents	Mostly French (%)	7.0	12.1	33.2	73.8	23.6
	Both equally (%)	9.3	12.6	12.7	7.8	11.9
	Mostly English (%)	83.7	75.3	54.1	18.4	64.6
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.4**	**5.8**	**2.9**	**6.6**
Family	**Mean score**	**8.0**	**7.8**	**6.2**	**3.1**	**7.0**

Table 4.38
Language Spoken in Social Circles

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Friends	Mostly French (%)	1.4	1.6	10.2	41.8	6.9
	Both equally (%)	11.9	14.2	32.2	45.5	21.4
	Mostly English (%)	86.7	84.2	57.6	12.7	71.6
	Mean score	**8.1**	**8.0**	**6.6**	**4.1**	**7.3**
Classmates	Mostly French (%)	2.1	0.9	6.2	37.6	5.1
	Both equally (%)	8.5	11.1	31.9	42.2	19.1
	Mostly English (%)	89.4	88.0	61.9	20.2	75.8
	Mean score	**8.3**	**8.2**	**6.9**	**4.6**	**7.5**
Neighbours	Mostly French (%)	2.8	12.6	44.6	86.4	26.5
	Both equally (%)	12.8	27.3	25.4	8.2	24.1
	Mostly English (%)	84.4	60.0	30.0	5.5	49.4
	Mean score	**8.1**	**6.8**	**4.5**	**1.9**	**5.9**
Social encounters (parties, weddings, dances)	Mostly French (%)	3.5	15.7	56.4	89.1	31.8
	Both equally (%)	17.7	39.9	27.1	6.4	31.8
	Mostly English (%)	78.7	44.4	16.5	4.5	36.4
	Mean score	**7.8**	**6.1**	**3.7**	**1.7**	**5.2**
Social and cultural organizations	Mostly French (%)	2.8	14.0	52.8	90.9	29.8
	Both equally (%)	18.2	40.5	29.4	5.5	32.7
	Mostly English (%)	79.0	45.6	17.8	3.6	37.5
	Mean score	**7.9**	**6.2**	**3.8**	**1.6**	**5.3**
Social circles	**Mean score**	**8.2**	**7.6**	**5.9**	**3.1**	**6.8**

The first finding regarding use of English in the social networks is the strong linear relationship with the density of the Anglophone population. Overall, mean scores range from 8.2 in Western Quebec to 3.1 in the French Quebec region.

A second finding is that students say they speak more English than French with classmates (mean score of 7.5) and friends (mean score of 7.3) than with neighbours (mean score of 5.9), in social encounters (mean score of 5.2), and in social and cultural organizations (mean

score of 5.3). For the latter three domains, the students in the French Quebec region report almost never using English (mean scores ranging from 1.6 to 1.9). This seems to indicate that as the vitality of the Anglophone group decreases, the school becomes a factor in fostering the use of English. However, the dominance of the French language in the French Quebec region seems to infiltrate even the school, since there is a tendency to use much French with classmates in this region. This situation is also observed in Francophone minority schools where the French ambiance of the school decreases with the decreasing vitality of the Francophone community (Landry *et al.*, 2010).

The results for the language spoken in public places (convenience stores, shopping malls and service centres—banks, post offices, garages, etc.) are presented in table 4.39. We note that the scores reflect strongly the geographic concentration of Anglophones in these regions, with scores being highest in Western Quebec (mean score of 7.9 for all three public places combined), and lowest in the French Quebec region (mean score of 1.6). We note that the mean scores vary little within each region across the three public domains.

Table 4.39
Language Spoken: Public Places

		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Convenience Stores	Mostly French (%)	3.5	13.7	51.3	90.9	29.3
	Both equally (%)	16.0	38.5	28.4	4.5	31.1
	Mostly English (%)	80.6	47.8	20.3	4.5	39.7
	Mean score	**7.8**	**6.1**	**3.7**	**1.7**	**5.2**
Shopping malls	Mostly French (%)	2.1	2.8	16.7	80.6	12.1
	Both equally (%)	11.8	20.4	34.5	13.0	23.3
	Mostly English (%)	86.1	76.8	48.8	6.5	64.6
	Mean score	**7.9**	**6.2**	**3.8**	**1.6**	**5.3**
Services	Mostly French (%)	3.5	3.8	22.5	79.1	14.5
	Both equally (%)	9.8	29.9	41.6	14.5	30.4
	Mostly English (%)	86.7	66.3	35.9	6.4	55.1
	Mean score	**7.9**	**6.3**	**3.9**	**1.6**	**5.4**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**7.9**	**6.2**	**3.8**	**1.6**	**5.3**

We saw in the section on language socialization in this chapter that enculturation through contact with the media is Anglo-dominant. These results (see table 4.13) are based on students' language experiences between the ages of 2 and 12. Table 4.40 shows current language usage with media, that is, language used by students who are now 15 and a half years old on average. The reader is invited to compare the results of table 4.13 with those of table 4.40 to get an idea of how these behaviours have evolved. Table 4.13 groups into a single score the mean score for the language of the media consumed between the ages of 2 and 6 and the mean score for the language of the media consumed between the ages of 7 and 12. This comparison allows us to see that the English language media have an even greater impact on students now than when they were between the ages of 2 and 12.

