NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES

Schooling and Cultural Autonomy

A Canada-Wide Study in Francophone Minority Schools

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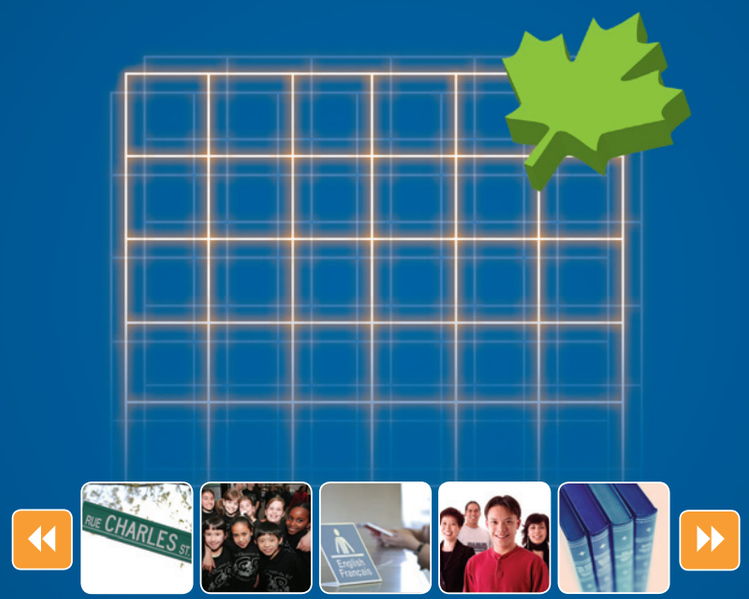
Rodrigue Landry, Réal Allard and Kenneth Deveau



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Introduction

There is no doubt that section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was a true catalyst, enabling Francophone minority communities to take charge of instruction in French and Francophone school management. Today, Francophone school boards manage schools in all provinces and territories. They have partnered with other organizations to expand their resources and fully achieve the goals of this legislative provision (FNCSF, 2005). However, despite the great progress made in the academic field, challenges persist in maintaining the vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities, or in fostering their revitalization. There is no institution more important than the school to ensure a language community's vitality; however, it is clear that it alone cannot secure community vitality.

Our research report presents a Canada-wide social and linguistic profile of Grade 11 students attending French-language high schools in the Francophone school boards of the *Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones* (FNCSF). Thirty of the 31 school boards participated in the study.[1] Through this profile, we are better able to understand the language experiences of those students who will soon be completing high school and assess their psycholinguistic development within a vast range of vitality contexts. The study measures their contacts with the English and French languages from childhood, both with respect to quantity and quality. It also proposes to measure the results of this bilingual ethnolinguistic socialization, which helps to shed light on students' ethnolinguistic identity building, their beliefs regarding the vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities, their motivations for learning and using both of the country's official languages, their linguistic competencies and, finally, their various language behaviours.

1. Only the Nunavut school board was unable to participate because its school did not offer a French instruction program after Grade 9.

The research report consists of five chapters. First, we describe the demographic data required to put into context the challenges relating to the vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities living outside Quebec. In the last part of this introductory chapter, we define the school's primary role as an institutional cornerstone for a cultural autonomy project for these communities.

The second chapter discusses the conceptual framework of the study. In it we present the study's variables in order to fully define their roles and interrelations.

The third chapter describes our methodology: sample of the population studied, measurement instruments, administrative procedure of the survey, description of analyses and ways of presenting the results.

The fourth chapter contains all the study results based on the components of the conceptual framework. The results of the students from the 30 school boards are grouped into four regions: New Brunswick, the other Atlantic provinces, Ontario, the Western provinces and the territories.[2]

The last chapter summarizes the main study findings and examines the ensuing educational and pedagogical consequences. A large number of Grade 11 students who took part in the study also participated in the second study when they were in Grade 12. This latter study looked at their career and post-secondary plans (see Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2009).

1.1 Vitality of Francophone minority communities: an overview of demolinguistic indexes

As the conceptual framework described in chapter two will show, all students in French schools do not have the same opportunities to live in French. Some live in Francophone communities where the French-language population is large and concentrated. Others live in municipalities where Francophones are a minority and are dispersed over an area where the English language dominates. For them, the family

2. Each school board receives tables of results obtained for the entire board and each of the participating schools.

setting and school are often the only places where French predominates. In short, a continuum of Francophone community vitality ranging from high to very low is found in the Francophone and Acadian communities. The effects of this vitality on language experiences and psycholinguistic development are explained in the following chapter. Below, we dedicate a few lines to findings that attest to the waning vitality of several Francophone communities outside Quebec.

First finding: the proportion of Francophones among the entire Canadian population, and especially outside Quebec, is decreasing. Whereas in 1951, Francophones[3] represented 29.0% of the Canadian population, in 2006 they represented only 22.1%. Outside Quebec, their proportion has dropped from 7.3% in 1951 to 4.1% in 2006. It is also much smaller when calculated based on the number of people who "speak French most often at home" as opposed to the number of people for whom French is their mother tongue. In this case it is only 2.5%.

This connection between the language spoken most often at home and the mother tongue is instrumental in calculating the linguistic continuity index of the Francophone and Acadian communities (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004). For example, if 500 people in a community have French as their mother tongue and 400 people speak French most often at home, the ratio is 400/500, i.e. 0.80.

In similar fashion, we can also calculate the relative social attraction (RSA) index of a language (Landry, 2010). Instead of calculating the proportion of members of a language group that speak their language most often at home (the linguistic continuity index), we calculate the total number of persons that speak the language at home (irrespective of their language groups) relative to the number of persons that have that language as their mother tongue. For example, a high-status language will often be chosen as the language spoken at home by members of other language groups whose language is lower in status, as well as by newcomers to the country. A group with a high-status language that has strong social prestige among members of other groups will tend to have a high RSA index that may even exceed 1.00.

---

3. A Francophone is defined in this document as a person whose mother tongue, i.e., the first language learned and still understood, is French.

The numbers below show that French is not a high-prestige language outside Quebec.

In 1971, when the language most spoken at home was first measured in a census, the RSA index of Francophones outside Quebec was 0.73. It has progressively dropped since then, reaching 0.62 in the 2006 census. However, it varies depending on the province, territory and region. While the RSA index of Francophones was 0.91 in 2006 in New Brunswick, it was 0.60 in Ontario (where half the Francophones outside Quebec live), 0.58 in Nunavut, close to 0.50 in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and the Northwest Territories, 0.40 in Manitoba, 0.36 in Newfoundland and Labrador, and nearly 0.30 in Alberta, British Colombia and Saskatchewan. It is usually higher when concentrations of Francophones are denser and also higher in rural environments (Beaudin, 1999; Beaudin and Landry, 2003).

Non-official language communities in Canada have an RSA index similar to that of Francophones outside Quebec (0.59), which is a bit higher in Quebec (0.62) than in the other Canadian provinces (0.58). In Quebec, English and French share almost equally the status of language of prestige among these "Allophones."[4] In the 2006 census, 24% indicated speaking French most often at home, while 21% reported speaking English most often. While maintaining these proportions, these language transfers contribute much more to the growth of the Anglophone population in Quebec than to that of the Francophone population. In 2006 the RSA index among Francophones in Quebec was 1.03, while among Anglophones it was 1.30.[5] Outside Quebec, it is the English language that attracts Allophone and Francophone populations. The RSA index of Anglophones outside Quebec is 1.15. In short, although outside Quebec the proportion of people whose mother tongue is English is decreasing (phenomenon explained by the vast

4. For many years, the language of prestige in Quebec was English; however, language transfers among Allophones has been increasing towards French since the implementation of Bill 101, which requires newcomers to attend French-language schools.

5. This RSA index of Quebec's Anglophones is above all a reflection of the situation among Anglophones in Montreal. Outside this region, the vitality of English in Quebec is much lower (Bourhis, 2008; Floch and Pocock, 2008). It is also a reflection of the overall power of attraction of English in North America and not of the global strength of the English speaking minority.

increase in Allophones through immigration), the proportion of people speaking English most often at home is up, a situation that highlights the importance of language transfers among both Francophones and Allophones (Statistics Canada, 2007).

As we have just seen, a variety of factors, such as language transfer, may influence linguistic continuity indexes. These transfers have been increasing among Francophones since 1971 (year of the first census measuring the language used at home). Table 1.1 (taken from Statistics Canada, 2007) sets out language transfers towards English among Francophones for the 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2006 census years. While in 1971, just under 30% of Francophones spoke English most often at home, this proportion was 39.3% in 2006.

Table 1.1

Proportion of Francophones (French as unique Mother Tongue) Who Speak English Most Often at Home — Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada Minus Quebec, 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2006

	Percentage			
Regions	**1971**	**1991**	**2001**	**2006**
Canada	6.0	6.0	6.2	6.3
Newfoundland and Labrador	43.2	55.1	63.5	67.9
Prince Edward Island	43.2	46.8	53.2	50.7
Nova Scotia	34.1	41.7	45.6	48.3
New Brunswick	8.7	9.7	10.5	11.2
Quebec	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.1
Ontario	29.9	36.9	40.3	41.8
Manitoba	36.9	50.1	54.6	55.5
Saskatchewan	51.9	67.5	74.5	74.4
Alberta	53.7	64.5	67.6	69.0
British Colombia	73.0	72.8	72.6	72.0
Yukon	74.4	53.8	56.2	54.8
Northwest Territories	51.1	54.0	62.6	56.2
Nunavut	?	?	46.8	47.9
Canada minus Quebec	29.6	35.1	38.1	39.3

Source: Statistics Canada (2007), population censuses, 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2006
? = not applicable

Since 2001, the census measures languages that are "regularly spoken at home." This makes it possible to qualify the results on the language most often spoken at home. Among Francophones who speak English most often at home in 2006, four in ten (41.5%) also speak French regularly. This proportion was slightly higher in 2006 than in 2001 (39.2%).

For many years, a high birth rate among Francophones offset language transfers to English. According to Lachapelle (1986), a birth rate of 2.8 children may offset a language transfer rate of 25% (the replacement rate needed to maintain a population's stability is usually 2.1 children per family). However, this birth rate among Francophone mothers has decreased sharply in past decades. It was 4.95 children in the intercensal period from 1956 to 1961, but was only 1.46 between 1996 and 2001 (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004). It is therefore lower than the replacement rate of 2.1, which means that the Francophone population is decreasing save for immigration contributions, which have only slightly contributed to the growth of the Francophone population outside Quebec (Jedwab, 2001; Marmen and Corbeil, 2004). Interprovincial migration, including of Francophones from Quebec to other provinces and territories, contributes to the growth of the Francophone minority population, but tends to depend on the economy's forces of attraction. Recently, positive migration rates have been recorded mostly in British Colombia, Alberta and Ontario.

The predominance of endogamy (Bernard, 1998) is another factor that has long contributed to maintaining French as the language used at home. For religious reasons in particular, Francophones tended to marry Francophones. Today, these religious barriers are practically non-existent and exogamy rates are on the rise. In 2001 the exogamy rate among Francophones was 42% (37.4% had an Anglophone spouse, and 4.7% an Allophone spouse). Whether the spouse is Anglophone or Allophone, there remains a very strong tendency to use English as the *lingua franca* within the family. The use of French most often at home in 2001 was only 12.3% among Francophones with an Anglophone spouse, and was barely higher if the spouse was Allophone (17.7%) (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004).

With the exogamy rate growing, it is normal that it be higher among young couples of childbearing age than among older couples. This has consequences for the family linguistic situation experienced by children of parents entitled under section 23 of the Charter. The proportion of children of entitled Francophone parents who are exogamous couples was already 53% in 1986 (Martel, 2001) and reached 66% in 2006 (Landry, 2010). It was 32% in New Brunswick, 68% in Ontario and ranged from 72% to 94% in the other provinces and territories. There are now twice as many children eligible to attend French-language schools based on their parents' rights with one Francophone parent and one Anglophone or Allophone parent than children with two Francophone parents. The phenomenon would go unnoticed and could even benefit the Francophone minority if this family structure had no incidence on French language use at home and on the transfer of French as the mother tongue. We observe, however, a very strong connection between exogamy and these two variables.

In 2006, outside Quebec, when both parents were Francophone (refer to note 3), 93% of children had French as their mother tongue and 87% used it most often at home. If only one parent was Francophone (exogamy), only 25.2% of children had French as their mother tongue and only 17.4% spoke French most often at home. In single-parent families, 61.9% of children of the Francophone parent had French as their mother tongue and 53.2% spoke it most often at home. Note that a proportion of children probably similar to that found in two-parent families is born to exogamous couples now forming single-parent families (Paillé, 1991). Due to the high proportion of children from exogamous couples (66% in 2006, as already stated), only one entitled child out of two (50.0%) had French as the mother tongue, and a lower proportion still (43%) spoke French most often at home (Landry, 2010).

It should however be emphasized that although the exogamous family structure adversely affects the use of French at home and its transfer to children as a mother tongue, exogamy is not its "direct" cause. Research shows that the cause is the language dynamics chosen by the parents. On average, when the Francophone parent of an exogamous couple speaks French to the child most often at home, and the child is educated in French ("francité familioscolaire" in French), in

Grade 12, that child's French proficiency and Francophone identity cannot be distinguished from those of a child having two Francophone parents. In other words, if the family language dynamic in an exogamous situation has greatly encouraged the presence and use of French within the family and at school, the exogamy factor is mostly neutralized (Landry and Allard, 1997). However, it should be acknowledged that many couples labelled "exogamous" are actually endogamous Anglophone couples, since even if the "Francophone" person's mother tongue is French, that person may have been socialized primarily in English and may not be able to speak French to his or her child (Corbeil, 2005).

The dilemma facing Francophone and Acadian communities is increasingly difficult. In order to maintain their school populations, they must increase the number of entitled students enrolled in French-language schools. In 2006 only one in two children (49%) of entitled Francophone parents or of non-entitled parents whose first official language is French attended a Francophone minority school (53% in primary school and 44% in secondary school). A significant proportion (15%) was enrolled in an immersion program in the Anglophone school system and 35% of students were enrolled in the core program in English-language schools (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). These entitled student enrolment rates vary according to province and territory and are, in all cases, lower in high school than in primary school. The enrolment rate in French-language schools is highest in New Brunswick (81% at the primary level and 78% at the secondary level), followed by Ontario (55% and 45%, respectively). These rates are under 50% at the primary level and generally under 40% at the secondary level for Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Manitoba. They are under 30% at the primary level and under 20% at the secondary level in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Colombia. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the rate is 17% at the primary level and under 10% at the secondary level. Finally, for all the territories, it is relatively high at the primary level (46%), but under 15% at the secondary level.

In order to increase their school populations, the Francophone and Acadian communities have no choice: they must open their doors to children of exogamous couples who speak little French at home.

The Statistics Canada survey on the vitality of official-language minorities (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007) revealed that 88% of children attended French-language school if both parents were Francophone. The attendance rate was only 34% within an exogamous Francophone-Anglophone structure, and 30% in other family structures. One major factor with a positive effect on French-language school attendance was the parents' level of education in French in primary and secondary school. The French-language school attendance rate for children with one French-language parent is 66% if the parent completed primary and secondary school in French, 31% if the parent completed only primary school in French, and 16% if the parent attended neither primary nor secondary school in French (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007).

Increasing enrolment among students from exogamous couples could have real consequences demographically, but also increase the English ambiance in the school (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009a). In short, this situation poses a dilemma: entitled Francophone parents can either restrict French-school access to students who speak French at home (which would be an unconstitutional decision), and risk administering empty schools in many areas, or throw their doors wide open, maximizing the number of enrolments of entitled students and risk transforming the French-language school into a French immersion school.

We have examined the issue in other publications (Landry, 2003a, 2006, 2010): Francophone communities have no choice but to focus on "releasing the hidden potential" of exogamy. The demographic potential is huge. Many schools could double their student numbers, others could quadruple it. However, true success requires "social marketing" strategies to inform parents of the bilingualism opportunities for their child and to convince them of the importance of the presence and use of French within the family and at school. Children of exogamous couples who encourage the presence and use of French at home and school are generally models of bilingualism, having, for all practical intents and purposes, two mother tongues. But as mentioned above, this real potential remains limited by the fact that Francophone-Anglophone exogamy is often a false exogamy as shown by Corbeil (2005). In fact, many people having French as their mother tongue

have been socialized in English, and even if they are "statistically" Francophone, when they marry an Anglophone, the union becomes one of two Anglophones.

The low birth rate, language transfer and low transmission to children of French as a mother tongue[6] contribute to what is commonly called the aging of the population. Marmen and Corbeil (2004) analyze this phenomenon by calculating the ratio of people 65 and over in relation to those 15 and under. A society usually comprises more young people 15 and under than people 65 and over. For example, for the entire Canadian population, in 1971 the ratio was 0.27, i.e., there was about one person aged 65 and over for every four people aged 15 and under. For the entire Canadian society, this ratio increased because of the low birth rate. In 2001 it was 0.63. However, it is significantly higher among Francophones (0.71) than among Anglophones (0.50). In 2001 it was 0.66 in Quebec for Francophones, which means that there are two people aged 65 and over for every three people aged 15 and under. This situation is not a disadvantage for Francophones in Quebec in relation to the Anglophones in their province since the ratio is exactly the same for the latter (0.66). However, Quebec Francophones are "aging" more than Anglophones outside Quebec, where the 65+/15- ratio is 0.49. The highest ratio is for Francophones outside Quebec, which was 1.15 in 2001. This population is therefore composed of more people 65 and over than youths 15 and under. The ratios vary by province and territory, but remain high, ranging from 0.84 in New Brunswick to 4.14 in Saskatchewan. Castonguay (1998) has similar findings by comparing the generation of the 0 to 9 age group with the 25 to 34 age group.

Growing urbanization, along with an exodus from rural regions, is another phenomenon contributing to the drop in vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities. Francophones who settle in large urban centres do not tend to group together in an area with an established and concentrated community and do not always have the reflex to create a community around their institutions (Gilbert and

6. Children whose mother tongue is not French retain the right to go to the minority's school by virtue of the entitled status of at least one of their parents, but are not counted as Francophones and are not part of the calculations regarding language transfer (Forgues and Landry, 2006).

Langlois, 2006). On the one hand, the exodus weakens the rural communities by limiting their ability to expand, and even to hold steady. On the other hand, by becoming dispersed over a vast urban territory, migrants become marginalized and more vulnerable to linguistic assimilation (Beaudin, 1999; Beaudin and Landry, 2003).

Finally, the simple fact of living in North America, where the English language dominates the continent, is a factor that makes maintaining the vitality of the French language difficult. English is now a global language, more widespread around the world than any other language in the history of humanity (Crystal, 2000, 2004) and it exerts a gravitational pull on speakers of other languages (Calvet, 1999a). It is a hypercentral language, and other supercentral languages (in particular French, Spanish and Arabic) gravitate around it, and smaller (central) languages, rotate around the supercentral languages. A very large number of languages are quite peripheral and tend to disappear. They come together through bilingualism and multilingualism. For example, numerous speakers of supercentral languages choose English as a second language (vertical bilingualism), another supercentral language (horizontal bilingualism), or both (multilingualism). The more central the languages, the less speakers tend to learn those that gravitate around theirs. Native speakers of English, a hypercentral language, are not generally bilingual. For Francophones, living in North America means living near the centre of gravity of the hypercentral language: bilingualism is no longer a choice, but a necessity. English tends to dominate the economy, the media and the linguistic landscape of public places, not to mention scientific research, technologies and international communication. As we will see in chapter 2, in environments where Francophones are a minority, French is usually diglossic in relation to English. In these contexts, the latter language is usually the "language of status," while French risks becoming, at best, a "language of solidarity," a private language.

In the last section of this chapter, we will discuss the French-language school as a fundamental institution in a project for cultural autonomy.

1.2 Schooling and cultural autonomy

As we have just seen, the English language holds a dominant place in our planet. This dominance was historically fostered by the fact that two English-speaking superpowers dominated the economy during the last two centuries: Great Britain in the 19th century, and the United States in the 20th century. English has also become the *lingua franca* due to globalization, and the monopoly of multinationals occurs more and more in this language. This phenomenon may be associated with the widespread adoption of neo-liberal and capitalist values that encourage individualism and consumption over maintaining traditional cultural values. That in itself is a challenge for French-language schools. The phenomenon of globalization and the cultural diversity associated with immigration both represent challenges for French-language school in its role as an identity-building agent, and pose challenges for Francophone communities in their quest for a collective identity (Pilote and Magnan, 2008).

The fact that numerous languages are disappearing and that most of the minority linguistic communities are dwindling has given rise to resistance movements. With respect to these movements, Joshua Fishman (1990, 1991 and 2001) has proposed the concept of "reversing language shift" whose goal is the revitalization of languages (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006a). Grenoble and Whaley (2006) have reviewed some of these language revitalization programs. Hebrew in Israel, French in Quebec and Catalan in Spain are often cited as the great successes of language revitalization.[7]

Fishman (1990 and 1991) also developed a language revitalization model.[8] This model recognized the importance of completing several steps before achieving what he calls *cultural autonomy*. He does not provide a strict definition for this concept, but specified that it cannot be achieved until the minority language group develops a community

7. See Corbeil (2007) for an excellent analysis of the evolution of French in Quebec.

8. Although we have already used the term ethnolinguistic revitalization to refer to the vitality of language and culture (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006a), we increasingly employ the term language revitalization by focusing much more on language than on culture in order to avoid adversely affecting the multiethnic and multicultural character of the Canadian Francophonie.

life base, which ensures that language and culture are transferred to the next generation. He calls this community base the "home – family – neighbourhood – community nexus," which constitutes the foundation for intergenerational transmission of language. In order to achieve cultural autonomy, once this base is acquired, the language must be gradually introduced in public places since a certain cultural autonomy is acquired when the language is well rooted in the public sphere, i.e., in education, the media, the economy and within the public authority. He insists that cultural autonomy can only be accomplished if the group takes hold of its own destiny, a point of view that is corroborated by Grenoble and Whaley (2006). Fishman distinguishes between cultural autonomy and political autonomy, the latter being attributed to groups that seek to maintain their language and culture within the framework of separatist or secessionist projects.