Between the ages of 2 and 12 (table 4.13), the mean scores for use of English language media ranges from 8.1 in Western Quebec to 4.8 in the French Quebec region (the mean score for the total sample is 7.4). Mean scores for the current use of English media (table 4.40) range from 8.5 to 5.0 with a total sample mean score of 7.8. Therefore the use of English media increases with age in all regions. It is for Internet usage that the use of English is highest (mean score of 8.1). In the French Quebec region, the use of French is highest when attending shows (cinema, concerts, theatre; mean score of 3.9) and listening to the radio (mean score of 3.2). These activities are more strongly related to local community resources, whereas television and the Internet are less limited to local resources. Students in the French Quebec region tend to read books in English more often than in French (mean score of 5.7); this is possibly an effect of English schooling.

Table 4.40
Language of the Currently Used Media

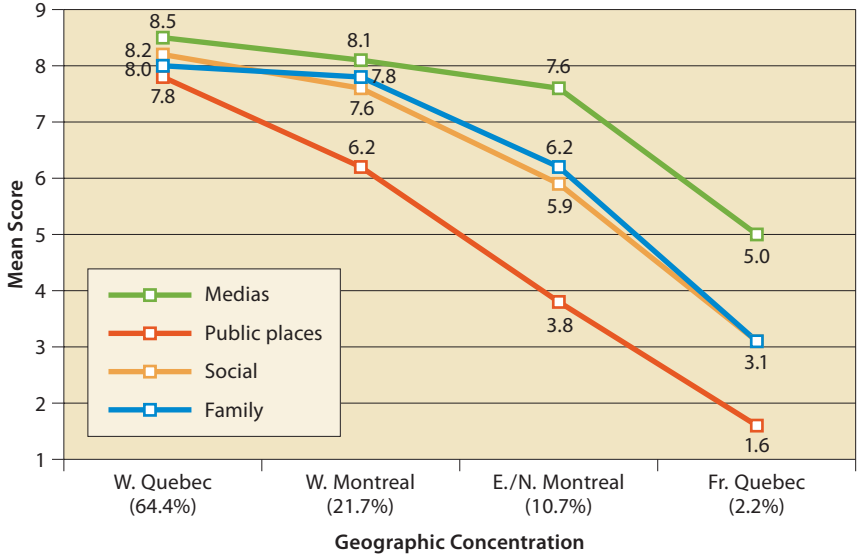
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Shows	Mostly French (%)	1.4	2.4	7.5	53.6	7.4
	Both equally (%)	5.5	9.6	17.0	25.5	12.5
	Mostly English (%)	93.1	88.0	75.4	20.9	80.2
	Mean score	**8.6**	**8.2**	**7.4**	**3.9**	**7.7**
Television	Mostly French (%)	2.1	2.0	5.8	23.6	4.6
	Both equally (%)	6.2	11.8	18.7	38.2	15.1
	Mostly English (%)	91.7	86.3	75.5	38.2	80.3
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.1**	**7.5**	**5.6**	**7.8**
Radio	Mostly French (%)	1.4	1.8	4.8	64.5	7.0
	Both equally (%)	6.3	11.7	16.9	20.9	13.3
	Mostly English (%)	92.4	86.5	78.4	14.5	79.6
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.2**	**7.7**	**3.2**	**7.7**
Reading outside school	Mostly French (%)	1.4	2.1	7.5	22.0	5.0
	Both equally (%)	7.6	17.0	19.7	33.0	18.0
	Mostly English (%)	91.0	81.0	72.7	45.0	77.0
	Mean score	**8.4**	**7.9**	**7.4**	**5.7**	**7.6**
Internet	Mostly French (%)	1.4	1.1	2.8	10.9	2.3
	Both equally (%)	4.9	10.3	12.4	33.6	12.1
	Mostly English (%)	93.8	88.5	84.8	55.5	85.6
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.3**	**7.9**	**6.5**	**8.1**
Media	**Mean score**	**8.5**	**8.1**	**7.6**	**5.0**	**7.8**

Figure 4.21 sets out the mean scores of students for the four categories of language behaviour according to Anglophone geographic concentration. We note that use of English for each behaviour category increases with Anglophone geographic density. This trend is, however, less linear (straight line) for media consumption and is the most linear for use of English and French in public places. Thus, the use of French and English in public places are behaviours that are very strongly determined by the social and institutional context, although use of these languages in the private domain and the social networks does follow a similar pattern. It is clear that except for the

students from the Western Quebec region, it is in the public domain that English is least used.

Figure 4.21

Frequency of Language Use Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.7.2 Engaged behaviours

As mentioned above, engaged behaviours encompass three types of behaviour. Students indicated on a nine-point scale to what extent statements describing behaviours of valorization of the English language and culture, identity affirmation, and language assertion corresponded to what they are doing now or have done in the past (1 = Does not correspond at all, 9 = Corresponds entirely). For example, providing a positive answer for the statement "With friends, valorize the importance of speaking English" reveals a behaviour of valorization. The statement "Asking to be served in English in an establishment, even when first addressed in French" illustrates an affirmation behaviour. Finally, "Demonstrating against injustices experienced by the Anglophone community (e.g., absence of government services in English)" is an indication of an assertion behaviour. Table 4.41 contains the results for each category of behaviour, each combining four indicators.

Table 4.41

Engaged Behaviours Towards the English Language and Culture

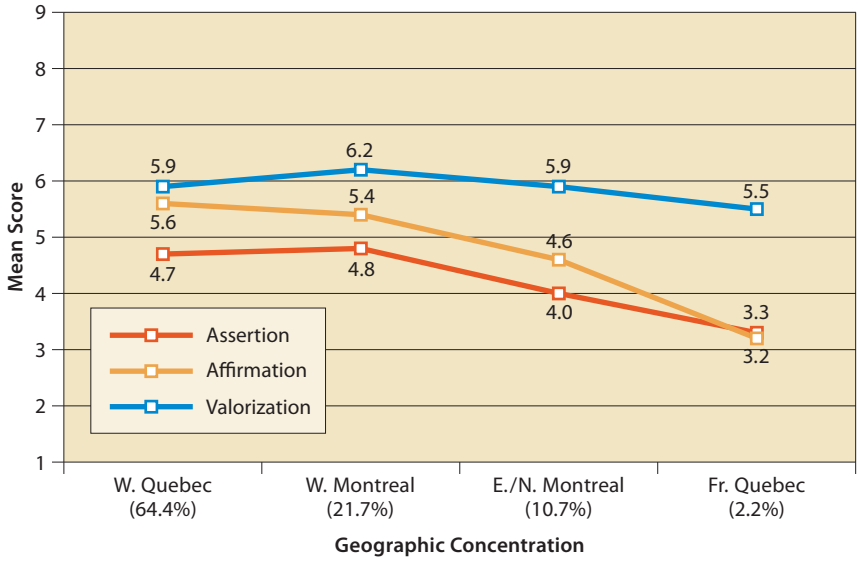
		Western Quebec	West Montreal	East/North Montreal	French Quebec	Total
Valorization	Weak (%)	13.7	10.8	13.9	15.0	12.4
	Moderate (%)	38.8	38.1	43.3	54.0	40.9
	Strong (%)	47.5	51.1	42.8	31.0	46.7
	Mean score	**5.9**	**6.2**	**5.9**	**5.5**	**6.0**
Affirmation	Weak (%)	15.3	23.9	39.0	60.0	30.5
	Moderate (%)	48.9	37.7	33.8	35.0	37.3
	Strong (%)	35.8	38.4	27.2	5.0	32.2
	Mean score	**5.6**	**5.4**	**4.6**	**3.2**	**5.0**
Assertion	Weak (%)	39.0	32.0	47.2	56.0	39.2
	Moderate (%)	34.6	41.1	33.6	34.0	37.6
	Strong (%)	26.5	26.9	19.2	10.0	23.2
	Mean score	**4.7**	**4.8**	**4.0**	**3.3**	**4.4**
Total	**Mean score**	**5.4**	**5.5**	**4.8**	**4.0**	**5.2**

As proposed by the conceptual framework, valorization behaviours tend to be more frequent than affirmation behaviours and the latter are more frequent than assertion behaviours. It is in the French Quebec region that the percentage of students stating that the valorization behaviours described by the statements corresponded strongly to their own behaviours is the lowest (31%). In the other regions, about four to five students out of ten (from 42.8% to 51.1%) report having strong engaged behaviours of valorization.

Affirmation behaviours are more frequent in Western Quebec and West Montreal (mean scores of 5.6 and 5.4) and less frequent in the other regions, especially in the French Quebec region (mean score of 3.2). A similar trend is observed for assertion behaviours, except that mean scores tend to be lower. In the French Quebec region, there is no difference in the frequency of affirmation or of assertion behaviours. Factorial analyses done on samples of Francophone students outside Quebec have actually shown that engaged behaviours tend to be grouped into two categories rather than three, with valorization behaviours being the first, and the two other behaviours forming a

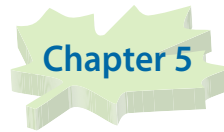
Figure 4.22

Engaged Behaviour Based on Anglophone Geographic Concentration



single category grouping together behaviours of assertion and affirmation (Allard, Landry, & Deveau, 2009).

Figure 4.22 shows the relationship between the three categories of engaged behaviour and Anglophone geographic density. Even if the highest scores are in regions where Anglophones make up a high percentage of the population, the somewhat linear relationship for affirmation and assertion behaviours persists. For valorization behaviours, in contrast, the linear relationship to the density of the Anglophone population is not as strong.



Discussion and conclusion

As stated in chapter one, Quebec English speakers live predominantly in Montreal (approximately 80%), the remainder residing in various communities across the province. Although, on average, English speakers live in communities where 15% of the population has English as the mother tongue, one finds a rather full spectrum of Anglophone demographic concentration ranging from very low to high. In the present study, we were able to constitute four groups of students based on the demolinguistic concentration of Anglophones in the municipalities where they resided, ranging from an average of 2.2% in the region with weakest Anglophone demographic concentration to an average of 64.4% in the region with the strongest Anglophone concentration.

On average, 72% of the children born to Anglophone parents have English as their mother tongue, a rate that is higher than that of Francophone parents outside Quebec who transmit French to 50% of their children. However, English mother tongue transmission varies from 78% in Montreal to 34 % in the Quebec City region. This rate, as that of Francophone communities outside Quebec, is strongly related to exogamy. When both parents are Anglophones, 95% of the children have English as their mother tongue (as compared to 93% among endogamous Francophones outside Quebec). In contrast, this transmission rate declines to 34% when only one of the parents is Anglophone, compared to 25% among Francophones outside of Quebec who have a non-Francophone spouse.

One positive factor contributing to the vitality of the English language in the Montreal area and in Western Quebec is the presence of English in many spheres of public activity. Urban lifestyle seems to promote the use of English in a large metropolitan city such as Montreal, where a large majority of Quebec's English speakers resides. As previously mentioned, English still has a relatively strong presence in the economic sphere in Quebec. Conversely, as past studies have demonstrated, urban life for Francophones outside of Quebec

is strongly related to their use of English, a factor that contributes to their linguistic assimilation and not to the promotion of the minority language (Beaudin, 1999; Beaudin & Landry, 2003).