We recently proposed a cultural autonomy model (Landry, 2008a; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007a). It is based on Fishman's conceptual framework, but also differs from it in many respects. By placing less emphasis on the steps to be completed, it gives greater importance to the elements of linguistic vitality that the group must manage in order to achieve cultural autonomy. In that respect, the model is similar to the ethnolinguistic vitality model proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) while attempting to shed light on the interactions and synergies that fuel those vitality factors (Bourhis and Landry, 2008). For example, Fishman attributes a rather secondary role to school as a factor leading to cultural autonomy and proposes that the group set up schools only once the "home – family – neighbourhood – community nexus," which fosters the intergenerational transfer of language, is well established. Our model gives school a central role and sees it not only as a public institution and place of learning, but also as a place of socialization and identity building (Landry, 2008a; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007a). Another difference is that Fishman gives the state a minimal role in a language revitalization project and is rather pessimistic about the support that most states are willing to give. According to our model, the state plays a real and symbolic role of support in making a cultural autonomy project a legitimate endeavour. However, this model fundamentally agrees with Fishman's on the importance that must be given to basic community life, which he

calls the "community of intimacy" and which he distinguishes from the "impersonal community." Moreover, as is the case with Fishman (1991 and 2001) and Grenoble and Whaley (2006), we feel it is of vital importance that the language group take charge as a community of its own destiny, failing which it risks limiting itself to a group of individuals without a collective identity.

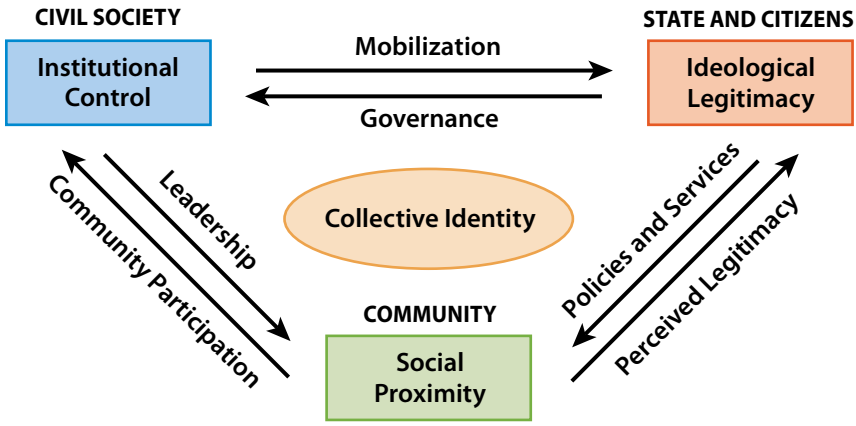
In this chapter, we briefly discuss the cultural autonomy model in order to better place the school as the institutional cornerstone of a cultural autonomy project. This will help to better understand the French school's mission and evaluate the results of our research. The model also provides an overview of the school's limits when it is not supported by the base community and by a larger institutional completeness.

The cultural autonomy model (see figure 1.1) consists of three components that interact among each other and with the group's collective identity. When these community vitality elements act together and support each other, the group can manage collective projects that energize the group's vitality, while encouraging the acquisition of greater cultural autonomy.

Collective identity remains at the heart of the cultural autonomy model. It is in no way the sum of individual identities; it is the identity the group defines for itself through its own means and resources. Collective identity has a "public face" (Thériault, 2007a, p. 97). It is expressed in history books, in literature, in the press, in the discourse of its elite, in its political claims, in its cultural manifestations, in the community's linguistic landscape (posters and signs). It is the image that the community has of itself as a historical and legitimate group. Breton (1983) states that it is the group's collective identity that forms the basis for its collective projects. A linguistic minority gives itself projects that are commensurate with the awareness it has of its history, with the feeling that it is a distinct group in society, with the perceptions it has of its status and with its legitimacy in that society, and with its ability to affirm itself as a group.

It is by creating institutions and acquiring a certain "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964) that groups are able to secure their historical continuity. A group defines its "identity borders" (Capra, 2002)

Figure 1.1
Cultural Autonomy Model (Adapted from Landry, 2008a)



through its own institutions and can act in society as a "separate and active entity" (Giles *et al.*, 1977).

The collective identity of a linguistic minority is difficult to understand and measure. It is not always expressed as a unified and consistent whole, but it is its ability to "mobilize" and "govern" (see figure 1) that enable it to come forward and express itself on behalf of the group (Landry, Forgues and Traisnel, 2010). Achieving a certain degree of cultural autonomy requires the ability to synergize three elements essential to its vitality as a language group.

Before briefly presenting these three elements of linguistic vitality, we must recall that each of the model's components refers to different actors, even if identical actors may act on several levels and if the categories of actors rub elbows and interact. *Social proximity* is the place that Fishman (1991) calls the "community of intimacy." It is a process for language socialization experienced through proximity in the private sphere. This proximity therefore relates to the members of the community itself and to their inclusion in local community dynamics. The *institutional completeness* component is the place where the main action takes place for the members of the community, the institutions and organizations of civil society. Its dynamics take place

in the public sphere and it is in this civil society that the main sources of community leadership come to life. It is with regard to *ideological legitimacy* that a third category of actors made up of the state and its citizens appears. In describing these three components of the model, which interact with the group's collective identity and influence the language group's vitality, we can highlight the school's essential role as the cornerstone of this collective synergy.

Social proximity is the foundation of the model for cultural autonomy, helping to highlight its central and fundamental role both for the vitality of the language and for the cultural autonomy of the group. This first component of the model is in accordance with step 6 of Fishman's model, to which he gives an essential role in achieving cultural autonomy and which he calls the "home – family – neighbourhood – community nexus." The child learns a language well and naturally when in close contact with speakers of that language within the family, with relatives, friends and other people who are close to the child. This social proximity finds fertile ground not only among the number of speakers, but also in its territorial concentration. Territorial concentration clearly prevails over the absolute number of members in fostering primary socialization in the language and in identity building (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b). It plays an even more significant role if it occurs around and near the group's institutions (Gilbert and Langlois, 2006). This phenomenon stimulates the synergy between social proximity and institutional completeness. As shown in figure 1.1, social proximity is the very basis of *community participation* in the group's institutions. People who do not experience the group's language and culture in their private life might be less predisposed to take part in the group's institutions, and even less willing to play a leadership role therein. Social proximity is, in fact, the basis of three types of language experiences that we will explain in the next chapter. These are *enculturation* (amount of contact with the group's language and culture), *personal autonomization* (which ensures a person's autonomy as a learner and user of the language), and *social conscientization* (which encourages the development of a "critical consciousness" of the group's legitimacy and stability and sparks behaviours of involvement and leadership). These three experiences play different roles in personal psycholinguistic development.

The second component of the model, institutional completeness, forms the operating base of the concept of cultural autonomy. It represents the group's management of the cultural and social institutions that breathe life into the group's language in the public domain (Breton, 1964) and marks the community's ability to establish and manage what Fritz Capra (2002) calls "identity borders." In fact, institutions are the markers of the group's collective identity and have a major role to play in its historical continuity. Thériault (2007a) makes an important distinction between the group's "institutions" and "social organizations." The former are more fundamental and focus on the group's historical continuity. They accommodate, in principle, all the group's members and fill significant roles in its collective life. Without public institutions managed by the group in its language, it is, *de facto,* in a diglossic situation vis-à-vis the prevailing language (Fishman, 1967, 1991 and 2001). It is then, at best, a private language in which the "solidarity" of the members of the group in the local community can be expressed (Landry and Rousselle, 2003; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006, 2007b and 2008). Without having any legitimate status, the speakers of the minority language gradually abandon it for the dominant language. Social organizations may also play useful and important roles in the community, but they are more places of leadership that bring together mostly active and engaged members working in different sectors of the community. According to Thériault (2007a), these more "utilitary" roles are, nonetheless, adaptable to the group's evolving needs. In our model, both the institutions and the social organizations are players in civil society and hold a place of leadership in the establishment of institutional autonomy.

Of course, school is an essential institution, even if it alone cannot guarantee neither the vitality nor the survival of the group. We dare to say that it is the pillar of cultural autonomy (Landry, 2008a). Not only is it the source of all other institutions by preparing future leaders for all other sectors of community vitality (provided that the education in the group's language can be pursued at the post-secondary level), it is concurrently a key authority of social proximity, the privileged place of language socialization for full development of linguistic competence and an identity building factor, as much a determinant as family and social networks (Landry and Allard, 1996). It is therefore a bridge,

building a link between social proximity and institutional completeness. While exercising its institutional role, it is in itself a place of socialization where the three ethnolinguistic experiences mentioned above, which we will explain in the next chapter, are produced and expand. It is a place for enculturation, a place where youths develop their autonomy (personal autonomization), and where they learn the group's collective history and become aware of their status as a minority (social conscientization). The school and other civil society actors (for example, the media and artistic and literary environments) can in fact act as agents of awareness in their leadership role within the community. This awareness of the issues surrounding the group's vitality is essential for the community involvement of the group's members, and school may be an excellent place for conscientization (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2005). In short, "lifelong education" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003) in institutions managed by the group is indispensable for institutional completeness and, therefore, for any cultural autonomy project.

We call *ideological legitimacy* the third component in the model. It groups together factors associated with support from the state and citizens for the minority group's cultural autonomy project. All states, whether or not they are aware of it, express ideological positions through their policies that prompt and guide their support for minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Bourhis, 2001). This support may be placed on an ideological continuum (refer to the next chapter), ranging from proactive and involved support for minorities to rejection, and various degrees of indifference in-between (Bourhis, 2001). The state's ideological positions contribute in a very large part to the establishment of the group's status and legitimacy within society. The language groups not officially recognized by the state may perceive themselves as illegitimate and without status, and manifest different forms of what Calvet (1999a) calls "status insecurity." Sections 16 to 20, and in particular section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms,* providing access to education and school management, the federal government's *Official Languages Act* and various provincial statutes or policies constitute concrete support from the state for the legitimacy of French in Canadian society. However, the synergy between the levels of government (Bourgeois, Denis, Dennie and

Johnson, 2006; Landry, 2008b) is not always optimal and only Acadia in New Brunswick seems to be able to build on a bona fide legal basis (according to section 16.1 of the Charter) to claim its right to cultural autonomy (Landry, 2009a, 2009b).

However, ideological legitimacy does not only come from the state and its language policies. The status of a language may be more or less recognized by all citizens, including members of the minority language community. When the group's language is not valued or holds a small place on what Bourdieu (1982) calls the "language market" (for example in the media and the economy), the members of a minority may come to see their language as "illegitimate" and even to denigrate it in favour of the dominant language. As we mentioned before, the phenomenon of globalization in which English occupies a "hypercentral" position (Calvet, 1999a) and the fragile geographic situation of Francophone and Acadian communities weaken the status of French in society. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000 and 2002) highlights the lack of sensitivity among states for the devastating effects of globalization and its neo-liberal values on language minorities and describes this phenomenon as a new form of colonialism, more powerful than all previous forms. According to her, it is a "colonization of the mind" that takes hold of collective thought. This brain control is an extreme, even absolute form of control, causing members of minorities to internalize this dominant ideology, which then leads them to denigrate their language and culture, which contributes globally to dangerously reducing the planet's cultural diversity, which is a phenomenon not unlike the loss of its biodiversity.

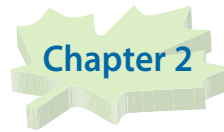
As shown in figure 1.1, the ideological legitimacy component interacts with the other components of the model. The state may legitimize the group's governance structure and act in partnership with the community to help it achieve its community vitality goals (Cardinal and Hudon, 2001). For example, Francophone and Acadian communities have made great strides in the academic field (Power and Foucher, 2004), but, in order to ensure their vitality, they are increasingly required to "go beyond section 23" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003) to provide for "lifelong education", or, as proposed in the Senate report (Corbin and Buchanan, 2005), "early childhood to post-secondary education." The Canadian government also acts directly in Francophone

communities through its *policies and services*. However, as previously mentioned, ideological legitimacy does not fall solely under the state's "recognition policies," but is also associated with the competition of French in the world "language market" and, in particular, on the North American continent. This process produces lasting effects on the social representations of the members of these communities, i.e., on their *perceived legitimacy* (see figure 1.1), a phenomenon that our conceptual framework (in the following chapter) deals with through the "subjective vitality" concept (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981; Allard and Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994). These social representations are therefore associated with the recognition given by members of the group to the status and legitimacy of their language in society and influence their willingness to take part in their group's community life.

Why have we studied at depth the vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities and the concept of cultural autonomy as part of a research project on the ethnolinguistic experiences and psycholinguistic development of students in French-language schools? First of all, we wanted to place the school and its role on the vitality of Francophone communities within a larger framework. It is vital to acknowledge that school is an essential and necessary but insufficient element to ensure the vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities. Second, we must understand that these communities can also ensure their vitality if they take charge of the elements of their language vitality and exert a certain amount of control over it. The cultural autonomy model proposes a summary of these elements and highlights their interactions. Cultural autonomy is a political project in a way similar to Thériault's (2007a) discussion on the challenges of "making society" in a minority French setting in Canada (Landry, 2008a, 2009a). The school's role cannot be disassociated from the society project to which the Francophone and Acadian communities aspire (Pilote and Magnan, 2008). Third, through the cultural autonomy model, we sought to clearly establish the role of school and determine its potential influence on community vitality. The school is the cornerstone of institutional completeness. Without it, there is no basis for training all of the players of civil society that exercise roles of leadership and conscientization in any cultural autonomy project that

the community may undertake. But it is not only a public institution. It has an enormous potential for ethnolinguistic socialization and, as such, is part of the "social proximity" component of cultural autonomy. As an extension of the interpersonal network of students and their family, school may have as powerful an effect as these networks on building a Francophone identity, as several analyses have shown (Landry and Allard, 1996). Without it, it therefore becomes very difficult to ensure the literacy skills required by our current society. It is by far the best place to promote and implement the development of these skills (Landry, 1995; Landry and Allard, 1996). Finally, it is an excellent place for raising awareness (Landry and Allard, 1999), and the present study clearly brings to the foreground the link between certain aspects of social conscientization and the behaviour of the teaching staff as perceived by students.

The results we produce in chapter 4 clearly show that there are many complex influences on the psycholinguistic development of young Francophones. We will examine their pedagogical consequences in chapter 5, while seeking to establish a clear link, once again, between the role played by school and the cultural autonomy project that the Francophone and Acadian communities may have. In the next chapter, we discuss the study's conceptual framework that gives form and meaning to the measures applied and results obtained within the scope of our study.



Conceptual Framework

Ethnolinguistic vitality and self-determination of language behaviour

Being an educator in a minority language environment means being able to meet challenges that at first seem insurmountable. As such, in certain regions of Canada, French school may be the only Franco-dominant institution. Young Francophones acquire language habits within their family, neighbourhood and entire social network. These habits risk coming into direct competition with those the French school intends to promote. Youths who are used to speaking English during most of their extracurricular activities tend do to the same at school (Desjarlais, 1983; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009a). For them, French could be perceived as an "academic" language that is hardly useful in their daily lives, and which has little status and uncertain legitimacy in society, in what they call "real life."

How, in an Anglo-dominant context, can the French school promote more extensive use of the French language among students and fairly satisfactory academic success in French, while arousing in them the desire to become part of the Francophone community, to maintain a solid identity involvement and to acquire greater self-determination so as to become active advocates for Francophonie in their community?

The challenge is of course quite daunting and, we would add, becomes more difficult with the drop in Francophone community vitality. As highlighted in the previous chapter, school alone cannot be the only factor for community revitalization, but it does play a vital, even determining role in this sense. First and foremost, our conceptual framework helps us understand the dynamics of the language and cultural socialization experienced by students in the three living environments of their ethnolinguistic experience: the family environment, the school environment, and the socioinstitutional environment. It is also

instrumental in assessing the relevance of the results obtained by students in French schools on the tests and questionnaires administered for this study. By using the conceptual framework to analyze these results, our focus is to help Francophone minority educators unearth the main components of pedagogy adapted to the Francophone minority context of youths. These components are set out in the last chapter of our research report.

The conceptual framework is presented in three parts. First, we define the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality while highlighting how it relates, on the one hand, to maintaining language and culture, and, on the other hand, to linguistic assimilation and acculturation. Second, we ask, figuratively, whether linguistic assimilation is the result of a "murder" or "suicide." In other words, is it the result of determinism or free will? After reviewing these two proposals, we develop an alternative theory and present a conceptual model for language planning for the language revitalization of the Francophone and Acadian communities. Third, we specify the roles that education and family play with respect to language revitalization. We comment on the conceptual model used to collect and interpret our data. Each of the model's components is described; these underlie the results presented in chapter 4.

2.1 Ethnolinguistic vitality: a determining factor

Group isolation during human evolution contributed to the emergence of a considerable number of languages. Over time, contact between language groups led to intergroup relationships of power, while enabling these languages to evolve (Calvet, 1999b). Numerous language minorities became assimilated into the dominant language groups. The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality was developed with two goals in mind: to specify the nature of these relationships of power and to define the conditions needed to ensure the vitality of the language groups.

2.1.1 What is ethnolinguistic vitality?

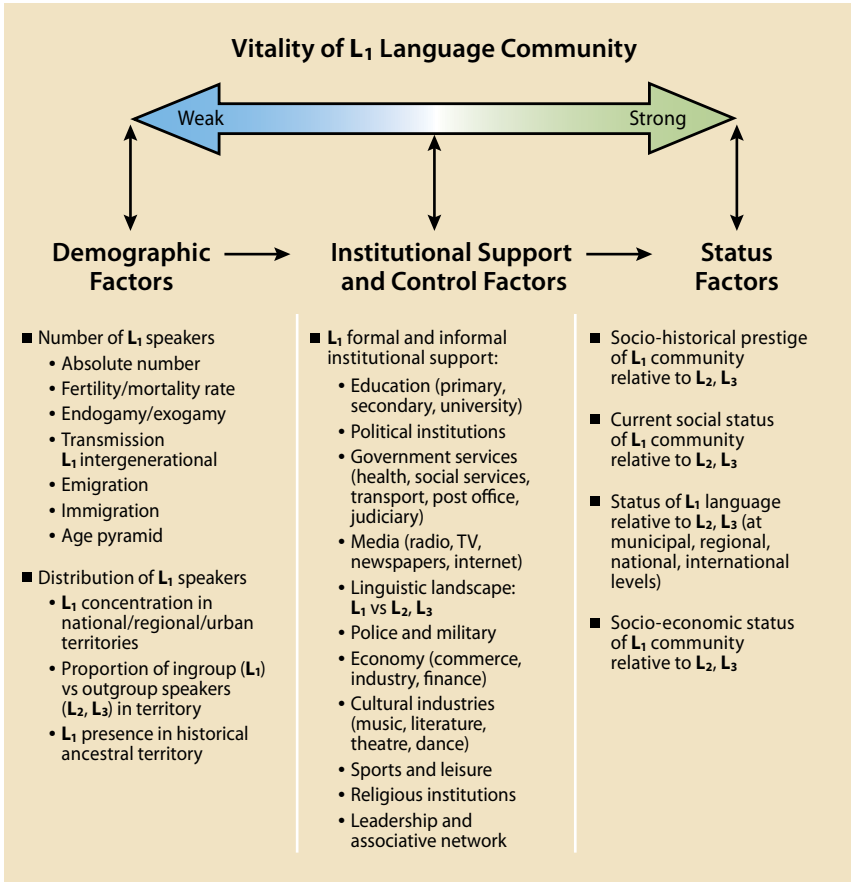
For Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), ethnolinguistic vitality consists of structural factors that facilitate the development and survival of a

language group as a distinct and active entity in an intergroup situation. The more these structural factors encourage the use of a group's language, the higher the chances that the members of the group will use their language within society, and the lower the chances that the members of the group will permanently adopt the language of an outgroup (an external group). According to them, the structural factors form three categories: demographic factors, institutional support and control factors, and status variables. (Refer to figure 2.1) (Bourhis and Lepicq, 2004).

Demographic factors are associated with the number of group members and their distribution over a territory—municipality, region

Figure 2.1

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Factors (Bourhis and Lepicq, 2004)



or province. The larger and more concentrated the number of members over a territory, the more they represent a high proportion of the population living in that territory, and the higher the group vitality.

Other examples of demographic variables: the number of children per family (fertility rate), the number of people living in exogamous families (marriages between members of different language or cultural groups), the number of people who leave the territory to go live elsewhere (emigration) and the number of people who speak the group's language and who come from elsewhere to live in the territory (immigration). When the territory inhabited by a majority of the group's members is a politically constituted entity, such as a municipality or province, the situation fosters the group's vitality since it ensures the group can manage certain elements of its community life. Thus, Quebec Francophones, who are a majority in their territory, were able to urge lawmakers to enact laws, such as Bill 101, and to adopt language policies to stimulate the vitality of the French language province-wide (Bouchard and Bourhis, 2002; Corbeil, 2007).

Institutional support and control factors are related to the presence of the group's representatives within society's political, economic and cultural institutions, their control over those institutions, and their autonomy within them. In 1964 sociologist Raymond Breton stated that the concept of "institutional completeness" was a determining factor for the language and cultural survival of minority groups. When the members of a language minority are autonomous within institutions or are sufficiently represented for their language to be recognized and used, their group's vitality is higher. Areas with institutional use of a language include government services, public administration, corporations and industries, businesses and financial institutions, public and commercial posters, print and electronic media, educational institutions, daycares and care homes. In brief, the more widespread the use of the language of a minority in a variety of institutional contexts, the more its members will view their language as legitimate and socially recognized and, therefore, the more willing they will be to speak it.

Giles *et al.* (1977) also give priority to group status. Language status is high when it is promoted for various functions. French once had a long-standing status as the favoured language in diplomacy. It is still a language that is used internationally and even an official

language in several countries. A language can also be associated with social or economic prestige. For example, if the speakers of a language hold key positions or certain social power, or if they are rich and control the economy, the group's language will have greater value and be spoken more. In Quebec, and in particular in Montreal, English had a superior status to French for many years because economic life was controlled mostly by the Anglophone minority (Bourhis and Lepicq, 2004).