As discussed in chapter one, English speakers in Quebec also benefit from a relatively high degree of institutional support in their language. Yet, outside of Montreal, they report having difficulties accessing health services in English, and their socioeconomic status tends to be lower than that of the Francophone majority. In Quebec, one social domain that is highly accessible in English is that of the media. Interestingly, this domain has a strong detrimental effect on French language socialization outside Quebec whereas it is a positive social domain for the English-speaking minority in Quebec.

The situation of ideological legitimacy in the English-speaking communities of Quebec is a complex issue. Fundamental language rights of English speakers are guaranteed by several policies including the *Canadian Constitution*, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Official Languages Act* and even, to some extent, the *Charte de la langue française*. Nonetheless, the English language seems to have lost some of the strong symbolic power it once held. There is, for example, very little representation of the English population among public service employees in the Quebec government. The aim of *Law 101* is to make French the public language of Quebec and the public policies of the government require that French be in a dominant position on public and commercial signs. Analyses of the effects of these policies have generally shown much progress on most of the underlying goals of this legislation (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002). Possibly the best indicator of the minorization of the English-speaking communities in Quebec is the strong prevalence of French-English bilingualism among the members of these communities. For example, Quebec Anglophones are now twice as likely to be bilingual than Quebec Francophones (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). According to de Swaan's (2001) gravitational model of bilingualism, this demonstrates that the French language currently has a strong gravitational pull on English speakers in Quebec. However, although the census data shows that more than 80% of Anglophone youths consider themselves to be bilingual, in our current study, we have shown that the actual

linguistic competencies in the two official languages vary considerably depending upon the territorial concentration of Anglophones.

Nearly two thousand high school students (N=1905, 98% in secondary 4) from seven of Quebec's nine Anglophone school boards participated in this study. For analysis purposes, we grouped students into categories that represent regions which, for the most part, can be geographically situated. More importantly, however, these groups were created to reflect the underlying vitality of the English language and of communities of English speakers in Quebec. The four groups of students represent a continuum of Anglophone territorial concentration. Thus, participating students from various French Quebec regions constitute a group that lives in predominantly French municipalities where, on average, Anglophones represent only 2.2% of the population (Francophones, 95.4%, and Allophones, 2.4%). Students from East/North Montreal constitute a second group where Anglophones represent 10.7% of the region's population, compared to 71.3% of Francophones and 18% of Allophones. The third group is comprised of students from the West Montreal region in which 21.7% of the population is Anglophone, 52.1% Francophone, and 26.2% Allophone). Finally, we defined the fourth group as students mostly living in the Western Quebec region where Anglophones constitute a majority (64.4% of the population), Francophones a minority (24.0%), and Allophones a small minority (11.6%). Globally, on average, the students in this study live in municipalities where 20.8% of the population is Anglophone, a proportion slightly higher than the global population of Quebec Anglophones (15%).

Close to two thirds (65.2%) of the participating students report having English as their mother tongue. French is the mother tongue of one fifth (20.7%) of the students with 14.1% reporting a mother tongue that is not one of Canada's two official languages. English mother tongue students vary from a high of 88% in Western Quebec to a low of 21% in the French Quebec region.

Slightly more than one third of the students (34.6%) report having two Anglophone parents, a percentage that is slightly less than the provincial average of 41.1% for children under eighteen years of age. A relatively large percentage (36.4%) of the students indicate that neither of their parents have English as their mother tongue, compared with

29.1% who report having one Anglophone parent. It must be noted that these numbers are the results of the student's own perceptions. It is possible, for example, that parents who have English as their mother tongue speak French at home, and thus may be perceived by their children as being Francophone.

On average, students report receiving most of their high school education in English, while having received more French courses in the earlier grades. The percentage of students receiving a large part of their schooling in French was highest in the West Montreal region, the birthplace of French immersion, and lowest in the French Quebec region. In the latter, Anglophone schools may be the main site of socialization where the use of English is predominant. Students also rated the French ambiance of their school. The reported ambiance tends to be linearly related to the territorial concentration of Anglophones, ranging from a strong English ambiance (average score of 7.7 on a 9 point scale) in Western Quebec to an ambiance that is more French than English (mean score of 4.1) in the French Quebec region. On average, students report that school ambiance was slightly more English in the high school years than in the earlier grades. This is interesting since in the high school years, it is the inverse of what is observed in the Francophone schools outside Quebec where the linguistic ambiance of the school tends to be French dominant in the earlier grades but becomes more English dominant in the last years of high school (Landry *et al.*, 2010).

When evaluated on the degree of enculturation in English and French since their early childhood years, students report slightly higher contacts with Anglophones in the private domains versus in public places (average scores of 6.8 and 5.8, respectively, on a 9 point scale: 1 = No contacts with Anglophones, 5 = Half of the contacts, 9 = All of the contacts with Anglophones). However, results for both the private and public spheres were strongly related to the territorial concentration of Anglophones, and contacts with Francophones were inversely related to this variable. It was in East/North Montreal that private contacts with Anglophones and Francophones were the most evenly distributed, and in both Montreal regions that bilingual contacts were most prevalent in the public sphere. Contacts with Anglophones were prevalent in Western Quebec but those with Francophones were dominant in the French Quebec region.

Reports on the use of English and French within the same domains as for the proportions of contacts with Anglophones and Francophones were measured and show that students between the ages of two and twelve used English slightly more in the private domains than in public places (mean scores of 6.5 and 5.7, respectively). The degree to which English was used strongly is related to the density of the Anglophone population, as shown by scores ranging from 7.5 in Western Quebec to 3.2 in the French Quebec region for the private domain, and from 7.2 to 2.5 in the public domain. On this scale, a score of 1 refers to the exclusive use of French, a score of 5 to the equal use of English and French, and a score of 9 refers to the exclusive use of English.

Students also reported the degree to which they were in contact with French and English media from early childhood until the age of twelve, using the same scale. Globally, students utilized the English media much more than French media (mean score of 7.4), with little variation across different types of media. However the students' exposure to English language media is related linearly to the density of the Anglophone population. Mean scores range from 8.1 in Western Quebec to 4.8 in the French Quebec region. Reported variation across media domains is stronger for the students in the French Quebec group. These students report that in their childhood years, their consumption of music was greater in English than in French, that they read books approximately equally in both languages, and that for all other types of media (radio, television, internet, newspapers, magazines, theater and shows), their consumption of French language media was stronger than for those in English. In our study of Francophone students outside of Quebec (Landry *et al.*, 2010), socialization in the English media tended to be strong for all students except those that resided in regions of very high Francophone concentration. The use of French media for these Francophone high school students, nonetheless, followed a linear trend, the consumption of French media increasing with the demographic concentration of Francophones. Socialization through the English media also tends to be strong for all students in Quebec's Anglophone schools except for those residing in municipalities where the density of the Anglophone population is very weak, that is, the French Quebec region. It is important to note, though, that English language music is pervasive, and thus strong in

all sociolinguistic contexts for minority language students, including Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones within Quebec.

Reports of contacts with the English language when viewing commercial and public signs tend to be weaker than in the areas of social networks and the media, a trend that likely results from the language legislation in Quebec which strongly promotes the visibility of the French language in public spaces. Yet, overall, students in both Western Quebec and Western Montreal consider that they have been in contact more often with the English language than with the French language on public signs between the ages of two and twelve (mean scores of 6.6 and 5.7, respectively), whereas in East/North Montreal students report equal contact with both languages (mean score of 4.7). It is only in the French Quebec region that students report having experienced a predominantly French linguistic landscape (mean score of 3.3). These results are intriguing in view of the imposed dominance of the French language in the linguistic landscape. The presence of many English street names in West Montreal and of English company names on signs may give the impression that many signs are English dominant. Another factor may be a response bias in the questionnaire, since questions relating to public signs were in the same section as questions relating to contacts with the media. Further analyses may help clarify this unexpected finding.

In all domains (social networks, contacts with the language in public places, media consumption and contacts with the linguistic landscape), the linguistic enculturation experiences reported by the students are related to their demolinguistic context. Students in Western Quebec, where Anglophones constitute a majority, have been enculturated mainly in English. The same is observed in Western Montreal but less so than in Western Quebec. It is in the East/North Montreal region, where Anglophones are a relatively weak minority, that linguistic contacts in English and French tend to be more evenly balanced. Although Anglophones constitute less than 12% of the area's population, students tend to live as much in English as in French, except for the media where the English language is dominant. It is only where Anglophones constitute a very small minority (2.2% of the population) that enculturation in the French language is clearly dominant.

When more qualitative aspects of language socialization are analyzed, results show that students perceive their experience of the English language as strongly supportive of their basic needs for autonomy, competence and affiliation. Only students from the French Quebec region felt that these needs were slightly more supported in French than in English. On average, however, students felt that these needs were moderately strongly supported in French (mean score of 6.0 compared to 7.7 in English). All measures of personal autonomization (support of basic needs that foster self-determination) in both of Canada's official languages tended to vary with the density of the Anglophone population. In the Western Quebec regions, receiving support for personal autonomization was much stronger in English than in French. Support for self-determination is also stronger in English than in French in the two Montreal regions but differences in favour of English decrease as territorial concentration of Anglophones decreases. Support for personal autonomization was stronger in French than in English in the French Quebec region, but only slightly. Support for autonomy in this region tends to be strong in both languages.

Our study also looked at social conscientization, the degree to which the students had various experiences that made them aware of the issues related to the Anglophone minority in Quebec. Contrary to expectations, students were not more frequently exposed to social models that valorized the English language (mean score of 5.2) than to models that had affirmation behaviours (mean score of 5.3), but, as proposed by our conceptual framework, they were less exposed to models who asserted their rights (mean score of 4.6). Globally, contacts with such models tended to be moderate. Contacts with social models who valorize the English language varied less across regions than the observation of models who expressed affirming and assertion behaviours; only the latter tended to decrease as Anglophone population density decreased. When different types of models for the valorization of English were compared, on average we found that contacts with all categories of models decreased as English-speaking population density decreased. In regions of highest Anglophone concentration, there was little variation across categories of models (scores ranging from 6.1 to 6.6), with the highest scores being associated with having models that are from families and friends. In the French Quebec

region, however, teachers were the most prevalent models of English valorization, a finding similar to that found in the Francophone minority context. When linguistic vitality is weak, for both Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones inside Quebec, teachers are seen as the models that most often valorize the official minority language. In this study, and in the previous study of Francophone minority students outside Quebec, the contacts with different categories of social models who behave affirmatively and assertively where the minority language is concerned were not measured.