The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality is not the only concept to explain why languages are maintained in intergroup relationships. Allardt (1984) drew attention to the importance of "social organization" to provide the conditions for defining a linguistic minority: a different language, common ancestors and distinct cultural features. Fishman (1989, 1991 and 2001) advanced the notion of "community life" as a minimum condition for a group's historic continuity. Without a community life, intergenerational language transfer cannot go on for long. The language spoken in the family and in daily life, what Fishman calls the "home – family – neighbourhood - community nexus," is, he believes, of crucial importance. The concept of "social space" was also proposed to better illustrate community dynamics within networks or institutions (Gilbert, 1999a, 1999b; O'Keefe, 2001; Stebbins, 2001). Bourdieu (1982, 2001) looked at the issue of a language's legitimacy with respect to capital. A legitimate language is one that has the most value in the "language market" and the holders of that language acquire linguistic "capital." Finally, the concept of cultural autonomy that we put forward in the first chapter is inspired by many of these constructs and is a dynamic way of considering the elements of ethnolinguistic vitality within the framework of a societal project that a language group may wish to develop (Landry, 2008a; Bourhis and Landry, 2008).

The notion of diglossia has also been widely used to study relationships between language groups (Fishman, 1965 and 1967; Boyer, 2001; Boyer and de Pietro, 2002; Jardel, 1982; Laforge and Péronnet, 1989; Landry and Allard, 1994a). It extends from a relationship between an upper language and a lower language, or between a dominating group and a dominated group. The upper language, the language of prestige and social mobility, is spoken at official functions. As a public

language, it dominates intergroup relationships. For example, even in a large group, the presence of a single member from the dominating group is often enough to impose the use of the upper language. That is why the language of the dominating group may be defined as a "language of status" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006).

A minority group's language is often a lower language, a language used for intragroup contact and in private and informal areas. Used in private and in intragroup social settings, it remains, nonetheless, a language of "solidarity." However, in a very small minority context, even its use in contexts of solidarity risks being threatened. Phenomena such as exogamy and urbanization encourage the use of the majority language in private. The Francophone-Anglophone or Francophone-Allophone exogamous family outside Quebec tends to be Anglo-dominant (Landry, 2003a and 2006; Marmen and Corbeil, 2004) and urban environments in particular are Anglo-dominant (Beaudin, 1999; Beaudin and Landry, 2003; Castonguay, 2005; Gilbert and Langlois, 2006), which fosters, for example, the use of English among family and friends (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009a).

Prujiner *et al.* (1984) have proposed to combine the notions of language capital put forward by Bourdieu (1982) and those of ethnolinguistic vitality suggested by Giles *et al.* (1977) to define four areas of language capital: demographic, political, economic and cultural. The demographic capital includes the same variables as those described by Giles *et al.* (1977) (refer to figure 2.1). Included in political capital are language rights, government services, public service language, the hierarchical power of the group within the public service, elected government officials and the group's lobbying power. Economic capital refers to the control of corporations, industries and businesses, the language of work and trade, of the financial institutions and businesses. The cultural capital includes educational institutions, the media and all institutions and cultural activities.

The elements of these four types of language capital and their interactions make up the group's ethnolinguistic vitality. Landry and Allard (1990) included this concept of ethnolinguistic vitality in their additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism model according to which the four types of language capital have vast influence over

the possibilities for socialization in the group's language and culture. Therefore, the possibilities of being schooled in a language depend on the presence of educational institutions. Also, the language the members of the group use in community institutions depends on the group's language capital in those institutions. The social networks of the group's members depend on demographic variables (for example, geographic concentration and exogamy). Geographic density influences the frequency of contact with members of the ingroup and outgroup: when it is low, neighbours and friends can be mostly members of the majority group. It bears repeating that exogamy, which is quite frequent when members of the ingroup are few and far between, results in "solidarity" ties (family and friends) occurring as much if not more often in the outgroup's language.

In turn, according to the Landry and Allard (1990) conceptual model, language socialization determines the psycholinguistic development of the group's members, including linguistic competence, ethnolinguistic identity, the desire to become part of the community, perceptions of the group's vitality and language behaviours. With respect to language and culture, people become what they experience (Landry and Allard, 1996). The relationships between the ethnolinguistic vitality of communities, language and cultural socialization (language experiences) and psycholinguistic development exert such an overwhelming force that describing them as a form of social determinism is no exaggeration. In other words, the degree and type of bilingualism are more greatly associated with the place of residence and ethnolinguistic vitality of the group than with individual characteristics (Landry and Allard, 1992).

Bilingualism is said to be additive when contact with a second language is not detrimental to learning and maintaining the first language. This is the case, among others, when Anglophones in Canada enrol in French immersion school programs (Swain and Lapkin, 1982, 1991; Genesee, 1987, 1998). However, in a minority context, bilingualism is often the subtractive type. Learning the second language occurs at the detriment of the development and maintenance of the first language (Lambert, 1975).

In light of these concepts and given the importance of language socialization in developing additive bilingualism, we are able to define

ethnolinguistic vitality as all the demographic, institutional and community resources made available to a language group to ensure the language and cultural socialization of the group's members in its language. We highlighted this in the first chapter. The variables of linguistic vitality may also be conceptualized in other ways and treated as the elements of a cultural autonomy project. However, the political project of cultural autonomy emphasizes the collective players of a minority. We focus here on the link between community vitality and socialization in individuals who are members of the community. Emphasis is therefore placed in our conceptual framework on the actions of individual players. And we focus in particular, in this study, on the influence of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Francophone communities on the psycholinguistic development of students at the end of high school in the schools of those communities.

2.1.2 Social determinism: ethnolinguistic vitality and the Frenchness of young Francophones

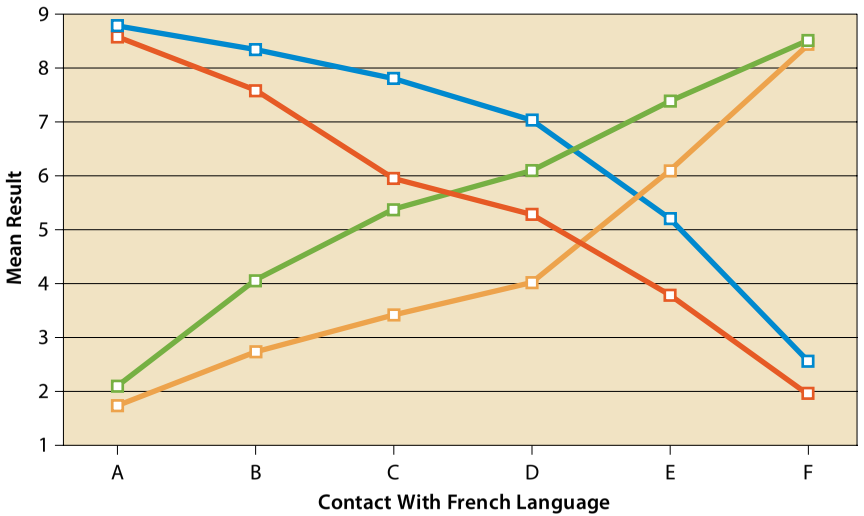
If a language group's vitality can have socially determining effects on the psycholinguistic development of a group's members, then what about the Frenchness of young Francophones living in a minority setting? In other words, is their Francophone psycholinguistic development strongly linked to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Francophone communities? The following three examples of social determinism are taken from research done on young Francophones.

2.1.2.1 Language behaviour

In order to ascertain the effects of ethnolinguistic vitality on Francophone psycholinguistic development, the results from several Francophone groups placed on a continuum of ethnolinguistic vitality must be compared. The example given in figure 2.2 (from Landry, 1995) contains the results of measurements taken on young high school graduates of how frequently they use English and French within the family (i.e., with family members) than in other social domains. The scores obtained were grouped according to the degree of vitality of the Francophone communities. The results are based on data gathered in several Canadian provinces and in the State of Maine in the USA. The continuum of ethnolinguistic vitality includes six levels, ranging

Figure 2.2

Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Language Behaviour



Use of French with family members

Use of English with family members

Use of French in other domains

Use of English in other domains

A = Very high francophone vitality
B = High francophone vitality
C = Moderately high francophone vitality
D = Moderate francophone vitality
E = Low francophone vitality
F = Very low francophone vitality

1 = Never
3 = Rarely
5 = From time to time
7 = Often
9 = Always

Source: Adapted from Landry, 1995.

from very high Francophone vitality (in Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec) to very low Francophone vitality (in Maine). The scores are distributed along a nine-point Likert scale (1 = never, 3 = rarely, 5 = sometimes, 7 = often, 9 = always). Figure 2.2 indicates that the frequency of use of the English and French languages is strongly related to the vitality of the Francophone community. In a situation where Francophone vitality is very high, French is practically always used with both family members and in other social settings. When Francophone vitality is low, youths almost never use French and almost always use English. It should be pointed out that, except for the two groups located at the two ends of the continuum, French is spoken much more within the family than in other social settings. However, even with respect to the use of French with family members, the effect of the community vitality of French remains a determining factor (see Landry, 1995; Landry and Allard, 1994a).

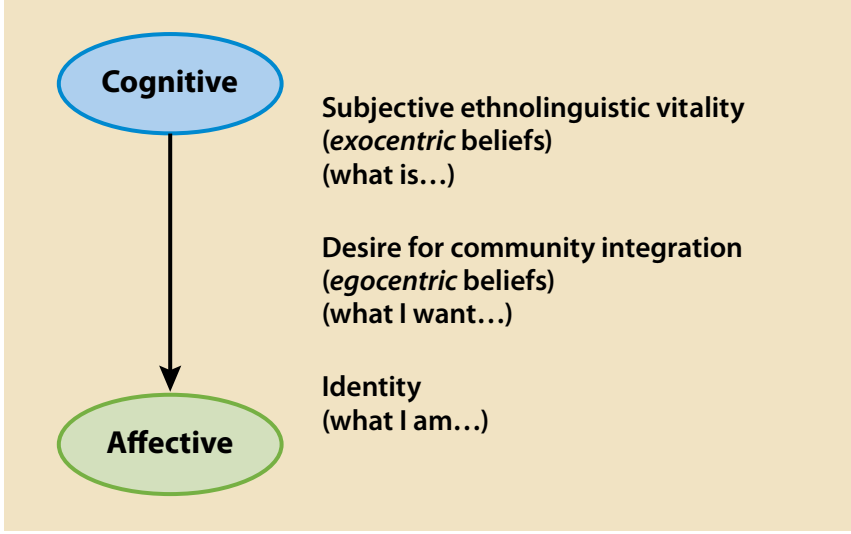
2.1.2.2 Cognitive-affective continuum

The attitudes and feelings group members have toward their language may be placed on a continuum, ranging from the cognitive to the affective (refer to figure 2.3 taken from Landry and Rousselle, 2003). Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is placed on the cognitive level, i.e., statements about the group's status (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981) or beliefs about their group's vitality (Allard and Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994). These statements are above all cognitive in that they are made in relation to "what is." They are exocentric beliefs, i.e. perceptions of realities external to a person (for example, the proportion of Francophones in the region, government services in the group's language, as well as the dominant language in industry and trade).

The desire for community integration appears on a second level of the continuum. This level deals with egocentric beliefs (Allard and Landry, 1992) that reflect the person's beliefs regarding their personal dispositions and that express their goals, wishes or desires concerning their belonging to, or participating in, an ethnolinguistic community (the "what I want"). These beliefs comprise both affective and cognitive elements.

Figure 2.3

Social Comparisons and the Cognitive-Affective Continuum: Cognitive-Affective Disposition (Landry and Rousselle, 2003)



Ethnolinguistic identity is found at the affective end of the continuum (the "what I am"). This identity is based on contacts or experiences of solidarity with members of one's group and translates into bonds and a sense of belonging to the ingroup. It has been proposed that this more affective component of the continuum is less influenced by differences in ethnolinguistic vitality than subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, with the desire for integration being an intermediate factor in this respect (Allard and Landry, 1994; Landry, 2003b). Nevertheless, even identity may be highly dependent on the vitality of the language groups.

Table 2.1 (taken from Landry, 2003b) sets out the mean scores obtained for each component on the continuum of the cognitive-affective disposition towards the ingroup. As is the case above (figure 2.2), the data was collected from among Francophone high school students in their final year in school. These students come from five municipalities or regions that constitute a continuum of ethnolinguistic vitality ranging from very high (in Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec) to very low (in Louisiana, USA). The scores are distributed over a nine-point

Table 2.1

Mean scores[1] on the continuum of cognitive-affective disposition towards the Francophone community based on the group's ethnolinguistic vitality (taken from Landry, 2003b)

	Ethnolinguistic Vitality[2]				
Variable	**Very high**	**High**	**Moderate**	**Low**	**Very low**
a) Subjective Francophone vitality	7.05	5.50	4.97	3.88	3.06
	Total variance explained = 83.9 %				
b) Desire to integrate into the Francophone community	6.71	5.75	5.52	4.52	2.41
	Total variance explained = 67,0 %				
c) Francophone identity	8.73	8.40	7.63	6.75	3.65
	Total variance explained = 63.9 %				

1. 9-point scale: 1 = Pre-dominantly English-speaking; 5 = Equality; 9 = Pre-dominantly French-speaking

2. Very high = Rivière-du-Loup, Québec
   High = Edmundston, New Brunswick
   Moderate = Bouctouche, New Brunswick
   Weak = Cornwall, Ontario
   Very weak = Louisiana, United States

scale and combine dispositions or attitudes towards the Francophone community and dispositions or attitudes towards the Anglophone community. A score of one indicates a completely Anglo-dominant inclination, a score of 5, equal scores with respect to each community, and a score of 9, a completely Franco-dominant inclination. As shown in table 2.1, the scores for each component (subjective vitality, desire for integration and identity) decrease based on the drop in the ethnolinguistic vitality of the communities.

As anticipated, the relationship between community vitality and scores is strong for the more cognitive component (84% of explained variance) than for the more affective component (64% of explained variance) of the continuum. The explained variance for scores relative to the desire for integration (67%), while located between the two poles, is much closer to the explained variance of the identity scores

than to that dealing with subjective vitality. According to these results, it remains that, even for the affective component of the continuum, ethnolinguistic vitality has, in our opinion, a decisive influence. These scores unquestionably reflect a progressive erosion in ethnolinguistic identity because of its strong association with decreasing community vitality.

2.1.2.3 Bilingual Identity

In a review of research dedicated to the ethnolinguistic identity of Francophones, Dallaire and Roma (2003) conclude: "The common finding among the studies examining how youths describe themselves is their insistence on their bilingualism when describing themselves."

Diane Gérin-Lajoie (2003 and 2004) likens the bilingual identity to "a new identity status." Dallaire and Roma (2003) propose the concept of a hybrid identity to better understand the formation of the bilingual identity and summarize as follows their review of the literature on "the identity that youths demand."

Besides the nuances and additional analyses between studies on feelings of relatedness among youths, there is no denying that these youths identify with their bilingualism and their biculturalism or multiculturalism, without, however, refuting their Frenchness.

Very few of the research studies reviewed by Dallaire and Roma compared groups on a continuum of ethnolinguistic vitality. Most of them analyzed the identity of youths in regions with low Francophone vitality. They note intragroup variations and show, for example, that youths may have a bilingual identity while attaching to it an explicitly Francophone identity. In order to understand the links between community vitality and bilingual identity, it is important that several groups be compared and that the intergroup variations be analyzed on a continuum of vitality. Furthermore, in order to understand the links between youth Frenchness and bilingual identity, scores related to Frenchness (for example, the desire to integrate the Francophone community) should be compared on the basis of an identity continuum.

A study (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006c) undertook these comparisons. We advanced, in the form of a hypothesis, that bilingual identity represents a position on an identity continuum ranging

from strong Francophone identity to strong Anglophone identity, with bilingual identity being the middle ground between these two extremes. A seven-point scale was devised as follows:

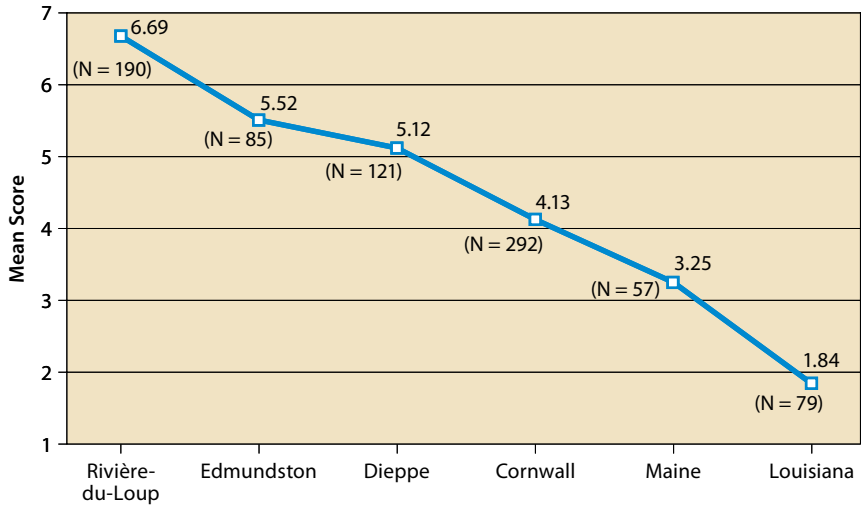
7 = strong Francophone identity/weak bilingual identity
6 = strong Francophone identity/moderate bilingual identity
5 = strong Francophone identity/strong bilingual identity
4 = moderate Francophone identity/strong bilingual identity
3 = weak Francophone identity/strong bilingual identity
2 = strong Anglophone identity/moderate bilingual identity
1 = strong Anglophone identity/weak bilingual identity

Of a total of 3,934 students who provided complete data on the identity variables processed, the continuum includes 92% of them (N = 3,648). The students are high school graduates living in the ten Canadian provinces and in two American states, having French as their mother tongue or at least one parent with French as the mother tongue.

In order to check the state of the relationship between this identity continuum and the vitality of the Francophone communities, we compared the scores of students from six municipalities or regions with decreasing degrees of Francophone vitality, ranging from very high vitality (in Rivière-du-Loup) to very low vitality (in Louisiana). They are indicated in figure 2.4. We see a major drop based on the decreasing vitality of the compared communities, with mean scores varying between 6.69 and 1.84 on the seven-point scale described above. Also, based on a variance analysis, 66% of the score variability is explained by the ethnolinguistic vitality continuum. Other analyses have shown close relationships between the identity continuum scores and those that result from the Frenchness of the youths (for example, oral proficiency in French, the desire for integration into the Francophone community, and several measures of the use of French).

Figure 2.4

Relationship Between Francophone Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Ethnolinguistic Identity



2.2 Linguistic assimilation: "murder" or "suicide?"

The results presented above reveal that there is a direct link between the ethnolinguistic vitality of communities and the linguistic assimilation of Francophones or, at least, a drop in the Frenchness of their behaviours and attitudes. Research studies have nonetheless proposed different theories to explain the phenomenon of linguistic assimilation. Two opposing theories reveal diverging points of view on the causes of this phenomenon among linguistic minorities. We are presenting these theories in their extreme forms to better assert their opposing points of view.

2.2.1 The "suicide" theory

The "suicide" theory refers to the position wherein linguistic assimilation is the result of free choice. Members of minority language groups decide that it is better for them or their children to adopt the language of the majority group. According to Edwards (1985), members of minority groups become assimilated above all for economic or social reasons. Their choice is free and voluntary. In a subsequent publication (Edwards, 1989), he deems that linguistic minorities must have the

right to maintain their language and culture, but that this is a private matter. In other words, governments must not intervene to facilitate the maintenance of the minority languages and cultures. Group members are free to use their language, but cannot expect assistance in the form of government intervention.

2.2.2 The "murder" theory

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) puts forth an opposing theory. According to her, numerous linguistic minorities are forced to abandon their language and culture following abusive power or marked indifference on the part of dominant groups. She mentions numerous situations in the world where minorities are deprived of fundamental language rights, including the right to education. Of over 6,000 languages, fewer than one hundred have official language status and several are now spoken by very small populations. She establishes parallel associations between the drop in the planet's biodiversity and the losses noticed in global language and cultural diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002). Whether these losses are associated with oppressive measures or inaction of governments, they still constitute, in her opinion, a certain form of linguistic and cultural genocide.

2.2.3 An alternative theory

Highlighting two contradictory theories is useful in explaining a phenomenon since, in doing so, one notices that the explanations are not all found on either side of the dichotomy. Social realities such as linguistic assimilation are complex and have multiple causes. Furthermore, in order to be relatively complete, an explanation for a phenomenon as complex as linguistic assimilation must be based on opposing forces, some of them voluntary choices (the "suicide" theory), others oppressive measures and acts of indifference on the part of the public authorities (the "murder" theory).

In order to conceptualize the parameters for language maintenance or loss, we have proposed a macroscopic model to be used not only as a means for grouping together multiple factors associated with linguistic assimilation, but also as a tool for language planning with respect to linguistic community revitalization. French biologist Joël de Rosnay (1975) explains that the macroscope is a conceptual tool for

understanding a phenomenon as a complex whole. It can be expanded to include all of the components in interaction or focussed on a more limited set of elements. This makes it possible to visualize the whole and its parts, and to understand how the parts interact. All conceptual macroscopic models must, therefore, show the dynamics of the phenomenon studied as a whole, without failing to understand how the parts that make up this complex reality interact. Ideally, the goal is to understand a system or a whole comprised of parts and to find the reciprocal relationships involved. One must be able to conceptualize the whole and its parts, while still being able to focus attention on one part without overlooking the role it plays in the phenomenon considered as a whole.