Students reported having had moderate direct personal exposure to experiences that contributed to their awareness of the Anglophone situation in Quebec, and moderate exposure to experiences of linguistic discrimination. For these two types of experiences, scores were higher in the regions with a more densely concentrated Anglophone population. Interestingly, this trend is opposite to that found in our study of Francophones outside Quebec where, for the Francophones, it was in regions where they constituted smaller minorities that they were made most aware of their minority situation. This suggests that, in Quebec, a strong proportion of English school students in French dominant regions are not being made aware of the minority situation of Anglophones. All groups taken together, strong awareness-raising experiences were reported by 36% of the students but by only 13% in the French Quebec region.

Students were also questioned on a variety of aspects related to their psycholinguistic development. Most students reported a very strong Canadian identity (scores ranging from 7.6 to 8.2 on a 9 point scale) and only a moderately strong Quebec identity (mean score of 5.5), with higher scores for students in the French Quebec region (mean score of 7.6) and lower scores in West Montreal (mean score of 4.9). Anglophone identity and bilingual identity were both strong, with mean scores of 7.4 and 6.9 respectively. However, Anglophone identity weakened as the Anglophone concentration decreased. In contrast, bilingual identity strengthened as English population concentration decreased in strength. Overall, Anglo-Quebecer identity was moderately strong (mean score of 6.3) and ranged from 6.9 in Western Quebec to 5.8 in the French Quebec region, where Francophone identity is stronger than Anglophone identity. In all other groups,

Anglophone identity is stronger than Francophone identity for these Anglophone students. Identity involvement with the Anglophone community decreased only slightly from 7.8 to 6.7 as English population density decreased, while identity involvement toward the Francophone community increased from 4.3 to 6.8. In the French Quebec region, students report equal affective attachment to both linguistic communities. For these students, being schooled in English seems to counterbalance the dominance of the French language in the overall community, and to foster identification with both linguistic communities and a strong bilingual identity.

Subjective vitality or the perception of the status of both official languages in society was also strongly related to population density. In Western Quebec, students rated the vitality of the Anglophone community as slightly stronger than that of the Francophone community, but at the other end of the demographic continuum in the French Quebec region, the vitality of the Francophone community is rated as much stronger than that of the Anglophone community. All groups of students anticipate that the future vitality of the Anglophone community will be slightly stronger 25 years from now (mean score of 5.6 on a 9-point scale where 5 = equal to now). Compared to the current situation, students also tend to affirm that for things to be just and fair, given the number of Francophones and Anglophones in their region, Anglophone vitality needs to be moderately stronger than it is now (mean score of 6.2 where 5 = equal to now). Students feel most strongly about the domain of government services and rate it as the situation that should be most improved upon.

Overall, the desire to integrate into the Anglophone community is stronger than the desire to be part of the Francophone community, although differences in scores decreased as Anglophone population density decreased. Mean scores are, respectively, 7.8 and 3.2 in Western Quebec, 7.6 and 3.8 in West Montreal, 7.3 and 4.6 in East/North Montreal, and 6.5 and 6.0 in the French Quebec region. It is only in the latter group that students tend to want to be part of both communities equally.

According to our theoretical framework, when language socialization favours the satisfaction of the basic needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness, students will tend to be internally motivated to

learn and maintain the language. For all students, need satisfaction related to language learning is, on average, stronger for English than for French except for those living in the French Quebec region. For the latter, scores tend to be equal for both languages (mean score of 7.1 for English and 6.8 for French).

Across all groups, however, need satisfaction related to French language learning was at least moderate (mean score of 5.1 in Western Quebec). Correspondingly, the motivation to learn English for identity-related reasons (integrated regulation) is stronger (mean score of 6.2) than for French (mean score of 4.1). In the French Quebec region, however, integrated regulation scores tend to be higher in French (mean score of 5.8) than in English (mean score of 5.2). Overall, students tend to be equally motivated to learn English and French for instrumental reasons (external regulation), as demonstrated by the respective average scores of 6.2 and 6.1. Note that instrumental reasons are external to the self and refer to such motives as increasing one's socioeconomic situation, whereas identity-based reasons are more internal and refer to one's beliefs, values, and personal identity.

In the French Quebec region, students tend to be motivated to learn English more for instrumental reasons than for identity-based reasons. However, they are equally motivated to learn French for instrumental and identity-based reasons. For the remaining three groups, students are motivated to learn English equally for identity-related and instrumental reasons, but French mainly for instrumental reasons.

We tested linguistic competencies in English and French using objective tests and through self-evaluations. Cloze tests were used to measure cognitive-academic proficiencies in French and English whereas the students self-evaluated their ability to do tasks involving listening, talking, reading and writing in both languages. Cognitive-academic proficiencies scores were standardized so that a score of 50 was equal to the mean score of a high vitality context group in both languages (unilingual Anglophones in Moncton, New Brunswick, for English, and unilingual Francophones in Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, for French). A difference of 10 points from the norm equals one standard deviation. For example, a mean score of 40 on the French test is one standard deviation below the mean score of the French norm.