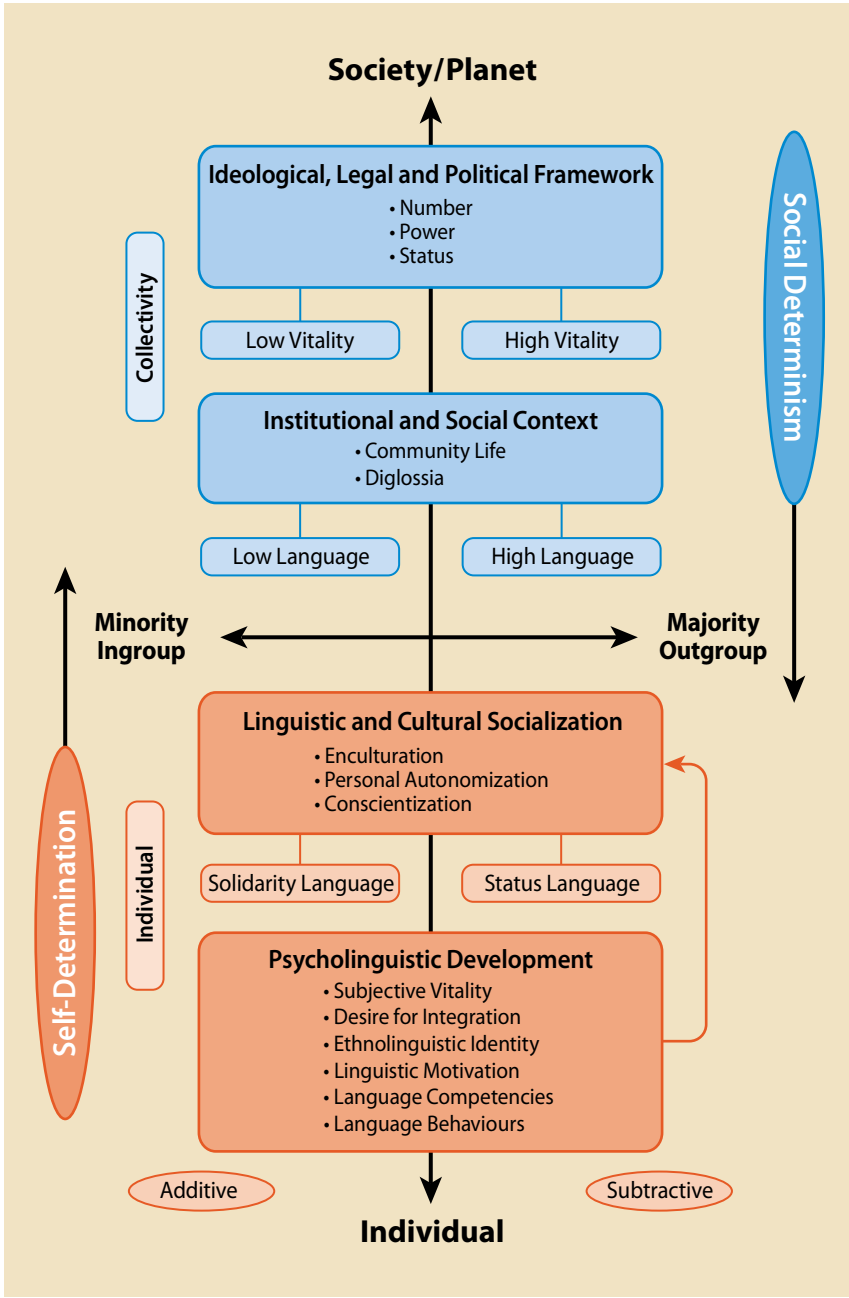
Of course, this conceptual macroscopic model does not explain or include the entire phenomenon studied, but it does shed light on its global and complex nature. It shows that many factors contribute to linguistic assimilation and that any attempt at revitalization must take into account all the interacting components.

The macroscopic model presented in figure 2.5 (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007a, 2008) offers an intergroup perspective (horizontal axis). This is the relationship between a minority group, the ingroup, since it is its perspective we are analyzing, and a majority group, the outgroup. The vertical axis of the model relates to a relationship of force between the minority ingroup and the majority outgroup along a continuum running from the "society/planet" pole to the "individual" pole. For international languages such as English and French, there is no exaggeration in speaking of a global relationship of force. One needs just consider the relationships of power within multinational organizations such as the Council of Europe, the World Trade Organization or the United Nations. In our research, we focus on relationships of force between English and French within Canadian society, in particular as concerns the Francophone minority.

Explaining the theoretical model and all of its many features here would be irrelevant. Merely mentioning the premises and principles on which the model is based is sufficient to specify the nature of the roles of school and family in a global and integrated plan for the language revitalization of the Francophone and Acadian communities (for more

Figure 2.5

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



exhaustive descriptions see Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006, 2007a and 2008; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006a). The model shows that relationships of force between the minority ingroup and the majority outgroup are established on different levels that range from the macrosocial and the microsocial to the psychological.

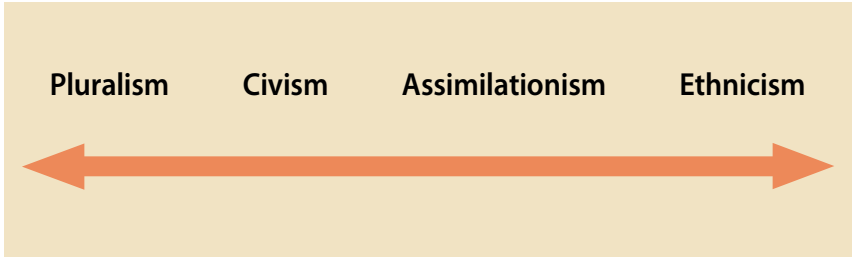
2.2.4 Overview of principles governing language revitalization

a) Based on their ideological orientation with respect to minorities and their recognized language rights, states may help minorities acquire a real "institutional completeness" which makes it possible for them to develop a stronger "community life."

As we mentioned in the first chapter, linguistic minorities need social spaces and institutions in order to provide their members with a community life that goes beyond the private realm. Government assistance is needed to legitimize their control of their relative "institutional completeness." This support takes place at the topmost macrosocial level of the macroscopic model (figure 2.5), i.e., within an "ideological, legal and political framework." It is ideology that inspires the decisions of governments regarding support for minorities, and it is also the legal context of languages (for example, their recognized status and collective rights) and the language policies implemented (e.g., government programs). Bourhis (2001) places on an ideological continuum ranging from pluralism to ethnicism four state positions concerning the support offered to linguistic minorities (see figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6

Continuum of State Ideological Orientations in Relation to Languages (adapted from Bourhis, 2001)



Pluralism is characterized by an explicit recognition of linguistic minorities and by the high value given to them, which translate into an active role by the state in the support of their development and fulfillment.

A state whose dominant ideology is *civic* may grant some recognition to its linguistic minorities by abstaining from adopting oppressive measures towards them or by tolerating them on its territory, but it generally considers their development and fulfillment to be a private matter and, therefore, their own initiative to take. Only the language(s) recognized by the state as being official receive formal support.

The goal of *assimilationism* is to ensure the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minorities. The language policies in force may be somewhat oppressive, but they often hide behind the convenient pretext that assimilation into the dominant language fosters greater social cohesion and more harmonious integration into society.

Ethnicism encourages different ways of rejecting a minority group (even a group that is demographically more numerous, but with a weak status). Its goal is to widen the social distance that separates the minority group from the dominant group. In its extreme forms, it risks leading to outright genocide.

The implementation of language policies does not depend solely on the state's ideological positions. As shown in figure 2.5, support from governments may depend on structural variables such as number, power and status (the three variables underlying the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality described above). The stronger a group demographically, the more economic and political influence it has, the higher its language status, and the better the chances of the group receiving legal and political support from the public authority. In Canada, the federal government secures the rights of Francophones by virtue of the status of French as an official language: see the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982,* and the *Official Languages Act, 1988* (amended in 2005). These rights are limited to areas falling under federal jurisdiction and have little influence over Canadians' language experiences (Landry, 2008b); however, an extension of the rights offered by the Charter is the education rights provided by section 23. As mentioned in the first chapter, rights and policies falling under provincial and territorial jurisdiction have been added to these

rights (Bourgeois, *et al*., 2006), but all of these federal and provincial rights are far from covering all language fields. The language experience contexts also depend on demographic factors and areas of extra-governmental jurisdiction.

b) The institutions and networks that contribute to the group's institutional completeness and community life enable it to acquire "social spaces" in which its members develop "language and cultural socialization" in their language.

This principle highlights the relationship between the second macrosocial level of the model (the "institutional and social context") and the microsocial level, i.e., the language experiences of the members of the group or the degree and quality of socialization in the group's language and culture (see figure 2.5). In other words, the more successful the group is in acquiring "institutional completeness," the higher the chances for its members to live and be socialized in the minority group's language outside the family and private social networks. Institutions and social spaces enable the group to take part in community life, thereby allowing members to mingle in social networks and institutional contexts. Without institutional completeness, diglossia risks setting in: the minority language risks becoming a "low language," confined to private gatherings and informal social functions.

c) Different aspects of "language and cultural socialization" produce specific effects on the components of psycholinguistic development.

This principle combines the microsocial and psycholinguistic levels of the model. Certain aspects of language and cultural socialization may have a greater influence than others on the psycholinguistic development of the group's members. These special contributions from different aspects of ethnolinguistic socialization are examined in the following section, which contains a model that illustrates the roles of three types of language experiences: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization. It is the effects of these three types of language experiences that we measure in our research.

Psycholinguistic development is the result of language and cultural socialization. It is what the group's members become as a result of their socialization and corresponds to their linguistic competence, ethnolinguistic identity, attitudes, motivations and language behaviours.

d) Social determinism is fostered by the absence of critical consciousness of the factors that determine the group's status, the status of its language and language behaviours, while self-determination is fostered by the development of this critical consciousness of the factors associated with the group's vitality and members' living conditions.

This principle highlights the existence of a dialectic relationship between social determinism and self-determination. Language behaviours may be determined by experience with social conditions (see section 2.1.2), but awareness of these conditions enables individuals to make personal choices, change their behaviours, and sometimes even transform some of these conditions.

The theoretical model recognizes that social structures and language experience conditions impose language behaviour standards on the members of a language minority. This social determinism was clearly illustrated in the above research examples (figure 2.2, table 2.1 and figure 2.4). The model proposes that this social determinism is fostered by the absence of a group consciousness among individuals, which is akin to a certain "social naivety." The expression "social naivety" connotes the tendency of many members of a minority group to be unaware of the strong social determinism influencing their behaviours or of the collective consequences of individualistic behaviours. For example, although French is an official language in Canada, some Francophones do not ask for government services in their language, and even find no need to do so. They explain this behaviour by the fact that they are bilingual, without considering that if every bilingual Francophone adopts this reasoning, there would be no need for French in government services, stores and the media. In other words, they are unaware of the collective consequences of their individual actions. Other forms of social naiveté appear when Francophone minority parents feel that the "50/50" school programs (half the program is taught in French and the other half in English) are preferable to other programs to foster their child's bilingualism (Landry and Allard, 1994b,

1997 and 2000; Deveau, Clarke and Landry, 2004; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2006a) or fail to promote the use of French at home, leaving the school on its own to counterbalance the social dominance of the English language. Of course, some people may be fully aware of the consequences of their language behaviours yet be resigned or deliberately choose to use the dominant language.

In contrast, the model proposes that, in the event that language and cultural socialization foster autonomy (through personal autonomization) and make people aware of their rights and responsibilities as members of a minority language group (through social conscientization), and in the event that the group as a "community" takes charge of its destiny by managing its institutions and social spaces, both the individual and the group acquire a greater capacity for self-determination and for neutralizing the effects of social determinism. Social conscientization encourages the transformation of social determinism into "reciprocal determinism" (Bandura, 1976 and 1978). Once aware of the social conditions that shape their behaviours, the individuals and the group are better able to adapt their behaviours and act on their environment. Self-determination becomes a collective effort (see figure 2.5) when the group as a community takes charge of the creation and maintenance of its institutions and changes its social conditions. This control over its group destiny may manifest itself in different degrees and forms of cultural autonomy (see chapter 1). In the third section of this chapter, we examine the roles of language experiences that foster individual autonomy and the development of group consciousness.

e) The more synergetic and integrated the state's interventions in an overall and coherent plan, the better the chances for successful ethnolinguistic revitalization.

According to the fifth principle of the macroscopic model, language assimilation is considered as stemming from both social determinism and autonomous choices. It can be fostered by oppressive measures or the lack of government support, but it is also caused by individual choices and inaction or indifference on the part of the minority group. On the other hand, as shown in the model in figure 2.5 (the downward arrow on the right and the upward arrow on the left), language

revitalization may be fostered by "positive" social determinism, i.e., social structures and resources that encourage the use of the minority language and through measures favouring self-determination. Support from governments and social structures, combined with the minority group taking collective charge over its destiny, optimize the chances for success, especially if these measures are part of a global and integrated plan, and complement each other by converging towards the same goal (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b; Landry, 2008a).

f) Only the language policies and interventions that influence the language and cultural experience of the members of the group can produce a lasting effect on the group's ethnolinguistic vitality.

The macroscopic model proposes that the psycholinguistic development of the members of a language minority is associated with their language and cultural socialization in the group's language. In the words of the late Roger Bernard: "We are not born Francophone or Anglophone. We become it." Psycholinguistic development is the result of the quantity and quality of language experiences. This leads to the reasoning that government or community interventions that have no effect, even when indirect, on the experiences of members of the minority group will have very little impact on the community revitalization or language development of the members. Two living environments that have a decisive impact on the psycholinguistic development of children are the family and school, to which the effects of the socio-institutional environment can be added (Landry and Allard, 1990, 1997).

The third and last part of this chapter discusses the conceptual framework that guided us and focuses thought on the decisive impact of language and cultural socialization. While highlighting the effects of the three types of language experiences, the conceptual model emphasizes the roles of education and family on the language revitalization of Francophone and Acadian communities. It is the components of this model that have been researched and whose results are presented in this study.

2.3 Language revitalization: the roles of education and the family

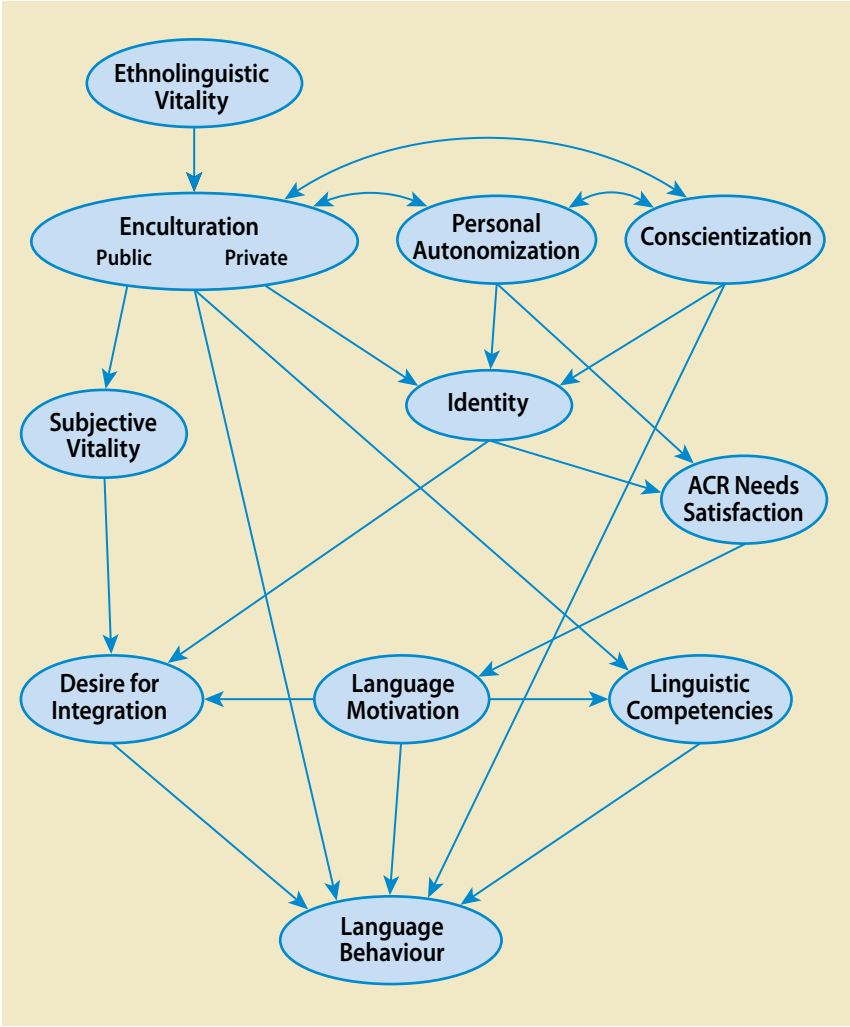
A theoretical model was designed to empirically analyze the aspects of language socialization that may contribute to the self-determination of language behaviours and to a stronger sense of community among members of a minority group. It is a model of self-determined and conscious language behaviour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

This model (refer to figure 2.7) 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 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).

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 and Bourricaud, 1982). 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 standards, 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, beings with intentions and capable of reasoning who can act and adapt to changing situations while capable of critical thought and creativity. In our model, we acknowledge the possible 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 or of autonomous and deliberate choice. Enculturation, especially when the person is not quite aware of it, is subject to the first paradigm. Personal autonomization and social conscientization fall more under the second paradigm.

Figure 2.7

The self-determination and ethnolinguistic development model (Landry, Allard, Deveau and Bourgeois, 2005; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007a)



Before describing each component, we will provide a brief overview of the model as a whole. As shown in figure 2.7 and as fully stated in the first part of this chapter, the model advocates a strong relationship between the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Francophone communities and Francophone enculturation. As we specify below, language

enculturation is much more closely related to the amount of contact with each language. Moreover, the more qualitative aspects of the language experience (personal autonomization and social conscientization) are much more closely related to an awareness of the conditions of one's existence and make the person more autonomous and aware of their language experiences. If the language group's vitality can be associated with these two 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 that link the three experiences in figure 2.7.

2.3.1 A conceptual model: the three ethnolinguistic experiences

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 language experiences 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. Francophone enculturation in the public domain (institutions and the linguistic landscape) fosters subjective Francophone ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e., the perceptions of the status or vitality of French in theregion 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 ingroup and use the community language resources (the desire for integration). These hypotheses are empirically supported in a study (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b).

The desire to integrate the Francophone 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 Francophone identity. The theory of self-determination (Deci and Ryan, 1985, 2000 and 2002) states that these three fundamental feelings contribute to

the development of inner-regulated motivation, i.e., self-determined and built into the individual's personal values (refer to sections 2.3.1.2, 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 Francophone 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 French in their community, the internal motivation to speak French and a strong proficiency in this, will, as a general rule, be willing to speak French 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 2.7, the direct downward arrows between these two language experiences and behaviours). 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 language.[9] Even within the home, situations like exogamy produce restrictions on 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 awareness-raising language experience, i.e. social conscientization (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2005; Landry, Allard, Deveau and Bourgeois, 2005). A minimum of social conscientization is necessary to make people aware of the importance of or necessity for certain types of behaviours.

Finally, linguistic competencies are above all subject to enculturation, i.e., to the degree of contact with the language since childhood.

9. A recent study (Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2010) 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.

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 and 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 and Clément, 1998).

All of the model's components must be explained in detail for full understanding of their respective roles in the psycholinguistic development of students. 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 depth in the first section of this chapter. Our initial hypothesis is therefore that this vitality influences above all enculturation, i.e., the amount of contact with and experiences in each language.

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, i.e., 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, internalizing

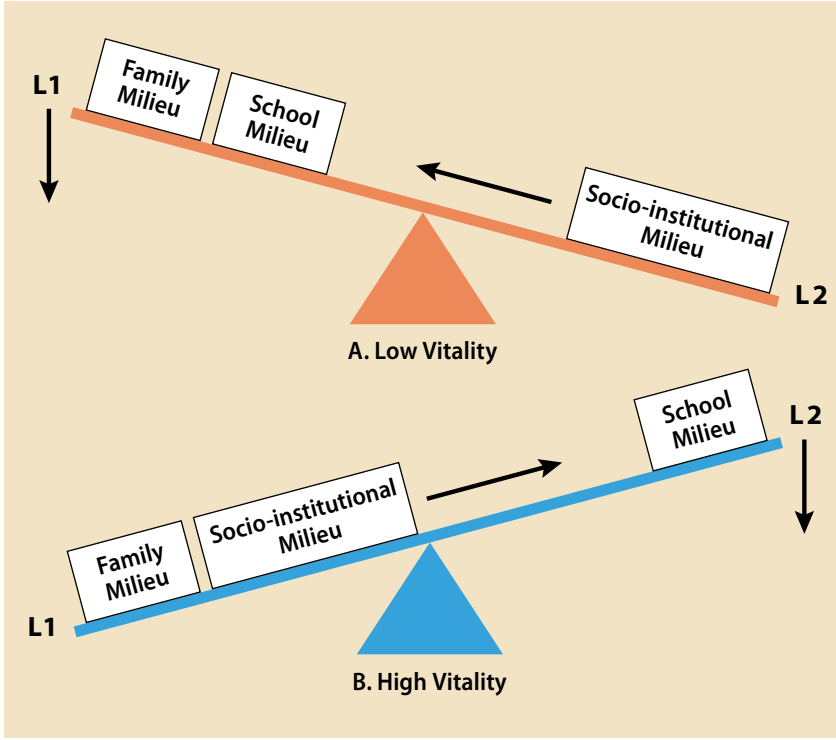
of social norms, and the adoption of the language and cultural values and beliefs of the socializing environment. In a bilingual or multigroup context, language contacts may foster differentiated learning of languages and the adoption of cultural traits based on the relative dominance of the contacts 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 and Allard 1994b and 1996; Landry and Bourhis, 1997). We describe the nature of those effects in section 2.3.2.

One of the fundamental questions we must once again 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 and 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 2.8), two conditions may contribute to the additive bilingualism of Francophones living in a minority context. The first condition is vast use of French within the family and French schooling, which partially counterbalances the effects of the Anglo-dominant socioinstitutional environment (downward arrow, top part of figure 2.8). As mentioned in chapter 1, a study has shown that children from exogamous families (in this case, a Francophone parent and an Anglophone parent) who spoke French with the Francophone parent and went to a French school, obtained, in grade 12, the same linguistic competence scores in French and the

Figure 2.8
The Counterbalance Model (Landry and Allard, 1990)



same Francophone identity scores as students with two Francophone parents (Landry and Allard, 1997). The study found that exogamy is not a direct cause of language assimilation, the direct cause being the language dynamic chosen by the exogamous family (see also Landry, 2003a and 2006).

The second condition that promotes additive bilingualism is the regular use of French in the socioinstitutional environment (upward arrow, top part of figure 2.8). Opportunities to speak French 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 French language a legitimate status, which encourages youths to want to integrate the Francophone community.