On average, in English, the students scored about 0.7 standard deviations below the English norm (mean score of 42.9) and more than two standard deviations below the French norm (mean score of 27.6). The highest scores in English are found in the two regions of Western Quebec (mean score 45.5) and East/North Montreal (mean score of 46.2). The lowest average score was 40.5 in West Montreal (which may be attributed to the relatively high concentration of Allophones for whom English is a second language). The scores on the English cloze test are only slightly higher in the French Quebec region (42.8, low scores probably being due to less contact with the English language outside of the school than in Western Quebec and in Montreal). For the French language cloze tests, mean scores increased linearly with the demographic concentration of Francophones, with the lowest scores found in Western Quebec (mean score of 20.2) and the highest reaching 37.6 in the French Quebec region. Students with the highest degree of bilingualism are therefore those residing in the French Quebec region. As in the case of Francophones outside of Quebec, in weak French vitality contexts, attending a minority language school and being taught mostly in the minority language promotes bilingualism. The students in the French Quebec region are those who have taken the least courses in French, yet they have the highest scores on the French cloze tests. French scores are bolstered by regular contacts with the French language in society. Their English scores, despite schooling in English, are slightly lower than that of students living in higher English vitality contexts. This, however, likely reflects less frequent contacts with English in their daily lives. As shown below, however, their level of bilingualism is not as high as that of Francophones in weak French vitality contexts.

Self-assessments of competency in English are higher than those for French, as shown in the mean scores ranging from 8.4 to 7.7 for English and from 4.9 to 7.1 for French (on a 9 point scale). Students in the French Quebec region group tend to rate their ability to speak French and English equally, but report feeling slightly more competent in reading and writing in English than in French.

When cloze test results for Quebec's Anglophone students are compared with those of Francophones outside Quebec on the same tests, the scores of Francophones tend to be higher or equal to those

of Anglophones in Quebec for English, and much higher for French[3]. Graduates from French schools outside Quebec tend to develop a very high level of bilingualism, except in Northern New Brunswick (Landry *et al.*, 2010). Their mean scores on the same English cloze test were 49.2, 45.8 and 49.5 for the Atlantic provinces (excluding New-Brunswick), Ontario, and the Western provinces and Northern Territories, respectively. Lower scores were found in New Brunswick (mean score of 36.9) where, on average, Francophone students resided in municipalities where Francophones constitute 74% of the population. There is however strong variation in French vitality within the province. Mean scores on the French cloze test ranged from 41.2 in New Brunswick to 38.7 in Ontario with a grand mean of 40.7. It is in the language of most of their schooling that the Francophone students have the lower scores. On self-assessment measures, globally, Francophones outside Quebec tend to evaluate their competencies in French and English as equally strong (mean score of 7.1 in each language for all skills combined, i.e., comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing) but there are many differences across regions and skills. This shows that language learning, even on the cognitive-academic aspects of competence, is not only related to language of schooling but also to societal experiences with the language.

The Quebec Anglophone students in the present study were also asked about their feelings of confidence and their level of insecurity when they have to use "Standard French". The mean scores for linguistic confidence tend to be moderately high (global mean score of 6.1), beginning with 5.1 in Western Quebec and increasing to 7.7 in the French Quebec region. Conversely, linguistic insecurity is weaker with a global mean score of 4.0, and it weakens from 4.9 to 2.3 with the decreasing density of the Anglophone population. Slightly fewer than two students out of ten (17.5%) feel strongly insecure when using "Standard French".

Finally, two types of language behaviours were measured: socialized behaviours which are the degree of use of both languages in various social domains, and engaged behaviours directed towards English language and culture. Current use of both languages covary with

3. It should be noted, however, that at the time of testing, Francophone students, on average, were one year older than the Anglophone students.

childhood experiences with both of these languages (i.e. the relative degree of language socialization in each language) which, in turn, is strongly related to the geographic concentration of Anglophones. While English is used less, overall, in the public than in the private sphere, its use does vary from very strong in Western Quebec (mean score of 7.8) to very weak in the French Quebec region (mean score of 1.6). English use is the strongest in the media domain, scores ranging from 8.5 to 5.0. Use of English with the family (mean scores ranging from 8.0 to 3.1) and the social network (from 8.2 to 3.1) is intermediate in frequency, that is, between the media and the public sphere.

Three categories of engaged behaviours were measured using the same categories as used for the social conscientization experiences: valorization (for example, valorizing the importance of speaking English with friends), affirmation (such as asking to be served in English in a public establishment), and assertion (for example, participation in a public demonstration for linguistic rights). As proposed by our conceptual framework, we expected to find that valorization behaviours would be the most frequent, and assertion behaviours, the least frequent. Results in the present study confirm this since the frequency of valorization behaviours is moderately high (mean score of 6.0) whereas affirmation behaviours are moderately frequent (mean score of 5.0), and assertion behaviours are moderately low in frequency with a mean score of 4.4. This trend is strongest in both Western Quebec and West Montreal where scores were the highest, with the frequency of engaged behaviours weakening with the decreasing geographic concentration of Anglophones.

In conclusion, the present study clearly shows that the widely held perception that English language and culture are immune to influences from other languages is a myth. The learning and use of both French and English in Quebec are strongly related to the geographic density of the population and probably to other sociolinguistic situations. Moreover, the argument cannot be made that the English language dominates in Montreal and Western Quebec while being dominated by French in other regions. The results show that even within the City of Montreal, there are clear differences between the Anglophone communities of West Montreal and East/North Montreal. In other words, psycholinguistic development of Anglophone students in English

language schools is, as our conceptual framework suggests, much more a matter of language socialization than of ethnolinguistic origin—and this socialization is, in turn, strongly related to the sociolinguistic context of a given territory. This sociolinguistic context, according to the ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Giles *et al.*, 1977; Harwood *et al.*, 1994; Bourhis & Landry, 2012) and the cultural autonomy model (Landry, 2009; Landry *et al.*, 2010), comprises at least three categories of factors related to demography, institutional completeness, and status or legitimacy. As shown with the present study, results vary in predictable ways—even when the results are analysed solely in regards to demography based on the density of the linguistic population.