The lower part of figure 2.8 illustrates the conditions for additive bilingualism applicable to groups with a strong ethnolinguistic

vitality (e.g., Anglophones in Canada). For these groups, the stronger the education 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 and Lapkin, 1991) confirm the validity of the first condition established by the model. A study (Saindon, 2002) has shown that the use of French outside the school environment contributes as much as, if not more than, schooling in French to the bilingualism of young Anglophone Canadians.

A simple principle governs all the conditions associated with additive bilingualism, whether among Francophone students living in a minority setting, among students of exogamous families, or among Anglophone students living in a majority setting: priority must be given to learning the language with the lowest community vitality.

2.3.1.2 Personal autonomization

Language contact experiences may vary in both their quality and quantity. While enculturation is defined above all 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 the self-determination theory developed by Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000 and 2002) and 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 the Francophone language experience, we seek to determine the degree of a young person's personal autonomization experiences in French. In other words, have the experiences of living in French helped

youths meet their needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness? According to the conceptual model, the relationship between personal autonomization in French and feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness will be enhanced by building a strong and engaged or committed Francophone identity (Deveau, 2007; Deveau, Allard and Landry, 2008).

Different experiences in learning and using French may be a source of autonomization. Opportunities for choosing different learning activities and for taking part in decision-making help to satisfy the need for autonomy. They develop in people the feeling of being the author of their 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, explanations must be provided for the reasons for and the importance of doing things, positive feedback must be given, encouragement and accolades offered, while fostering positive experiences. The challenges in learning French are a source of autonomization when they set optimal stakes, i.e., neither too easy nor too difficult. Finally, the experience of having warm and accepting relationships in a setting where French is learned and used may be a source of autonomization by developing feelings of affiliation and belonging to the Francophone community.

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. Most of these experiences develop in members of the group an awareness of the personal and collective consequences, whether 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 would contribute directly to the development of a "critical" ethnolinguistic consciousness (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2005) are much rarer. Also, ethnolinguistic conscientization experiences are located on a continuum ranging from mere awareness-raising to critical consciousness.

Ethnolinguistic conscientization is experienced every day, either directly as an actor or indirectly as an observer (see the vicarious learning experiences noted by Bandura, 1976). It may also occur in formal or informal contexts. The following are a few examples.

Members belonging to minority ethnolinguistic groups have positive and negative personal experiences related to the language and culture of their ingroup in their relationships with the majority outgroup. These experiences cause people to be affected by behaviours that reveal negative or positive attitudes towards one's group. Therefore, persons 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 and neighbours, school staff and community leaders, or in the media is also part of ethnolinguistic conscientization. Family members may manifest varying degrees of commitment towards their ingroup. Their commitment may result in behaviours of language and cultural valorization, self-affirmation on the ethnolinguistic level, or recognition and even assertion of their ethnolinguistic group's rights.

Finally, ethnolinguistic experiences occur within the framework of formal education (in institutions with different grade levels) 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 fulfillment of an ethnolinguistic minority's language and culture are just a few examples.

Depending on the contexts where they are experienced and on all the ethnolinguistic experiences of an individual, conscientization experiences contribute to an awareness or critical consciousness of ethnolinguistic issues. This ethnolinguistic consciousness may be "magical," "naive," or "critical" (Allard, Landry and 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 both as powerless and unable 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 globality 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 aimed at hindering the maintenance and fulfillment of an ethnolinguistic minority group. For example, clinging to these myths may lead to behaviours that make achieving education goals in a Francophone minority setting difficult. The belief by certain Francophone parents 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. Other parents make very little effort to encourage socialization in French within the family (by using the media or literacy practices, for example), and seem to think that the French school acting on its own can socialize their children optimally in French. The school's challenge is to ensure students and parents achieve a greater degree of ethnolinguistic consciousness, i.e., 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 1980) and by other researchers, including Shor (1992), Kumashiro (2002) and Ferrer and Allard (2002a and 2002b), who have included aspects of Freire's thoughts in their analyses. We 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) according to an ethnolinguistic minority group's psycholinguistic development and emancipation, we define critical ethnolinguistic consciousness as the ability to determine, observe and analyze, critically, all of the factors that have a favourable or unfavourable influence on language and culture, on the 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 said person can control, and not as fate or destiny.

Along the same line of thought, Shor (1992) as well as 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 awareness, 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. In the last chapter of our study, we discuss, in association with the concept of cultural autonomy, the political dimension of ethnolinguistic conscientization as concerns the society project that the Francophone and Acadian communities might develop for themselves.

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

2.3.2 What happens to youths: 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 ethnolinguistic experience.

2.3.2.1 Ethnolinguistic identity

Ethnolinguistic identity may be defined in light of two interrelated components (Deveau, Landry and 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., as discussed above, 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 Francophone without considering themselves to be like the other members of the group and without feeling a true affective attachment to *Francophonie*. 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 within the group.

Recent studies (Deveau, 2007; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2005; Deveau, Landry and 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 Francophone self-definition (see also Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b). Being in regular contact with the French language in a private setting may help to develop a Francophone self-definition, but it is the autonomization and conscientization qualities of these contacts that appear to contribute most to a strong and engaged or committed Francophone identity.

2.3.2.2 Subjective vitality

As shown in the first part of this chapter dedicated to the conceptual framework of our study, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is the most cognitive component of the cognitive-affective disposition towards each of the linguistic communities (refer to figure 2.3). It refers to perceptions and representations of people with respect to the vitality

of each of the linguistic communities (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981; Allard and Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994). These beliefs are called exocentric because they refer to important realities for the person, but are external to this person. It is first and foremost a look at a linguistic reality, i.e., the linguistic resources or capital the group has: "what is" (Allard and 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 compare 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 the case in particular 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, in particular 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 Francophone youths is an operation that consists in verifying 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 (institutions and commercial and public signs) that best fosters high subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry and Allard, 1994b and 1996; Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b).

2.3.2.3 Desire for integration

Figure 2.3 represents the image of a cognitive-affective continuum that illustrates the disposition shown towards linguistic communities. We have seen that subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is the cognitive pole and ethnolinguistic identity is the affective pole. The desire for integration is the result of 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 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 and Landry, 1986, 1992 and 1994).

Measuring among young Canadians the desire to integrate the Francophone community is tantamount to seeking to determine to what extent they wish to be part of both official language communities. For reasons of status, young Francophones are swayed by the strong social attraction of the English language. They wish, to a certain point, 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, young Francophones may wish to be part of their group, even if French 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 Francophone youths seem to 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 and Allard, 1991 and 1992).

Our previous research 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 and Allard, 1996; Landry and Bourhis, 1997). A recent study (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b) has shown that the desire to integrate the Francophone community is highly associated with the strength of the Francophone identity, but also with beliefs concerning the social status of the French language, i.e., subjective Francophone vitality. In short, as predicted by our theoretical model (figure 2.7), the desire for community integration is the result of the strength of the identity and of the subjective vitality. Simply defining oneself as Francophone is not enough; one must believe that the French language is worth speaking.

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 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 need is not learned, it is innate. It is also not specific to a certain culture, but is instead 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 two separate feelings. The first refers to the need to find fulfillment as a unique person able to take charge of oneself, while the second is more a need to stand out from others.

The need for competence corresponds to the feeling of being able to have an effect on one's environment (White, 1959). The person must feel personally in control of what they do and what happens to them, and that they are "effective," i.e., that 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 and 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 the self-determination theory (Ryan and Deci, 2003), fulfilling fundamental needs in a given social context could even be favourable to identity development.

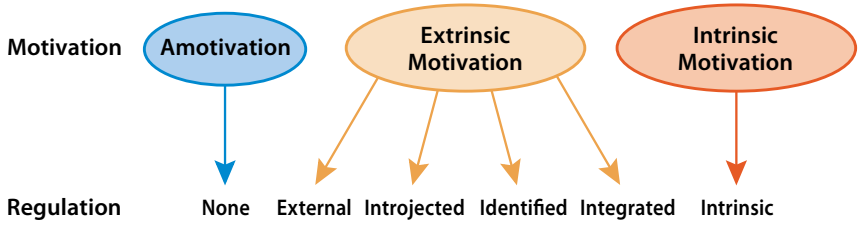
Fulfilling these three needs (see figure 2.7) is associated primarily with personal autonomization. However, we propose that enculturation and social conscientization are also important to their fulfillment. For example, it appears reasonable to state that the frequency of contacts in French reinforces 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 corroborate this by highlighting that the strength of Francophone self-definition is associated with the feeing of relatedness and that that an engaged or committed identity is associated with the degree of fulfillment of the three needs, in particular the need for relatedness (Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2005; Deveau, 2007). Finally, a recent study (Landry, Deveau, Losier and Allard, 2009) shows that the construction of identity in a context of autonomization is not only associated with the fulfillment 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 2.9 presents the six types of motivation listed in self-determination theory (Ryan and Deci, 2000) based on which we define language motivation (see also Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2006b). 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 the left to the right.

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

Figure 2.9
Self-determination Continuum (Ryan and Deci, 2000)



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 French to receive a reward or to avoid punishment. Introjected regulation corresponds to the first phase of the internalization process. A person learns French and speaks it for reasons associated with rewards and internal punishments. For example, actions are performed in order to receive approval or acceptance from a significant third party. Since the behaviour in itself is not always valued, motivation is not self-determined. Avoiding adopting such a behaviour in such a context of motivation may lead a person to feel guilty or ill at ease in relation to a significant third party (who may be a parent or teacher) from which the person seeks approval. When the person is able to internalize the importance of learning and speaking French and attributes it to personal goals, the behaviour becomes identified. The person attributes the reasons for their learning and using French 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 French represents and seek to establish consistency between all of their values and identities. They learn and speak French 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 and Ryan, 2000 and 2002), the conceptual model proposes that internalizing the regulation of language behaviours, like the intrinsic motivation to learn and speak French, is fostered by an autonomy-building Francophone experience 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 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 French 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 and Losier, 2002). Finally, the internalization and integration process of regulation to learn and speak French could also correspond to a greater self-determination of identity building (Deveau, 2007; Deveau and Landry, 2007).

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 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 2.8) according to which schooling done mainly in the language with the lower vitality fosters acquisition of additive bilingualism (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009b).

Our previous studies 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 and Allard, 1996). These competencies also depend on use of the language within the family, in the media and in the social network (Landry and Allard, 1996 and 2000; Landry, Allard and Théberge, 1991). However, in this study, the effects of the degree of schooling in French cannot be analyzed because all the participants, save for a few exceptions, received all of their schooling in French schools administered by Francophone school boards.

2.3.2.7 Language behaviours

The three ethnolinguistic experiences described in section 2.3.1 influence language behaviours. 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, among other things, with 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 and in the linguistic landscape, the more frequently the language will be used. 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 2.5). 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 French with their 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 contribute to both the learning and maintenance of the language and culture, as well as the development of the Francophone 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, both

within the social conscientization of students and in their own engaged ethnolinguistic behaviour, valorization behaviours are on average more frequent than ethnolinguistic affirmation behaviours and 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.

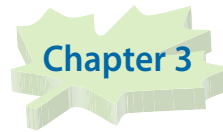
This double consciousness and involvement, or reflection-action process, with respect to language and culture constitutes, to a certain extent, an unending spiral. Autonomous involvement in an awareness-raising activity opens up the door to enriched, more thoughtful and critical awareness capable of 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 a person perceives their group's situation as unfair and unstable (i.e., able to be changed) that

the person feels best able and willing to act to change the conditions of their experiences.

2.4 Summary

These many dimensions of the conceptual framework may be summarized in a few fundamental issues. Many young people grow up in Francophone families and are schooled in French schools while being submerged in an Anglo-dominant social environment. What can the family and school do to neutralize the effects of these Anglo-dominant environments? Research already shows that additive bilingualism is fostered by the extensive use of French in the family and at school. It is as if social determinism is not entirely associated with the dominant language. When the family takes charge of its language dynamics and the school takes charge of its language environment, this leads to a great contribution to an enculturation of "solidarity" that, in addition to influencing linguistic competencies and the desire to integrate the Francophone community, is the very foundation of identity building. School can also be a place of social conscientization that leads educators and students to discuss the personal and collective stakes associated with living in French in a minority context. The goal of our recent research has been to analyze the complementary effects of qualitative dimensions of the language experience that have been little studied to date, namely the effects of personal autonomization and social conscientization, and of better known quantitative dimensions of enculturation. Theoretically, these are fertile concepts. This study provides a descriptive profile of Grade 11 students in French schools in the provinces and territories where Francophones are demographic minorities. The analyses of these variables may be quite pertinent for the development of a pedagogy adapted to Francophone minorities. We will briefly set out and analyze the pedagogical consequences of our research after presenting and examining the results obtained.



Methodology

In this section, 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 8,124 students from Francophone schools in all Canadian provinces where Francophones are a minority, and two territories (Yukon and Northwest Territories) participated in the study, which covered the 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 school years. For the purposes of our report, we only analyzed the results for students in Grade 11 in order to ensure that the regions could be compared. The sample consists of 5,836 students in Grade 11. In small schools, students from Grades 10 and 12 also took part in the study in order to have an optimal number of respondents per school. Since the results presented are only for four major regions of the country (see below), the comparisons are fairer if the students are all enrolled in the same grade.

According to the figures obtained from the school boards, 8,986 students were enrolled in Grade 11 in those schools in 2005-2006. We therefore believe we had a participation rate of about 65% of the target students. These students come from 143 different schools, corresponding to 86% of minority French-language high schools in the country. Thirty of the 31 minority French-language school boards are represented. Only the French-language school board of Nunavut was unable to participate since it had no high school enrolment.

3.2 Measuring instruments

We used a number of measuring instruments, which we will 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 the 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: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization.

3.2.2.1 Enculturation

Language of instruction

In this questionnaire, the students indicated the proportion of education received in English and French for each of the four levels (K to G3, G4 to G6, G7 to G9, and G10 to G12) (1 = All classes in English, to 9 = All classes in French), 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), how many were Francophones and how many were Anglophones, 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 group of people, students then indicated, on a nine-point scale, the degree to which English and French were used with those people (1 = Always English to 9 = Always French). 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 English to always in French. For example, "I was exposed to television programs (shows) from ages 2 to 6" (1 = Always in English to 9 = Always in French).

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 French by people around the student

This questionnaire used 12 questions to measure the extent to which students heard or saw people around them valorizing the French language and culture, affirming their identity or asserting the language rights of the Francophone community. For example, "Since childhood, how often have you heard or seen people around you take part

in demonstrations for French services?" The answer was provided on a frequency scale ranging from 1 = Never to 9 = Very often.

Valorization of French 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 French 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, since childhood, personal experiences that may have made them aware of the situation of the French language and culture in their region. They answered 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 Francophone rights."

3.2.3 Psycholinguistic development

3.2.3.1 Ethnolinguistic identity

The student's ethnolinguistic identity was measured based on two components: self-definition and identity involvement.

Identity

This questionnaire measured the strength of six different self-definitions: Francophone, Anglophone, bilingual, Franco-territorial or Acadian,[10] Quebecois and Canadian. It asked the students to indicate the extent to which each self-definition corresponded to what

10. The version of the questionnaire given in each province and territory contained the corresponding self-definition. The self-definitions measured were Franco-British Colombian, Franco-Albertan, Franco-Saskatchewanian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Yukoner, Franco-People of the North and Franco-Newfoundlander. In the three maritime provinces, we measured Acadian self-definition.

they were on five different levels: 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-Francophone and Francophone). 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-Francophone _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Francophone

Identification with the official-languages communities

This second questionnaire assessed the strength of the person's identity involvement with respect to both official languages 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 Francophone community"), collective self-esteem (e.g., "In general, I feel valued by having a Francophone identity), and affective involvement (e.g., "In general, I am willing to work for the development of the Francophone 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 looked at 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 related 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 = Extremely 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 Francophone community in the region. One statement corresponded to each type of linguistic capital. Students indicated what the Francophone 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 French 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 Francophone 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 French in government services should be… (1 = Non-existent 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 a French culture and language (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 the 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 French, the other in relation to English. 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 Francophones around me (1 = Completely disagree to 9 = Completely agree)."

3.2.3.4 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 French?" This question was followed by 26 reasons for learning and speaking French. 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 French 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 English?" This question was followed by the same 26 reasons as in the previous questionnaire.

3.2.3.5 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.

Cloze test

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 for the standard deviation to be 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 those two 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 French."

The French I speak

Quite often, the regional variety of the French that students speak can be quite different from international French. This questionnaire measured, based on 11 questions, the degree of linguistic insecurity (or linguistic confidence) students felt in relation to that difference. 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."

3.2.3.6 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 English to 9 = Always in French, 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 English to 9 = always in French)."

Your behaviour with respect to the French language and culture

This questionnaire sought to measure to what extent students tend to adopt behaviours that reflect ethnolinguistic involvement. 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 language and culture, identity affirmation and assertion of language and cultural rights. For example, "With friends, underline the importance of speaking French."

3.3 Procedure for administering questionnaires

In the Atlantic provinces and Northwest Territories, the questionnaires were administered by the researchers or their research assistants. In Ontario, each board 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. In the Western provinces and the Yukon, the people in charge of research 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 researchers gave the boards a cover letter for distribution to parents. In it parents were informed that participation in the study was voluntary and that they should contact the school if they did not want their children to participate.

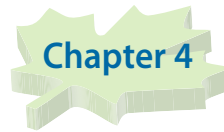
The questionnaires were administered over two days, in two 75-minute periods. The administrators began the first period of testing by reading an introduction to the study to inform students about the anonymous nature of the research and the confidential nature of their answers, as well as about the purposes 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 identity number assigned to the student was placed on each booklet and the tests in order to keep a student's answers to the questionnaires and results on the tests together.

3.4 Statistical analyses

Students were divided into four groups based on their geographical region. Students from New Brunswick and Ontario each form one group. Students from the other three Atlantic provinces form a third group, and the fourth group consists of students from the four Western provinces, the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

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 English, 2 = All in English except one French class; 3 = Most in English, 4 = A little over half in English, 5 = 50/50, 6 = A little over half in French, 7 = Most in French, 8 = All in French except one English class, 9 = All in French) was reduced to 1 = Mostly in English (less than 3.5), 2 = About 50/50 (3.5 to 6.4999) and 3 = Mostly in French (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 Francophone concentration in their region. Francophone concentration percentages were calculated based on Statistics Canada data for the census sub-divisions. Students are divided into six groups: 0-9%, 10-29%, 30-49%, 50-69%, 70-89% and 90-100%.

The data was weighted prior to the analyses based on the number of Grade 11 students in each school at the time of the study in order to ensure the equitable representation of each school and region. 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 the country and to also present the results for all students from all the regions together. The four regions are New Brunswick, the Atlantic provinces (less New Brunswick), Ontario and the Western provinces/northern region, which includes all provinces west of Ontario, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. New Brunswick was separated from the Atlantic provinces due to its special situation: the only bilingual province and the one where the vitality of the French language is highest outside Quebec. Ontario has more than half of the Francophones outside Quebec and is treated separately. An initial report on the data of this study exclusive to Ontario and its different regions has already been prepared (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007). With respect to the Maritimes, Francophones have fairly similar experiences in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Both provinces have Acadian villages where the Francophone population can be relatively concentrated, and urban regions (Halifax and Charlottetown) where Francophones are in smaller and less concentrated proportions. Newfoundland and Labrador is a province with a very small Francophone population and where vitality conditions are fairly different from the other provinces. Nevertheless, due to the very small number of students who participated in the study, they were grouped with those from the Atlantic region. Finally, although there are differences between the provinces and territories grouped together in the West-North region, several similarities are noted in student experiences, in particular that of living in municipalities where Francophones are few and far between geographically.

In order to overcome the fact that none of the regions created for this report is homogenous, we present some results in a second format. Results with scores on a scale are also presented according to six categories of Francophone territorial concentration: less than 10%, 10 to 29%, 30 to 49%, 50 to 69%, 70 to 89%, and 90% plus. The

mean scores on the scale are presented on graphs that highlight whether student scores tend to increase or decrease based on the percentage of Francophones in the municipalities where the students live. This concerns, more specifically, the percentage of Francophones in the municipalities where the youths had spent most of their life. We chose this option rather than place of birth or current place of residence because it better represents all of the student's ethnolinguistic experiences. Note, however, that for a majority of students, the place of birth, the current place of residence and the place where they have spent most of their life is one and the same.

The results are presented in three sections. The first provides an overview of demographic variables that describe certain characteristics of the student populations that took part in the study. We then focus on the results that describe the three types of ethnolinguistic experiences measured, namely enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization, which were described in our conceptual framework. Finally, the last section contains the results of 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 Grade 11 students. In certain schools, we administered the tests and questionnaires to Grade 10, 11 and 12 students because of the small numbers. However, in order to ensure a certain degree of uniformity in the interregional comparisons, only the Grade 11 student results are reported. As shown in table 4.1, these results represent over 80% of students who participated in the study. It is in the West/North region that Grade 11 students constitute the smallest sample (50.5%) and in the Atlantic region where the proportion is highest (88.3%). The students who participated in the study are on average 16.4 years of age.

We note in table 4.2 that there are more girls (54.1%) than boys (45.9%) in Grade 11, and that the proportion of girls to boys is similar in each of the four regions. We also see in table 4.2 that more than eight in ten students (83.0%) have French as their mother tongue. English is the mother tongue for 14% of students, and 3.1% have a

Table 4.1

Percentage of Students Per Grade and Average Age

Region		Grade			Average Age
		10	11	12	
N.B.	%	0.3	75.7	24.0	16.5
Atlantic	%	2.7	88.3	9.0	16.3
Ontario	%	8.9	84.8	6.3	16.5
West/North	%	27.0	50.5	22.6	16.2
Total	**%**	**8.7**	**81.3**	**9.9**	**16.4**

Table 4.2

Student Gender and Mother Tongue

Region		Gender		Mother Tongue		
		Girls	Boys	English	Other	Other
N.B.	%	53.5	46.5	92.5	6.7	0.8
Atlantic	%	53.0	47.0	70.7	28.4	0.9
Ontario	%	55.1	44.9	70.3	23.6	6.1
West/North	%	52.6	47.4	80.3	15.1	4.6
Total	**%**	**54.1**	**45.9**	**83.0**	**14.0**	**3.1**

mother tongue other than French or English. It is in Ontario (6.1%) and in the West/North region (4.6%) that there are more Allophone students. Since immigration rates are much lower in the Eastern provinces of the country, we note that the number of Allophone students in New Brunswick and the other Atlantic provinces represent slightly less than 1% of Grade 11 students. Furthermore, the highest proportion of students with French as their mother tongue (92.5%) can be found in New Brunswick, and the highest proportion of Anglophones can be found in the Atlantic provinces (28.4%) and in Ontario (23.6%).

Table 4.3 presents the distribution of mother tongues for the parents of the students, which helped us calculate the exogamy and endogamy rates shown in table 4.4.

Table 4.3

Mother Tongue of Parents

Region		Mother			Father		
		French	English	Other	French	English	Other
N.B.	%	90.0	9.2	0.7	87.4	11.5	1.1
Atlantic	%	77.6	21.6	0.9	74.4	23.9	1.7
Ontario	%	72.0	18.6	9.4	64.1	25.9	9.9
West/North	%	78.9	13.7	7.4	68.6	22.5	8.9
Total	**%**	**82.3**	**13.3**	**4.4**	**77.4**	**17.8**	**4.9**

Table 4.4

Endogamy — Exogamy

Region		Francophone Endogamy	Francophone/ Allophone Exogamy	Francophone/ Anglophone Exogamy	Anglophone Endogamy	Other
N.B.	%	79.0	0.9	18.5	1.1	0.5
Atlantic	%	58.6	0.9	33.6	6.0	0.9
Ontario	%	52.2	3.2	28.6	7.5	8.5
West/North	%	57.0	4.7	28.9	3.5	5.9
Total	**%**	**67.4**	**1.9**	**23.0**	**3.8**	**3.9**

For all of Canada outside Quebec and in each of the four regions, the students' mothers have French as their mother tongue more often (82.3%) than the fathers (77.4%). There is a greater proportion of Francophone parents in New Brunswick than in the other regions, which explains the higher proportion of students having French as their mother tongue. The highest proportion of Allophone parents is in Ontario and the West/North region, which also reflects the answers provided by the students.

In accordance with the results on the parents' mother tongue, the highest Francophone endogamy rate is in New Brunswick. Nearly eight in ten students (79.0%) have two Francophone parents. Francophone/Anglophone exogamy is highest in the three other regions, with about three out of ten students having one Francophone and one Anglophone parent. Also, as reflected in the tables showing students' and parents'

mother tongues, Ontario and the West/North region have the highest proportion of students who are the children of Francophone/Allophone exogamous couples. However, these proportions remain below 5% (3.2% and 4.7%, respectively).

The results presented in the previous tables are based on student answers. The results regarding the parents' mother tongue do not always meet the criteria generally accepted to describe those entitled to French-language education under section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.* For example, 7.5% of Ontario Grade 11 students believe that both their parents' mother tongue is English. In the three other regions, the proportions vary between 1.1% and 6.0%. We have no way of knowing if these figures are valid. Are these students attending French-language school because their parents benefitted from a "grandparent" clause in the interpretation of section 23 of the Charter (some school boards admit students having one Francophone grandparent) or because they did primary school in French, or do they believe that both their parents are Anglophone because they have always spoken to them in English? Or do these students incorrectly believe that English is the parent's mother tongue because that parent can no longer speak French? These questions could in themselves be the basis for a study. We note, finally, that 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 presents the percentage of students with two, one or no Francophone parent(s). Of note, for example, is the considerable difference between New Brunswick and Ontario students. Among the former, eight in ten students have two Francophone parents and only 1.6% state having no parent with French as the mother tongue. In Ontario, these figures are 52.2% and 16.0%, respectively. In the other Atlantic provinces and in the West/North region, the situation tends to be closer to that of Ontario students. In general, two out of three students state having two Francophone parents. We note that this proportion is higher than among the population of children of entitled Francophone parents (already in 1986, 53% of children of entitled parents lived in an exogamous parental structure, a proportion that reached 66% in 2006), which indicates the lower tendency to enrol a child in a French-language school when both parents are not Francophone (see Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007).

Table 4.5
Number of Francophone Parents

Region		No Francophone Parent	1 Francophone Parent	2 Francophone Parents
N.B.	%	1.6	19.4	79.0
Atlantic	%	6.9	34.5	58.6
Ontario	%	16.0	31.8	52.2
West/North	%	9.4	33.3	57.3
Total	**%**	**7.7**	**24.9**	**67.4**

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 present the level of education of the students' parents. The levels were estimated by the students based on a seven-point scale (see note below tables). An extrapolation done based on the percentages set out in these tables reveals that the level of education tends to be higher for the students' mothers than than for their fathers.

For example, for all students, 12.6% of students' mothers did not complete Grade 12, compared to 24.8% of fathers. Moreover, 26.9% of mothers completed university (scores of 6 or 7), while 22.8% of fathers did the same. It is in New Brunswick and the other Atlantic provinces that the highest proportion of parents who did not complete high school can be found (15.7% and 30.4% for mothers and fathers in New Brunswick, and 15.3% and 27.8% in the other Atlantic provinces). In Ontario, these proportions are 8.7% and 17.8%, respectively, while in the West/North region, the proportions are smaller still at 5.1% and 12.5%, respectively. The proportion of parents who completed university is particularly high in the West/North region (41.9% of mothers and 36.5% of fathers). For the mothers, the proportions are 25.4%, 26.5% and 27.9% for New Brunswick, the Atlantic provinces and Ontario, respectively. For the fathers, for the same regions, the proportions are 20.5%, 20.9% and 25.2%.

We also grouped the Grade 11 students according to Francophone geographic concentration in the municipalities where they have spent most of their life. We chose this municipality instead of the one where they were born or where they live now since it is the municipality where they spent most of their life that may have had the greatest impact on

Table 4.6

Mother's Level of Education

Region		Level of Education 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M
N.B.	%	1.2	5.9	8.6	26.7	32.1	21.0	4.4	4.6
Atlantic	%	1.7	5.1	8.5	19.7	38.5	22.2	4.3	4.7
Ontario	%	0.3	1.5	6.9	25.9	37.6	21.7	6.2	4.9
West/North	%	0.4	1.2	3.5	26.0	27.1	31.4	10.5	5.1
Total	**%**	**0.8**	**4.0**	**7.8**	**26.3**	**34.3**	**21.6**	**5.3**	**4.8**

Note: 1 = Less than G7, 2 = Middle school (G7, 8 or 9), 3 = Part of high school completed (G10 or 11), 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 Level of Education

Region		Level of Education 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M
N.B.	%	3.4	12.5	14.5	21.3	27.8	13.2	7.3	4.3
Atlantic	%	2.6	12.2	13.0	21.7	29.6	11.3	9.6	4.4
Ontario	%	0.6	4.5	12.7	22.2	34.8	17.7	7.5	4.7
West/North	%	1.5	1.5	9.5	19.8	31.2	22.1	14.4	5.0
Total	**%**	**2.2**	**9.0**	**13.6**	**21.6**	**30.7**	**15.2**	**7.6**	**4.5**

Note: 1 = Less than G7, 2 = Middle school (G7, 8 or 9), 3 = Part of high school completed (G10 or 11), 4 = High school completed, 5 = Partial college or university studies, 6 = Undergraduate university studies, 7 = Graduate and post-graduate studies (master's or doctorate).

their ethnolinguistic experience and psycholinguistic development. Nevertheless, for most students, these three categories of municipality are one and the same. The results are presented in table 4.8.

Although students in French-language schools outside Quebec come from provinces and territories where Francophones represent on average less than 5% of the total population, the Grade 11 students who participated in the study spent most of their life in a municipality where 56.4% of the population was Francophone. For example, although the population of New Brunswick is one-third Francophone, the study students from that province lived in municipalities with an average Francophone population of 74.0% (see table 4.8).

Table 4.8

Percentage of Students According to Francophone Geographic Concentration

Region	Less than 10%	10-29%	30-49%	50-69%	70-89%	90-100%	Average Percentage of Francophones
N.B.	2.6	4.5	16.5	4.1	26.4	45.9	74.0
Atlantic	20.4	5.0	5.0	61.2	3.4	5.1	50.1
Ontario	12.6	46.5	17.7	7.9	11.5	3.8	33.0
West/North	78.8	9.6	0.8	1.8	1.3	7.7	14.9
Total	**8.5**	**20.9**	**16.4**	**6.2**	**19.8**	**28.1**	**56.4**

We even note that 45.9% of these students lived most of their life in municipalities with a Francophone population of over 90%. In the three other regions, fewer than 8% of students had this experience. In the West/North region, nearly eight in ten students (78.8%) lived in municipalities with a Francophone population of less than 10%. We note in table 4.8 that the average Francophone demographic reality of students is highest in New Brunswick (74.0%), followed by the Atlantic provinces (50.1%), Ontario (33.0%) and the West/North region (14.9%).

In the following section, we present the results relative to the students' ethnolinguistic experiences. Regional differences with respect to demographics, especially differences regarding the concentration of Francophones and the socioeconomic differences associated with the parents' education should be kept in mind for this section and for the following section, which contains the results on the psycholinguistic variables (e.g., identity, competencies, beliefs).

4.2 Ethnolinguistic experiences

Our conceptual framework focuses on three types of ethnolinguistic experiences. 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 16 years old when they answered the questionnaires, we limited the childhood

period to 12 so as not to confuse these results with those relative to their current ethnolinguistic behaviours. For several questions, when answering, students had to distinguish their experiences from ages 2 to 6 from those from 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 French language and the degree to which they were exposed to personal experiences making them aware of the minority situation of Francophonie. 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 environment at school

One questionnaire measured the degree to which students were taught in French and in English from kindergarten and 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 G3, G4 to G6, G7 to G9, G10 to G12. The answers were provided on a nine-point scale: 1 = All classes in English, 2 = All classes in English except one French class; 3 = Most in English, 4 = Slightly over half in English, 5 = Half in French and half in English, 6 = Slightly over half in French, 7 = Most in French, 8 = All in French except one English class, 9 = All classes in French. 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 mostly in English (scores between 1 and 3.499), b) those taught about the same in English and French (scores between 3.5 and 6.499), c) those taught mostly in French (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

Table 4.9
Proportion of Instruction in English and French

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
K to 3	Mostly in English (%)	1.0	3.5	2.9	5.2	1.9
	About 50/50 (%)	2.2	4.3	4.9	2.2	3.3
	Mostly in French (%)	94.8	90.5	88.3	90.6	92.1
	Other language (%)	2.0	1.7	3.9	2.0	2.7
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.2**	**8.2**	**8.2**	**8.4**
4 to 6	Mostly in English (%)	0.4	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.0
	About 50/50 (%)	3.3	4.7	5.2	4.2	4.1
	Mostly in French (%)	94.2	91.2	89.6	93.0	92.4
	Other language (%)	2.1	2.8	3.3	1.0	2.6
	Mean score	**8.0**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.9**
7 to 9	Mostly in English (%)	0.5	1.5	1.4	3.5	0.9
	About 50/50 (%)	4.8	5.4	7.2	5.8	5.8
	Mostly in French (%)	92.9	91.4	88.6	89.5	91.1
	Other language (%)	1.8	1.7	2.8	1.2	2.2
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.7**	**7.7**	**7.8**
10 to 12	Mostly in English (%)	0.5	1.7	1.6	2.2	1.0
	About 50/50 (%)	5.7	4.2	6.5	6.7	6.0
	Mostly in French (%)	92.2	92.0	89.0	89.9	90.9
	Other language (%)	1.6	2.0	2.9	1.2	2.1
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.8**	**7.7**	**7.7**	**7.8**
K to 12	**Mean score**	**8.0**	**7.9**	**7.8**	**7.7**	**7.9**

students for each level of education, as well as the overall mean score for instruction since kindergarten.

Since all the students who participated in the study were enrolled in a French-language school at the time of the study, little variation is expected in the results of the proportion of instruction in French.

We see in table 4.9, in general, that slightly over 90% of students received instruction mostly in French in New Brunswick and in the other Atlantic provinces, at each level of education. For the West/North region, the figure is about 90%, and in Ontario slightly under 90% of the students received instruction mostly in French. These

differences may be explained by the higher proportion of students in these two regions who come from outside Canada. Mean scores vary little according to region and are close to the score of 8, which means that all classes were in French, on average, except for English classes. For all regions, the mean score is higher in K to 3 than for the other grades. This is explained by the fact that the teaching of English in some schools begins only in Grade 3, and sometimes even in Grade 5.

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

The results presented in table 4.10 have led us to several findings. First, for all of Canada outside Quebec and in each region, the results show a language environment at school that becomes progressively more English-based from the K to G3 level, to the G10 to G12 level. First, although at the first primary level the environment is on average between very French and mostly French (M = 7.4), at the last level of secondary school, it is only a bit more French than English (M = 6.0). The second finding is that, for all levels, the French environment at school is stronger in New Brunswick than in the other regions. In that province, the school environment is still mostly French (M = 7.0) at the second level of secondary school, whereas, in the Atlantic region, it is a bit more French than English (M = 5.8) and in the two other regions, the environment is as much English as it is French (M = 4.8 for Ontario and A = 4.9 for the West/North region). Third, the profile of the West/North region does not fully correspond to its demographic situation. While the students from this region are those who have spent the greater part of their life in municipalities where the Anglophone population is a very strong majority, we note that, in the first level of primary school, the language environment at school is more French than in the Atlantic region or Ontario. This situation may be explained

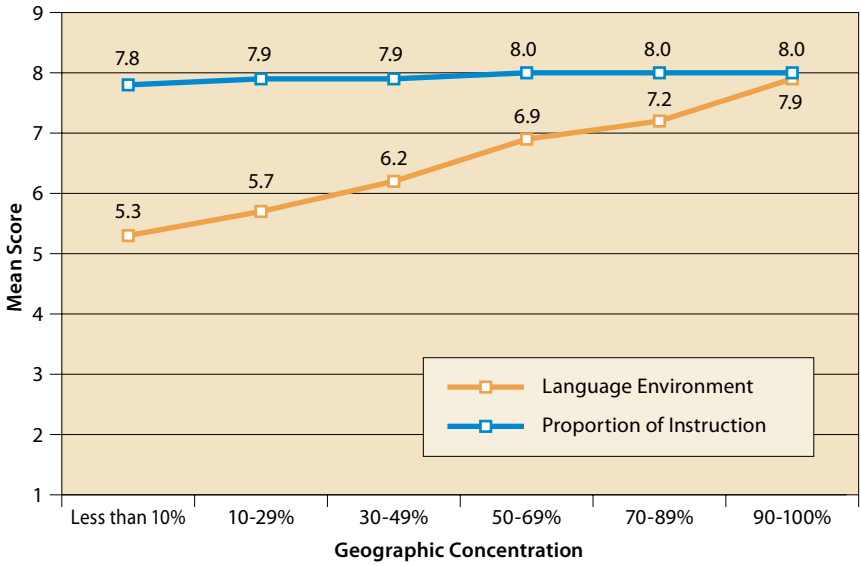
Table 4.10
School's Language Environment Outside the Classroom

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
K to 3	Mostly in English (%)	2.7	11.5	13.5	10.9	7.3
	About 50/50 (%)	9.8	21.8	18.5	11.7	13.4
	Mostly in French (%)	85.2	63.8	63.2	74.5	76.1
	Other language (%)	2.3	2.9	4.7	3.0	3.2
	Mean score	**7.9**	**6.7**	**6.8**	**7.3**	**7.4**
4 to 6	Mostly in English (%)	2.3	10.6	15.3	12.1	7.7
	About 50/50 (%)	14.7	29.0	28.7	24.1	20.6
	Mostly in French (%)	80.9	58.3	51.9	61.7	68.8
	Other language (%)	2.1	2.1	4.2	2.1	2.9
	Mean score	**7.6**	**6.5**	**6.2**	**6.6**	**7.0**
7 to 9	Mostly in English (%)	2.7	10.1	25.0	18.3	11.9
	About 50/50 (%)	24.6	45.2	38.9	45.0	31.0
	Mostly in French (%)	70.7	42.6	32.4	34.8	54.4
	Other language (%)	2.0	2.1	3.7	1.9	2.7
	Mean score	**7.2**	**5.9**	**5.2**	**5.5**	**6.4**
10 to 12	Mostly in English (%)	3.7	12.4	33.3	28.4	16.1
	About 50/50 (%)	30.4	43.3	36.2	47.0	33.3
	Mostly in French (%)	63.7	42.2	27.0	22.5	48.0
	Other language (%)	2.1	2.1	3.4	2.1	2.6
	Mean score	**7.0**	**5.8**	**4.8**	**4.9**	**6.0**
K to 12	**Mean score**	**7.4**	**6.1**	**5.6**	**5.7**	**6.3**

by the fact that a small number of children of entitled parents in those provinces and territories attend French-language school and by their privileged socio-economic status. Further analysis would be required to confirm this hypothesis. Note, however, that the higher the grade, the more the French environment at school in the West/North region tends to be similar than that of Ontario and weaker than that of the Atlantic region. It remains, however, at least similar to Ontario's despite a demographic situation that is less favourable to Francophone vitality. Fourth, as shown in figure 4.1 and contrary to the proportion of instruction in French, language environment at school is strongly

Figure 4.1

Language of Instruction and Language Environment at School Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



linked to Francophone geographic concentration. While the environment at the four school levels is on average as much English as it is French in the regions with less than 10% Francophones (M = 5.3), it becomes linearly more French with increasing French geographic concentration to become very French (M = 7.9) when municipalities have more than 90% Francophones. (For a more detailed analysis of language environment at school, see Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009a.)

4.2.1.2 The proportion of Francophones in social networks and the Frenchness of the language experience

Two approaches were used to measure the Frenchness of the social networks and ethnolinguistic experiences, both public and private. The first method consisted in asking students to estimate the proportion of their social contacts that were with Francophones and the proportion that were with Anglophones. 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 of table 4.11 include the percentages of students who have had one-third or less, half and two-thirds or more contacts with Francophones. The table also shows the mean scores on the nine-point scale. Note that the results for the Anglophone proportions are not presented because they tend to simply show the reverse of the contacts with Francophones.

The percentages and the mean scores show that the New Brunswick students have the most Francophone social networks, both private and public. For example, 83.4% of New Brunswick students describe their immediate family (parents, siblings and grandparents) as comprised of at least two-thirds of Francophones, compared to 78% in the Atlantic region, 63.1% in Ontario, and 71.2% in the West/North region. Given the low concentration of Francophones in the municipalities in the West/North region, the Frenchness of the family circle is expected to be weaker than in Ontario. However, as is the case with the language environment at school, the result may be associated with the more selective nature of the school clientele of French-language schools. We note that, in the West/North region, the Frenchness of the family circle is in fact stronger than in Ontario and extends to cousins, aunts and uncles, the circle of friends, and even to the circle of friends known from school. The proportion of young Francophones and adult Francophones known from participating in social, cultural or sporting activities tends to be a bit higher or equal in the West/North region than in Ontario (about 40%). We note, however, that, for neighbours and friends of the students' parents, the Francophone network of students from the West/North region tends to be less Francophone than Ontario's. These environments, even if private, tend to be more a reflection of Francophone geographic concentration, as shown in a recent study (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009a). As concerns students in the Atlantic region minus New Brunswick, the results tend to be between New Brunswick's and Ontario's, and the West/North region's. We note that this profile applies to both private and public places.

In public places (health services, stores, grocery stores, shopping malls and restaurants) the results are generally as expected given the

average concentration of Francophones in each region. It is only in New Brunswick that at least two-thirds of students say that their health services contacts are mostly Francophone. In the Atlantic region and Ontario, the contacts comprise about half Francophones (mean scores of 5.3 and 5.2, respectively) and in the West/North region, the proportion of Francophone contacts is slightly lower (M = 4.7). For all public places, New Brunswick students report that their network of contacts comprises slightly less than two-thirds of Francophones (M = 6.7). For the Atlantic region, this network comprises nearly equal numbers of Francophones and Anglophones, while in Ontario, and particularly in the West/North region, the public network tends to be more Anglophone than Francophone.

In short, as figures 4.2 and 4.3 show, the proportion of Francophones known or met in private and public places tends to grow according to the density of the Francophone population in the municipality of residence. We note that in private places, the Francophone network tends to be as strong as the Anglophone network in regions with a Francophone population of under 10%. We also note that this finding cannot be generalized to include younger students nor the entire population of children of entitled Francophone parents. It applies only to the Grade 11 students who took part in the study and attend a French-language school. In public places, the influence of geographic density is even stronger. It is only when Francophones constitute between 50% and 69% of the Francophone population that the Francophone network tends to be equal in strength to the Anglophone. When the Francophone density is stronger (70% Francophone and over), the Francophone network in public places tends to be stronger than the Anglophone network.