The results of this study show sociodemographic effects very similar to those found in our study of Francophone students schooled in French outside Quebec. In both studies, the density of the official language minority population is a strong determinant of enculturation and psycholinguistic development. The effect is clearly observable even on affect-laden variables such as ethnolinguistic identity. As shown in previous research, ethnolinguistic identity is strongly related to language socialization in the private domain, and to the qualitative aspects of language socialization of personal autonomization and social conscientization (Deveau, 2007; Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006b). In both studies, the sociolinguistic context tends to influence not only language socialization in the public domain, but also private activities carried out within one's family and intimate social network.

However, it would be inadequate and unfair to conclude that official language minorities in Quebec and in the other provinces and territories experience a similar reality or that one is the mirror image of the other, French being the dominant language in Quebec and English the dominant language in the other provinces and territories. One has to take into consideration the overall gravitational pull of the English language which gives an advantage to all native speakers of English in Canada, in North America, and in the world. Nowhere is the prevalence of the gravitational pull of English more evident than in the domain of the media, especially music. When Francophones outside Quebec are compared to Anglophones in Quebec living in a similar minority context in terms of the density of the official language population, Quebec Anglophones have a definite advantage in contacts

with the media in the minority language. For example, the global mean score for media consumption in the minority French language for Francophone students outside Quebec residing in municipalities where Francophones constitute from 50 to 69% of the population is 4.5 (a score of 9 indicating an exclusive use of French; Landry *et al.*, 2010), whereas in the present study, Anglophone students in Western Quebec where Anglophones constitute 64% of the population have a global score of 8.1 (using the same scale and reversing the values so that a score of 9 indicates exclusive use of English). The gravitational pull of English is much less prevalent in domains of language enculturation that are more geographically constrained and local. When the same groups as above are compared for the use of the minority language in private and public domains, the Francophone students have mean scores of 6.9 and 6.2 respectively, whereas the Anglophone students from Western Quebec have scores of 7.2 and 6.4. Both groups of students use their minority status language more frequently in the private than in the public domain.

The comparison between the two official language minorities that is possibly most globally indicative of the strong gravitational pull of English is the contrast of the students' desire to integrate into both of Canada's official language communities while living in a bilingual context. As shown in the model of self-determined and conscious language behaviour (figure 2.1), desire of integration is a product of one's ethnolinguistic identity and subjective vitality (i.e. the perceived status of the language). Research with Francophone students has shown that their desire to integrate into the Francophone community was related not only to the strength of their francophone identity and the perceived status of French in their region but also to their contact with the French media (Landry *et al.*, 2006b, 2007d). Mean scores of the same Francophones as above (those residing in municipalities that comprise between 50 to 69% of Francophones) on their desire to integrate into the Francophone and Anglophone communities were 6.2 and 5.6 respectively. They tend to want to integrate into the Anglophone community almost as much as into their own community. Even Francophones that live in municipalities that have from 70 to 89% of Francophones have mean scores that are respectively 6.2 and 5.5. Francophone students that live in municipalities where

Francophones make up as much as 90% or more of the population have mean scores of 6.9 and 4.7, respectively. Conversely, Western Quebec's Anglophone students, who live in a demographic context where Anglophones represent 64% of the population, have a mean score of 7.8 on their desire to integrate into the Anglophone community, but a mean score of only 3.2 on their desire to integrate into the Francophone community. Even when Anglophones in Quebec represent only 11% of the population in East/North Montreal, the mean scores for the desire to integrate into the Anglophone and Francophone communities are, respectively, 7.3 and 4.6. It is only in contexts where the Anglophone community is very small (2.2% of the population) in the French Quebec region that the Anglophone students wish to integrate into both communities equally (mean score of 6.5 for the Anglophone community and 6.0 for the Francophone community). Francophones outside Quebec, even when they are demographically dominant in their region, feel that they need to use the resources and learn the language of the Anglophone majority. The gravitational pull towards Quebec's majority language seems to be far less for the Anglophone minority in Quebec.

The results of the present study clearly indicate that speakers of English are influenced by the sociolinguistic context of the languages they are in contact with, in this case French and English. From this perspective, the Anglophone minority of Quebec is similar to other linguistic minorities; they behave according to the same sociolinguistic principles. Nonetheless, speaking a "global language" (Crystal, 2004), a "hypercentral language" (de Swaan, 2001) that has the strongest gravitational pull on other languages than any other language in the world, does provide an advantage; when in a minority context, the pressure to integrate into the linguistic majority seems far less powerful. In other words, the English-speaking minority in Quebec seems to be a "minority with an edge", the edge being defined as the advantage of speaking the world's most powerful and socially attractive language. If we could somehow factor out this advantage when comparing Canada's two official language communities, both would be seen to be much more similar.

We have analyzed the situation of the English-speaking minority of Quebec using all of the factors of the cultural autonomy model (see chapter 1), yet it remains to be seen whether this minority that speaks the world's most dominant language can really achieve cultural autonomy given the threats to its' institutional completeness and ideological legitimacy, combined with the reduced social proximity of its' members in many parts of the Quebec territory. As discussed above, the question is not whether English will cease to be spoken in Quebec but whether the English-speaking minority can affirm itself as a legitimate collective entity within the language duality context of Canada. The power of attraction of English is an incentive to keep learning and using the language but it also produces a strong diversity of speakers, the latter becoming a constraint to group solidarity and to the task of speaking in a unified voice in the elaboration of a strong cultural autonomy project.

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