The second method used to measure the Frenchness of the social networks was to ask 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 a period from 2 to 12 years of age. The private and public places are the same as for the scales measuring the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones that make up their social networks (see table 4.11). The relative

Table 4.11

Proportion of Francophones in Students' Social Networks

Private Places		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Immediate family	One-third or less (%)	3.4	5.0	13.2	7.3	7.3
	About half (%)	13.2	1 7.0	23.7	21.5	17.6
	Two-thirds or more (%)	83.4	78.0	63.1	71.2	75.2
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.5**	**6.8**	**7.3**	**7.5**
Cousins	One-third or less (%)	5.0	12.5	15.9	13.7	9.6
	About half (%)	18.8	23.8	27.8	28.1	22.6
	Two-thirds or more (%)	76.2	63.7	56.3	58.2	67.8
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.6**	**6.4**	**6.5**	**7.0**
Uncles and aunts	One-third or less (%)	3.6	8.0	13.7	9.7	7.7
	About half (%)	18.3	20.7	27.3	26.6	22.0
	Two-thirds or more (%)	78.2	71.3	59.0	63.6	70.3
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.1**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**7.1**
Friends since childhood	One-third or less (%)	2.5	10.7	15.4	8.2	7.7
	About half (%)	17.6	18.9	31.6	26.3	23.3
	Two-thirds or more(%)	80.0	70.5	53.1	65.5	69.0
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.0**	**6.2**	**6.9**	**7.1**

Students who attended the same schools	One-third or less (%)	0.8	2.7	7.8	3.4	3.6
	About half (%)	8.7	10.6	26.4	18.6	15.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	90.6	86.7	65.8	78.0	80.5
	Mean score	**8.1**	**7.7**	**7.0**	**7.6**	**7.7**
Neighbours	One-third or less (%)	8.6	26.3	38.3	57.7	21.6
	About half (%)	18.8	14.5	30.9	20.0	23.4
	Two-thirds or more (%)	72.6	59.2	30.8	22.4	55.0
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.0**	**4.7**	**3.7**	**6.2**
Friends of your parents	One-third or less (%)	4.1	12.7	18.7	20.2	10.3
	About half (%)	25.2	32.2	36.9	41.9	30.2
	Two-thirds or more (%)	70.7	55.2	44.4	37.9	59.5
	Mean score	**7.2**	**6.3**	**5.8**	**5.6**	**6.6**
Young people who participated in social, cultural or sporting activities with you	One-third or less (%)	4.7	12.7	22.5	22.3	12.2
	About half (%)	25.5	30.4	38.6	34.2	30.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	69.8	56.9	38.9	43.5	56.8
	Mean score	**7.1**	**6.4**	**5.6**	**5.6**	**6.5**
Adults in charge of social, cultural or sporting activities in which you participated since childhood	One-third or less (%)	5.0	10.6	20.5	20.6	11.5
	About half (%)	22.6	29.3	37.5	39.3	28.9
	Two-thirds or more (%)	72.4	60.1	42.0	40.1	59.5
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.6**	**5.7**	**5.6**	**6.6**
Private places	**Mean score**	**7.5**	**6.8**	**6.1**	**6.2**	**6.9**

Table 4.11 (cont'd)

Proportion of Francophones in Students' Social Networks

Public Places		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
People met in health services since childhood	One-third or less (%)	6.7	33.2	29.5	38.3	16.7
	About half (%)	25.8	26.1	36.8	31.3	30.2
	Two-thirds or more(%)	67.5	40.7	33.7	30.5	53.1
	Mean score	**7.1**	**5.3**	**5.2**	**4.7**	**6.2**
Vendors seen since childhood: neighbourhood convenience stores or corner stores	One-third or less (%)	9.9	25.0	39.9	52.9	22.8
	About half (%)	27.6	29.9	33.8	23.1	29.9
	Two-thirds or more(%)	62.5	45.0	26.3	24.0	47.3
	Mean score	**6v.9**	**5.7**	**4.5**	**4.0**	**5.9**
Vendors seen since childhood: grocery stores in your region	One-third or less (%)	9.0	23.0	38.0	57.4	21.6
	About half (%)	28.4	24.4	35.0	23.0	30.8
	Two-thirds or more(%)	62.6	52.7	27.0	19.6	47.6
	Mean score	**6.9**	**5.9**	**4.6**	**3.7**	**5.9**
Vendors seen since childhood: shopping centres or major stores in your region	One-third or less (%)	14.1	34.4	43.1	60.3	26.8
	About half (%)	35.3	32.7	35.6	21.2	35.0
	Two-thirds or more(%)	50.6	33.0	21.3	18.5	38.2
	Mean score	**6.3**	**5.0**	**4.3**	**3.5**	**5.5**

Waiters seen since childhood in restaurants in your region	One-third or less (%)	9.7	24.3	37.0	50.8	21.5
	About half (%)	34.7	35.2	38.4	27.0	35.9
	Two-thirds or more(%)	55.6	40.4	24.7	22.2	42.6
	Mean score	**6.6**	**5.4**	**4.6**	**4.0**	**5.8**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**6.7**	**5.5**	**4.7**	**4.0**	**5.8**

Figure 4.2

Proportion of Francophones and Anglophones Known or Met in Private Settings Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration

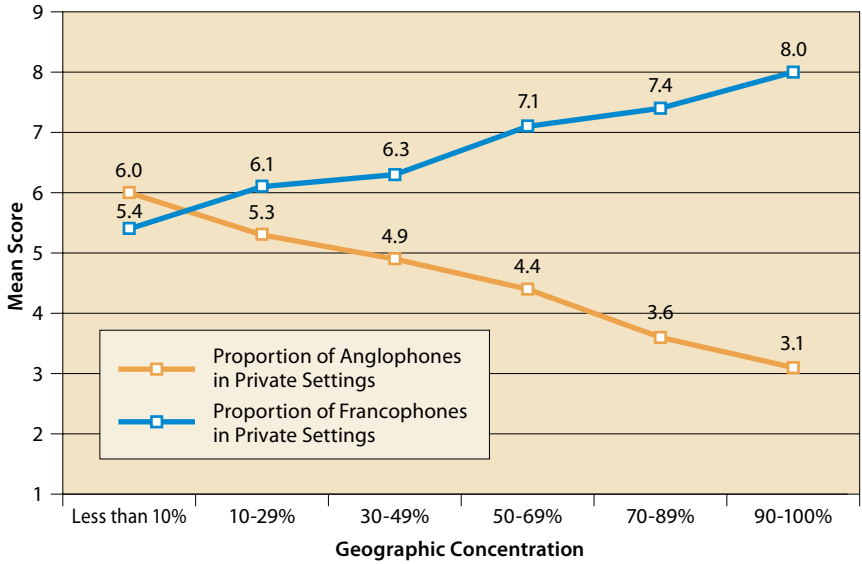
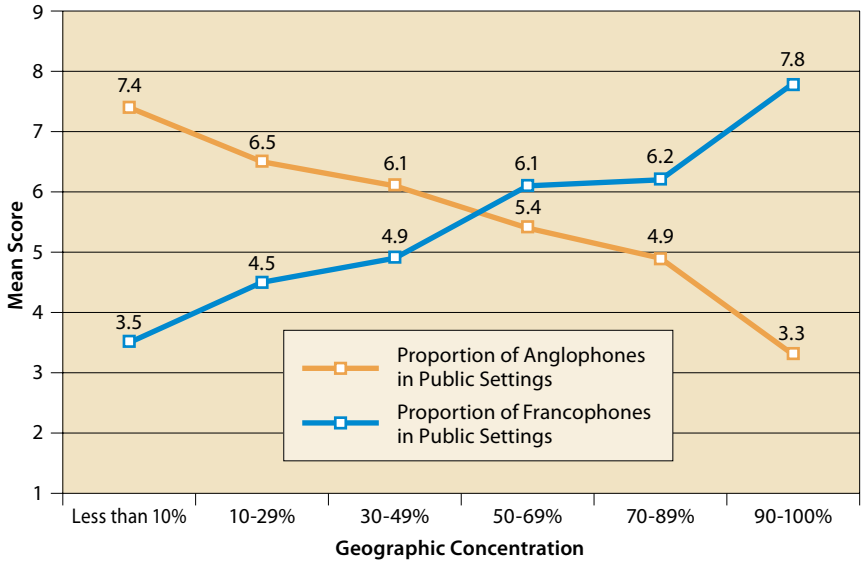


Figure 4.3

Proportion of Francophones and Anglophones Known or Met in Public Settings Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



frequency for using English and French was measured on the following nine-point scale: 1 = Always in English, 3 = More often in English, 5 = As much English as French, 7 = More often in French, 9 = Always in French. 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 range from 1 to 3.499 and designate an Anglo-dominant experience, those between 3.5 and 6.499 a bilingual experience, and those over 6.5, a Franco-dominant experience.

As expected, the language dominance scores tend to reflect the social network strength scores. Students with a strong Francophone network have a Franco-dominant ethnolinguistic experience, and vice versa. So, the differences between the regions are quite similar to those observed for the strength of the social networks. The mean scores and proportion of students with a Franco-dominant language experience are higher for New Brunswick students, both in private and public places. In that province, nearly eight in ten students (78.4%) speak French more often with their immediate family. Here again we see the more selective nature of the Francophone school population in Western Canada. Despite a lower geographical density of the Francophone population, the proportion of students who speak mostly French with their immediate family (68.8%) is higher in the West/North region than in the Atlantic region (62.9%) and Ontario (55.7%). A similar profile exists for the language spoken with cousins, aunts and uncles.

Only students from New Brunswick maintain scores for language dominance with their friends that are similar to those for the immediate family. In the other regions, students tend to speak French less often with their friends than with members of their immediate family. Students from New Brunswick are also the only ones who tend to speak French more often at school with other students than with members of their immediate family. Although the differences remain small between these two living environments, both for students from New Brunswick and from the other regions, the tendency for the latter is the reverse. These students tend to speak French less often at school than with their family.

Table 4.12

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

Private Places		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Immediate family	Anglo-dominant (%)	3.4	11.8	15.1	8.8	8.2
	Bilingual (%)	18.2	25.3	29.1	22.4	22.6
	Franco-dominant (%)	78.4	62.9	55.7	68.8	69.1
	Mean score	**7.6**	**6.6**	**6.3**	**6.8**	**7.0**
Cousins	Anglo-dominant (%)	4.9	19.0	19.1	15.9	10.8
	Bilingual (%)	22.1	27.2	29.7	26.7	25.2
	Franco-dominant (%)	73.0	53.8	51.1	57.4	63.9
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.1**	**6.0**	**6.1**	**6.7**
Uncles and aunts	Anglo-dominant (%)	3.7	12.9	15.0	13.9	8.5
	Bilingual (%)	21.6	28.7	31.3	24.5	25.5
	Franco-dominant (%)	74.7	58.4	53.7	61.6	66.0
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.3**	**6.2**	**6.5**	**6.9**
Friends since childhood	Anglo-dominant (%)	2.9	15.9	17.0	11.2	8.8
	Bilingual (%)	18.8	29.0	36.1	35.6	26.1
	Franco-dominant (%)	78.3	55.1	46.9	53.2	65.1
	Mean score	**7.5**	**6.0**	**5.8**	**6.2**	**6.8**

Students who attended the same schools	Anglo-dominant (%)	1.6	8.2	11.1	7.3	5.5
	Bilingual (%)	13.3	34.7	37.1	31.8	23.4
	Franco-dominant (%)	85.2	57.1	51.8	60.8	71.1
	Mean score	**7.8**	**6.4**	**6.2**	**6.5**	**7.1**
Neighbours	Anglo-dominant (%)	7.0	22.4	31.4	43.6	17.6
	Bilingual (%)	21.1	31.7	34.4	28.7	26.6
	Franco-dominant (%)	71.9	45.9	34.2	27.7	55.9
	Mean score	**7.3**	**5.6**	**4.9**	**4.3**	**6.3**
Friends of your parents	Anglo-dominant (%)	4.7	18.8	21.4	20.9	11.7
	Bilingual (%)	24.2	34.8	38.3	44.7	30.3
	Franco-dominant (%)	71.1	46.4	40.3	34.4	58.0
	Mean score	**7.2**	**5.7**	**5.5**	**5.3**	**6.5**
Young people who participated in social, cultural or sporting activities with you	Anglo-dominant (%)	3.7	15.6	21.5	20.7	11.2
	Bilingual (%)	25.2	40.6	40.8	40.5	31.9
	Franco-dominant (%)	71.2	43.8	37.7	38.8	56.9
	Mean score	**7.2**	**5.7**	**5.4**	**5.5**	**6.4**
Adults in charge of social, cultural or sporting activities in which you participated since childhood	Anglo-dominant (%)	3.7	15.9	21.1	16.3	11.0
	Bilingual (%)	24.3	37.5	41.0	41.1	31.5
	Franco-dominant (%)	72.0	46.6	37.9	42.6	57.5
	Mean score	**7.3**	**5.9**	**5.4**	**5.8**	**6.5**
Private places	**Mean score**	**7.4**	**6.0**	**5.7**	**5.9**	**6.7**

Table 4.12 (cont'd)

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

Public Places		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
People met in health services since childhood	Anglo-dominant (%)	6.0	34.7	26.6	30.0	15.0
	Bilingual (%)	27.6	30.5	39.2	39.4	32.5
	Franco-dominant (%)	66.4	34.8	34.1	30.6	52.5
	Mean score	**7.0**	**4.8**	**5.1**	**4.9**	**6.2**
Vendors seen since childhood: neighbourhood convenience stores or corner stores	Anglo-dominant (%)	7.0	27.4	32.1	42.8	17.9
	Bilingual (%)	27.8	33.4	38.5	31.9	32.1
	Franco-dominant (%)	65.2	39.3	29.4	25.3	50.0
	Mean score	**7.0**	**5.1**	**4.8**	**4.3**	**6.0**
Vendors seen since childhood: grocery stores in your region	Anglo-dominant (%)	7.6	26.6	33.3	46.3	18.8
	Bilingual (%)	28.8	32.2	37.7	32.1	32.4
	Franco-dominant (%)	63.6	41.2	29.1	21.6	48.8
	Mean score	**6.9**	**5.2**	**4.7**	**4.1**	**6.0**
Vendors seen since childhood: shopping centres or major stores in your region	Anglo-dominant (%)	10.3	38.6	36.5	49.2	21.8
	Bilingual (%)	33.9	28.3	37.6	30.6	35.2
	Franco-dominant (%)	55.9	33.1	25.9	20.2	43.0
	Mean score	**6.5**	**4.6**	**4.5**	**4.0**	**5.7**

Waiters seen since childhood in restaurants in your region	Anglo-dominant (%)	8.3	29.6	34.4	47.7	19.7
	Bilingual (%)	33.2	36.2	39.0	30.0	35.4
	Franco-dominant (%)	58.5	34.2	26.6	22.3	44.9
	Mean score	**6.7**	**4.9**	**4.6**	**4.1**	**5.8**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**6.8**	**4.9**	**4.7**	**4.3**	**5.9**

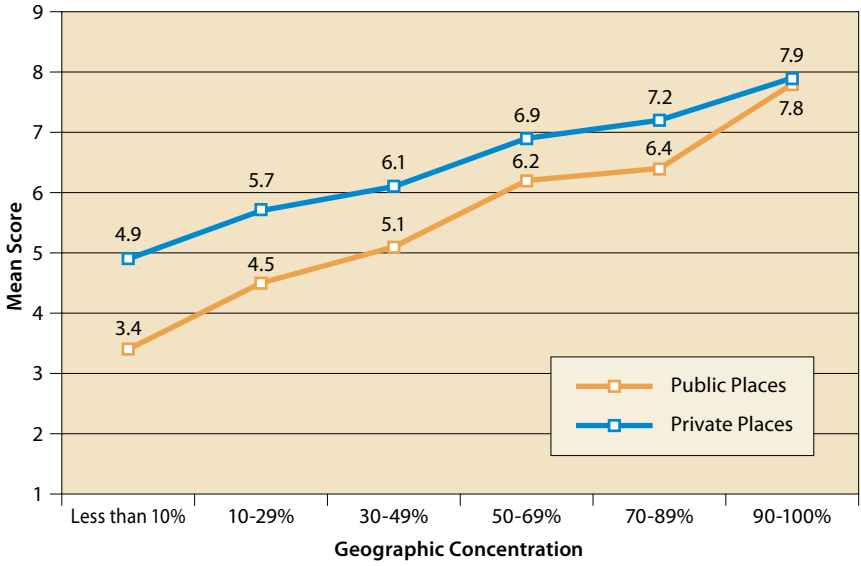
The results of table 4.12 also show that use of the French language drops when language contacts are community-based and public. The family and school are the only two living environments where slightly over two-thirds of students for all of Canada outside Quebec (69.1% and 71.1%, respectively) have a Franco-dominant experience. Except for New Brunswick, fewer than 50% of students use French often when language contacts are with neighbours, friends of their parents, or during social, cultural or sporting activities. In New Brunswick, about 72% of students use mostly French in these same contexts, but this usage can vary greatly depending on the region of New Brunswick where the student lives (Landry and Allard, 1994b).

It is in public places that there is greater French-English language competition. In New Brunswick, slightly less than two-thirds of students experience Franco-dominance in health services (66.4%), at convenience or corner stores (65.2%), at grocery stores (63.6%), and fewer than six in ten students in shopping malls or major stores (55.9%) and restaurants (58.5%). In the other regions, the proportions are much lower and reflect the geographic density of the Francophone population. The scores tend to be higher in the Atlantic region than in Ontario, and higher in Ontario than in the West/North region. In this region, as few as one in five students have a Franco-dominant experience in public places. Even for health services, one-third of students or fewer use French frequently in the Atlantic region, Ontario or in the West/North region.

Figure 4.4 clearly shows that relative use of English and French is associated with the Francophone geographic concentration. As our analysis of the results of table 4.12 indicates, this ratio is higher for language contacts in the public domain than in the private domain. It is only when Francophones make up 90% or more of the population that use of French in public places is equivalent to that of private places. Note that our research (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b) shows that enculturation in the private domain is above all strongly related to identity building and that experiences in the public domain are related to subjective vitality, i.e., with perceptions of the status of the languages in contact.

Figure 4.4

Enculturation in Private and Public Places Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



4.2.1.3 The media and the linguistic landscape

There is little doubt that the media plays a big role in the lives of today's youth. As we stated in our conceptual framework, the media provides for both public and private enculturation. On the one hand, the media is managed by public corporations or private companies that serve the public interest (the advertising that 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 of the media seems, in its relationship with psycholinguistic development, to be much more closely related to private enculturation than public enculturation. Actually, the degree of contact with Francophone media is less closely related with Francophone subjective ethnolinguistic vitality than with Francophone identity. Also, contact with the Francophone media is closely associated with the desire of young people to integrate the Francophone community (Landry and Allard, 1996; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007c). It is not necessarily a relationship of cause and effect. Although contact with the

Francophone media may foster Francophone identity building and the desire to integrate the Francophone community, students with a strong Francophone identity and who are willing to integrate the Francophone community 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.

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 English, 9 = always in French) 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 together so that there is only one from 2 to 12 years of age.

The first thing we notice from the results on language dominance in contact with the media is the strong attraction of English. For all students, and for six of the nine different media measured, fewer than a third of students consume primarily Francophone media: television (30.3%), radio (31.6%), movies (27.8%), Internet (24.4%), music (15.3%), magazines (29.0%). Fewer than four in ten students (38.3%) read mostly French-language newspapers. The results are a bit higher for books read at home (46.2% of Franco-dominance) and attending shows or plays (41.5%). School may have an impact on these last results. Even in New Brunswick where Francophone geographic concentration is highest, we note that only four in ten students or fewer consume primarily Francophone media. For these students, as few as 15% of students listen to mostly French-language music. About one in two students (53.0%) reads newspapers mostly in French or attends shows or plays primarily in French (53.1%). Fewer than six in ten students (57.6%) read mostly books in French at home.

Although media consumption in French is higher in New Brunswick than in the other regions, the attraction of English can be seen in all regions. Nevertheless, we note that media consumption is not entirely determined by the geographic concentration of the Francophone population. Other factors merit further analysis. In the Atlantic region where students live in municipalities with a Francophone population of on average 50%, consumption of Francophone media is much lower than in Ontario, where average Francophone concentration is 33%,

Table 4.13

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

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Television	Anglo-dominant (%)	30.2	74.3	43.4	32.9	35.9
	Bilingual (%)	31.2	17.1	37.5	40.3	33.8
	Franco-dominant (%)	38.6	8.5	19.1	26.8	30.3
	Mean score	**5.2**	**2.6**	**4.0**	**4.6**	**4.7**
Radio	Anglo-dominant (%)	29.2	74.8	52.8	43.5	39.3
	Bilingual (%)	28.9	14.8	29.3	33.9	29.0
	Franco-dominant (%)	41.9	10.4	17.9	22.6	31.6
	Mean score	**5.3**	**2.6**	**3.7**	**4.1**	**4.6**
Movies	Anglo-dominant (%)	34.4	77.3	48.4	36.0	40.5
	Bilingual (%)	29.5	14.8	35.0	39.8	31.8
	Franco-dominant (%)	36.0	8.0	16.6	24.2	27.8
	Mean score	**4.9**	**2.5**	**3.8**	**4.5**	**4.4**
Internet	Anglo-dominant (%)	34.6	76.2	51.2	47.5	41.9
	Bilingual (%)	32.8	18.2	35.5	33.7	33.7
	Franco-dominant (%)	32.6	5.6	13.3	18.8	24.4
	Mean score	**4.8**	**2.6**	**3.6**	**4.0**	**4.3**
Music	Anglo-dominant (%)	43.7	67.5	46.2	34.8	44.7
	Bilingual (%)	41.1	24.0	38.6	43.0	40.0
	Franco-dominant (%)	15.2	8.5	15.1	22.2	15.3
	Mean score	**3.9**	**2.8**	**3.8**	**4.4**	**3.9**
News-papers	Anglo-dominant (%)	20.3	70.9	46.9	36.9	31.7
	Bilingual (%)	26.7	21.0	34.4	40.8	30.0
	Franco-dominant (%)	53.0	8.0	18.8	22.3	38.3
	Mean score	**6.1**	**2.7**	**3.9**	**4.3**	**5.2**
Magazines	Anglo-dominant (%)	28.8	76.7	48.2	39.6	37.2
	Bilingual (%)	32.9	15.8	35.4	38.5	33.8
	Franco-dominant (%)	38.4	7.5	16.4	21.9	29.0
	Mean score	**5.2**	**2.5**	**3.8**	**4.2**	**4.6**

Table 4.13 (cont'd)

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

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Books at home	Anglo-dominant (%)	12.9	40.9	25.8	24.3	18.6
	Bilingual (%)	29.5	41.8	43.0	37.6	35.1
	Franco-dominant (%)	57.6	17.3	31.2	38.1	46.2
	Mean score	**6.5**	**4.1**	**5.0**	**5.3**	**5.8**
Theatre and Shows	Anglo-dominant (%)	15.5	56.6	34.3	28.5	23.7
	Bilingual (%)	31.3	28.8	39.5	43.7	34.8
	Franco-dominant (%)	53.1	14.6	26.3	27.8	41.5
	Mean score	**6.2**	**3.4**	**4.6**	**4.8**	**5.5**
Media	**Mean score**	**5.3**	**2.9**	**4.0**	**4.5**	**4.8**

and the same in the West/North region where it is only 15%. Two atypical situations regarding the consumption of Francophone media and the geographic density of the French-language population can be observed from table 4.13. In the Atlantic region, it is generally fewer than 10% of students who consumed media mostly in French between the ages of 2 and 12, a proportion that tends to be half of that for Ontario students. Furthermore, students in the West/North region tend to be more exposed to Francophone media than those in Ontario, despite a significantly lower Francophone geographic density. Again, family factors may possibly play a role here. As concerns the media experiences of students in the West/North region, we should recall that they tend to have more highly educated parents. These parents, especially if their education was mostly in French, could be more aware of the need to consume media in French in order to better succeed in school and to develop a strong Francophone identity. Of note as well is that students in the Atlantic region and New Brunswick have the lowest scores with respect to parent education. This education factor, and other concomitant factors such as the resulting language confidence of the parents, could partially explain the atypical situations in the Atlantic region and West/North region. Given the importance of media as a Francophone enculturation factor, these results merit more in-depth analysis.

Table 4.14

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

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Road signs	Anglo-dominant (%)	19.4	68.7	48.8	44.3	32.2
	Bilingual (%)	44.8	25.0	36.4	36.5	41.0
	Franco-dominant (%)	35.8	6.3	14.7	19.3	26.8
	Mean score	**5.5**	**2.7**	**3.7**	**4.0**	**4.7**
Outside stores	Anglo-dominant (%)	20.6	69.3	50.1	49.6	33.5
	Bilingual (%)	45.8	22.6	36.8	36.2	41.8
	Franco-dominant (%)	33.6	8.1	13.1	14.2	24.7
	Mean score	**5.4**	**2.9**	**3.6**	**3.7**	**4.6**
Inside stores	Anglo-dominant (%)	21.2	66.2	50.9	54.3	34.3
	Bilingual (%)	47.1	28.7	36.7	30.8	42.3
	Franco-dominant (%)	31.8	5.1	12.4	14.9	23.4
	Mean score	**5.3**	**2.8**	**3.6**	**3.6**	**4.6**
Advertising inserts	Anglo-dominant (%)	21.3	67.1	52.9	49.0	35.0
	Bilingual (%)	46.2	26.5	34.1	34.5	40.9
	Franco-dominant (%)	32.4	6.4	13.0	16.5	24.0
	Mean score	**5.3**	**2.8**	**3.5**	**3.8**	**4.5**
Signs	**Mean score**	**5.4**	**2.8**	**3.6**	**3.8**	**4.6**

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 and Landry, 2002; Landry and 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.

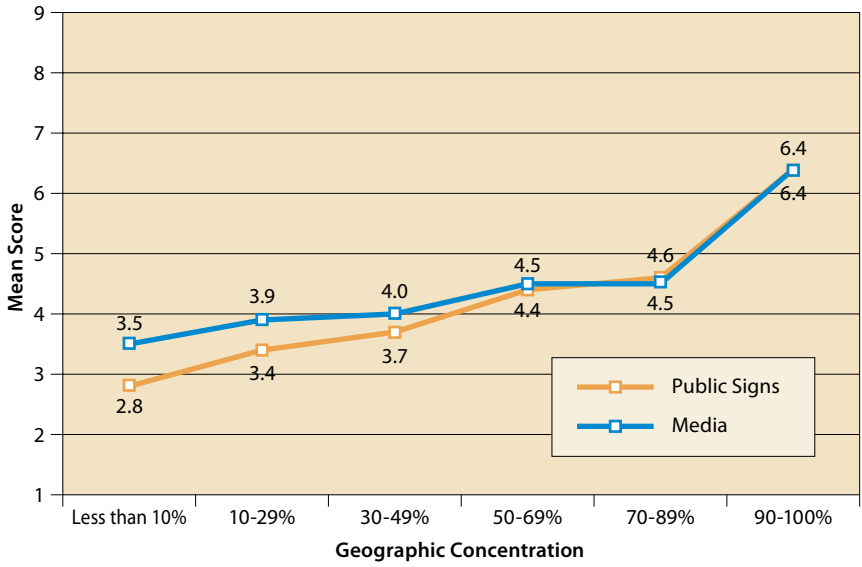
On average, students in New Brunswick feel that they have a particularly bilingual linguistic landscape (mean scores varying between 5.3 to 5.5). It is the perception of a bilingual linguistic landscape that these students have most often (about 45%). Nearly a third of students report a Franco-dominant experience with the linguistic landscape and about one in five students finds these contacts with commercial

and public signs as being Anglo-dominant. In the Atlantic region, about two-thirds of students find that their linguistic landscape experience was Anglo-dominant. Here once again, as with contact with the media, their situation seems atypical with respect to linguistic vitality on the demographic level. In Ontario and in the West/North region, typically about 50% of students feel that their linguistic landscape experience during childhood was Anglo-dominant. Given the differences in Francophone geographic density between the regions, further analysis would be required to explain the atypical situations in the Atlantic region and in the West/North region. To what degree do these scores reflect objective differences in the linguistic landscape and to what degree does this reported experience reflect subjective factors? Further research would be required to better interpret inter-regional differences.

Finally, figure 4.5 presents enculturation relative to the media and linguistic landscape based on Francophone geographic concentration. We note that the two types of language experiences are linearly linked to the demographic density of Francophones, with the relationship being stronger for linguistic landscape than for the media. Another

Figure 4.5

Contacts with the Media and Commercial and Public Signs Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



finding is that the difference between a proportion of 70 to 89% and a proportion of 90% and more of Francophones is as big as the difference between less than 10% and 70 to 89% of Francophones. It appears that it is only when Francophones constitute over 90% of the population of their municipality that students feel that they live with a bit more French than English with respect to the media and linguistic landscape.

4.2.2 Personal autonomization

We will now discuss the second type of ethnolinguistic socialization. As described in our conceptual framework, this is a qualitative aspect of the ethnolinguistic experience. We identified aspects of ethnolinguistic socialization that help to foster a person's autonomy when learning or using English and French based on the self-determination theory of Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000 and 2002). According to their theory, an autonomous person works not for external or instrumental reasons, but for reasons deemed their own. The person's reasons are internal and built into their beliefs and values. In a minority language context, it is important not only to speak the language of one's ingroup for practical reasons or to please one's parents or teachers. Due to the higher status of the majority language, the practical reasons for learning a language risk mostly fostering the learning of the dominant language. A member 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 and Allard, 2006b). 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 promote the opportunity 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 strongly 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 ethnolinguistic experiences have encouraged or promoted their ethnolinguistic autonomy. According to self-determination theory, a person's autonomy is fostered if the experience helps 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 French and during their classes in English. For the two other contexts, students considered, separately, their contacts with English-speaking and French-speaking people.

In the first questionnaire, for each of the three life contexts, students evaluated experiences that, based on self-determination theory, encouraged 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 difficulties were encountered, 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 indicated the degree to which they received a warm welcome, there was sincere interest in what they were doing, and they were praised, three questions that measured the support given to relatedness.

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 French, and the second providing a profile of personal autonomization experiences

in English. Each table gives the mean scores on a nine-point scale and creates three categories of students: those with weak support (scores from 1 to 3.499), moderate support (3.5 to 6.499) and strong support (6.5 to 9) for autonomy, competence and relatedness.

On average, for all of Canada outside Quebec, the students assess their support in French for each of the three needs as being strong (mean scores of 7.4 for autonomy, 7.3 for competence, and 7.4 for relatedness). Table 4.15 also shows that there is little variation based on life contexts. We note, however, regional differences. In New Brunswick, about eight in ten students (from 76.1% to 83.5% depending on the context) feel they received strong support for these three needs in French. It is in Ontario that the number of students who evaluated support for their needs as strong is the lowest, with percentages ranging from 58.4% (support for competence from friends and acquaintances) to 63.8% (support for autonomy at school). In the Atlantic region, the percentage of students assessing support for the three needs as strong ranges from 68.4% (for support for autonomy at school) to 77.9% (support for relatedness from the family and relatives). In the West/North region, those percentages range from 62.5% (for support for autonomy from friends and acquaintances) to 76.8% (for support for relatedness from the family and relatives). We note that Ontario seems to stand out more from the three other regions for support for relatedness, especially in the context of friends, acquaintances and family.

The lower scores in Ontario for personal autonomization experiences in French may be partially related to a greater ethnic diversity. Let us recall that the highest number of Allophones and the lowest rate of Francophone endogamy can be found in Ontario. In fact, although Ontario has the lowest percentage of students with strong personal autonomization experiences in French, this province is also the one closest to New Brunswick in low percentage of students with strong personal autonomization experiences in English (see table 4.16). In New Brunswick, the percentages of students with strong personal autonomization experiences in English range from 46.4% (for support for autonomy from the family and relatives) to 57.6% (for support for relatedness from friends and acquaintances). In general, about one in two students feels having had a strong personal autonomization experience in English in New Brunswick. In Ontario, the percentage

Table 4.15

Personal Autonomization Experiences in French since Childhood

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Support for Autonomy						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	1.9	5.6	7.7	3.5	4.3
	Moderate (%)	18.3	24.0	30.3	29.7	23.4
	Strong (%)	79.8	70.4	62.0	66.9	72.4
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.1**	**6.9**	**7.1**	**7.4**
School	Weak (%)	1.8	2.9	4.9	3.4	3.0
	Moderate (%)	20.1	28.7	31.3	30.0	24.9
	Strong (%)	78.1	68.4	63.8	66.5	72.1
	Mean score	**7.7**	**7.1**	**7.0**	**7.2**	**7.4**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	1.3	4.0	6.4	4.1	3.4
	Moderate (%)	16.8	21.4	33.6	33.4	23.9
	Strong (%)	81.9	74.6	60.0	62.5	72.7
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.2**	**6.8**	**7.1**	**7.4**
Autonomy	**Mean score**	**7.7**	**7.2**	**6.9**	**7.1**	**7.4**
Support for Competence						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	2.2	6.4	8.0	5.9	4.6
	Moderate (%)	16.4	19.9	30.4	30.9	22.3
	Strong (%)	81.4	73.8	61.6	63.2	73.1
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.1**	**6.8**	**7.1**	**7.4**
School	Weak (%)	2.1	5.8	5.8	4.4	3.7
	Moderate (%)	18.2	20.5	30.9	28.1	23.4
	Strong (%)	79.7	73.6	63.3	67.5	72.9
	Mean score	**7.7**	**7.0**	**6.9**	**7.1**	**7.4**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	1.7	5.3	7.1	4.7	3.9
	Moderate (%)	19.1	23.9	34.5	31.5	25.5
	Strong (%)	79.2	70.8	58.4	63.8	70.6
	Mean score	**7.7**	**7.0**	**6.7**	**7.0**	**7.3**
Competence	**Mean score**	**7.7**	**7.1**	**6.8**	**7.1**	**7.3**

Table 4.15 (cont'd)
Personal Autonomization Experiences in French since Childhood

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Support for Relatedness						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	2.1	6.4	7.7	6.4	4.5
	Moderate (%)	14.4	15.7	27.1	16.8	19.4
	Strong (%)	83.5	77.9	65.1	76.8	76.1
	Mean score	**7.9**	**7.3**	**7.0**	**7.4**	**7.5**
School	Weak (%)	3.0	5.4	6.8	4.3	4.6
	Moderate (%)	20.9	25.1	31.0	26.3	25.0
	Strong (%)	76.1	69.5	62.2	69.4	70.4
	Mean score	**7.5**	**7.0**	**6.9**	**7.3**	**7.3**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	1.9	6.5	6.0	3.9	3.6
	Moderate (%)	16.4	19.3	31.0	24.8	22.3
	Strong (%)	81.7	74.2	62.9	71.3	74.0
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.1**	**6.9**	**7.2**	**7.4**
Relatedness	**Mean score**	**7.7**	**7.2**	**6.9**	**7.3**	**7.4**

of students with high scores for support for autonomy, competence and relatedness in English range from 47.7% (support for autonomy from the family and relatives) to 60.2% (support for relatedness from friends and acquaintances). About five or six in ten students believe they had strong personal autonomization experiences in English in Ontario. The Atlantic and West/North regions have similar profiles. In those regions, over six in ten students often believe they had a strong personal autonomization experience in English. Support for relatedness in English is strongest in the West/North region, where seven in ten students (70.1%) report strong personal autonomization experiences in their relationships with friends and acquaintances.

In short, it is only in New Brunswick that personal autonomization experience in French tends to be significantly stronger than in English (mean scores for the three needs of 7.7 in French and 6.2 in English), the first tending to be very strong and the other moderately strong. In the other regions, Francophone personal autonomization experience is only generally a bit stronger in French than in English.

Table 4.16

Personal Autonomization Experiences in English since Childhood

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Support for Autonomy						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	19.7	7.7	12.1	7.2	16.3
	Moderate (%)	33.9	35.6	40.1	35.9	36.4
	Strong (%)	46.4	56.7	47.7	56.9	47.3
	Mean score	**5.9**	**6.6**	**6.2**	**6.7**	**6.0**
School	Weak (%)	16.1	7.2	10.8	8.4	13.7
	Moderate (%)	34.2	37.0	40.7	36.9	36.8
	Strong (%)	49.7	55.8	48.6	54.7	49.5
	Mean score	**6.2**	**6.6**	**6.3**	**6.6**	**6.2**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	16.1	6.6	7.0	4.9	12.2
	Moderate (%)	30.5	26.7	35.1	31.8	32.3
	Strong (%)	53.4	66.7	57.9	63.3	55.6
	Mean score	**6.3**	**6.9**	**6.7**	**7.0**	**6.5**
Autonomy	**Mean score**	**6.1**	**6.7**	**6.4**	**6.7**	**6.2**
Support for Competence						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	22.5	8.4	11.8	9.9	17.8
	Moderate (%)	28.8	34.2	37.1	38.6	32.3
	Strong (%)	48.7	57.4	51.2	51.6	49.8
	Mean score	**5.9**	**6.6**	**6.3**	**6.4**	**6.1**
School	Weak (%)	17.1	8.7	10.1	10.5	14.1
	Moderate (%)	30.0	33.2	37.6	35.5	33.1
	Strong (%)	52.9	58.0	52.3	54.0	52.8
	Mean score	**6.2**	**6.5**	**6.4**	**6.5**	**6.3**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	19.2	5.9	7.9	6.9	14.3
	Moderate (%)	29.6	35.5	37.0	30.0	32.5
	Strong (%)	51.2	58.6	55.1	63.1	53.1
	Mean score	**6.1**	**6.7**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**6.3**
Competence	**Mean score**	**6.0**	**6.6**	**6.4**	**6.6**	**6.2**

Table 4.16 (cont'd)
Personal Autonomization Experiences in English since Childhood

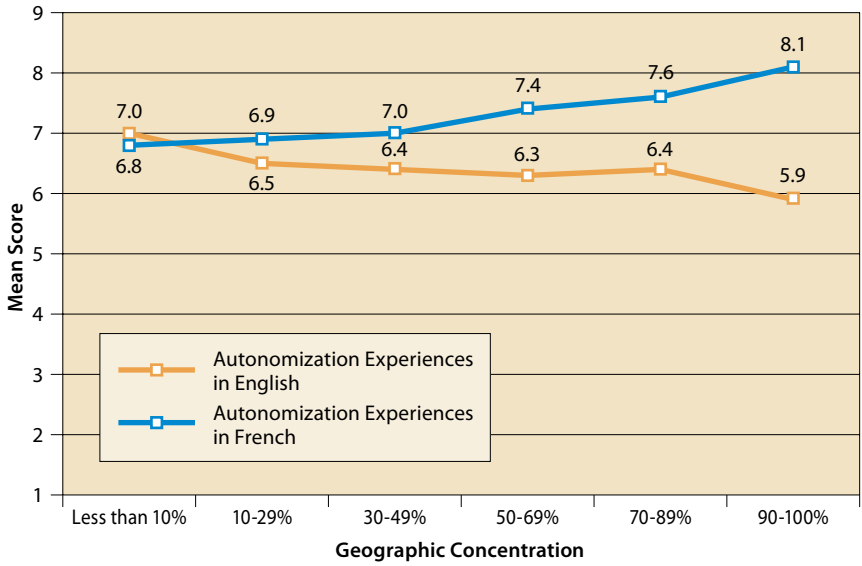
		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Support for Relatedness						
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	18.8	7.4	11.2	8.3	15.4
	Moderate (%)	25.1	27.0	33.4	24.9	28.3
	Strong (%)	56.1	65.6	55.4	66.7	56.2
	Mean score	**6.3**	**6.9**	**6.5**	**7.0**	**6.4**
School	Weak (%)	15.1	7.1	9.3	8.6	12.6
	Moderate (%)	30.1	37.6	37.2	28.4	32.9
	Strong (%)	54.8	55.3	53.4	63.0	54.5
	Mean score	**6.3**	**6.6**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**6.4**
Friends and Acquaintances	Weak (%)	16.0	5.3	7.3	5.4	12.2
	Moderate (%)	26.4	30.5	32.5	24.5	28.8
	Strong (%)	57.6	64.2	60.2	70.1	59.0
	Mean score	**6.4**	**6.9**	**6.8**	**7.2**	**6.6**
Relatedness	**Mean score**	**6.4**	**6.8**	**6.6**	**7.0**	**6.5**

The mean scores obtained by grouping support for the three needs for French and English are, respectively, 7.1 and 6.7 in the Atlantic region, 6.9 and 6.5 in Ontario and 7.2 and 6.8 in the West/North region. In each of these regions, the difference in favour of personal autonomization experience in French is 0.4 points. In these regions, personal autonomization experience tends to be rather strong in each of the languages.

Figure 4.6 shows that geographic density is associated with the strength of personal autonomization experience in each language. When the Francophone population is under 10%, personal autonomization experiences tend to be equally strong in each language. It should be noted that the three life contexts are in the private domain. School is an institution managed by the minority and where the life experiences measured are associated with private contacts. Figure 4.6 reveals that the higher the concentration of Francophones, the more the Francophone personal autonomization experience tends to be stronger than the Anglophone personal autonomization experience.

Figure 4.6

Personal Autonomization Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



Nevertheless, even when the population is over 90% Francophone, even if Francophone personal autonomization experience is very strong (mean score of 8.1 out of 9), the Anglophone personal autonomization experience is moderately strong (mean score of 5.9). We also note that, for all students, it is support for relatedness that tends to be strongest in English (see table 4.16), which is clearly associated with Anglophone and bilingual identity building.

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 one's minority status or the legitimization of one's group in society. In our study, Francophone social conscientization alone was measured. Measuring Anglophone social conscientization was considered inappropriate since it is fairly rare, in an Anglophone majority, for English to experience oppression. Furthermore, we are

analyzing the perspective of the Francophone minority group in this study. 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 Francophone social conscientization. The first asked students to what degree, over their lifetime, they had been in contact with awareness-raising models, i.e., significant people around them who valued the French language and culture, demonstrated identity-affirming behaviours or asserted language rights for Francophones. This questionnaire contained twelve questions, four measuring how often they observed people demonstrating valorization behaviours, four questionnaires on affirming 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 French Language and Culture: Frequency of Contact with Models Since Childhood

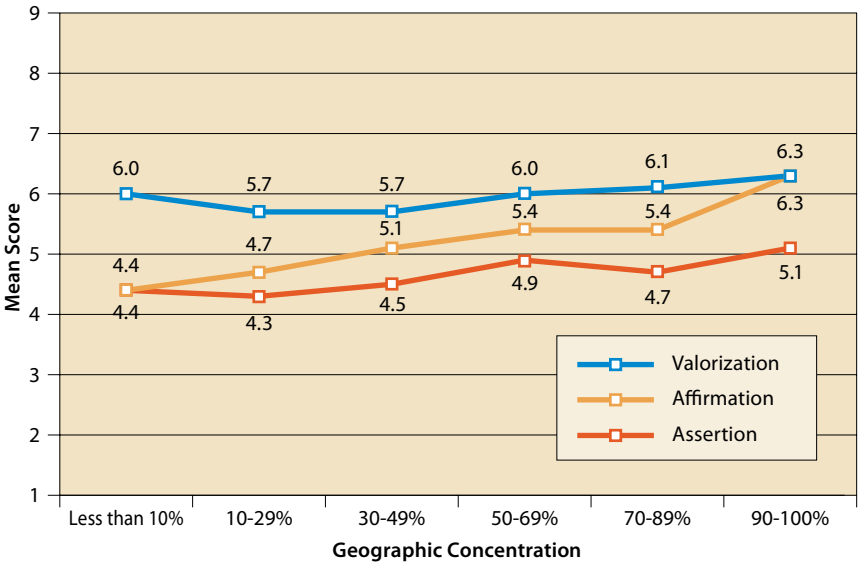
		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Valorization	Weak (%)	11.2	10.4	12.9	6.7	11.7
	Moderate (%)	42.5	38.8	42.0	35.0	42.1
	Strong (%)	46.2	50.8	45.1	58.3	46.2
	Mean score	**6.0**	**6.0**	**5.9**	**6.5**	**6.0**
Affirmation	Weak (%)	17.6	35.7	26.0	24.6	21.3
	Moderate (%)	42.9	44.3	46.0	51.6	44.4
	Strong (%)	39.5	20.0	27.9	23.8	34.3
	Mean score	**5.7**	**4.3**	**4.9**	**4.9**	**5.3**
Assertion	Weak (%)	31.2	38.6	30.1	21.2	30.5
	Moderate (%)	45.1	36.3	47.7	49.9	46.1
	Strong (%)	23.8	25.2	22.3	28.8	23.3
	Mean score	**4.7**	**4.4**	**4.7**	**5.1**	**4.7**
Models (overall score)	**Mean score**	**5.5**	**4.9**	**5.2**	**5.5**	**5.3**

The first finding is that students tend to be in greater contact with models of valorization (mean score of 6.0 for Canada minus Quebec) than with identity-affirming models (mean score = 5.3), with contact with the latter being more frequent than with assertion models (mean score = 4.7). However, this general trend hides regional differences. In New Brunswick, the trend is similar to the global trend. Nearly one in two students (46.2%) feels having had frequent contact with people who value the French language and culture, while four in ten students (39.5%) report frequent contact with identity-affirming models, and only slightly over two in ten students (23.8%) feel that they have often been in contact with asserting people. In the Atlantic region, contact with valorization models are also the most frequent (50.8% of students have high scores), but a slightly higher percentage of students (25.2%) feel that they have had more frequent contact with rights-asserting models than with identity-affirming models (20.0%). In Ontario, the percentage of students having had frequent contact with models who value the French language is similar to New Brunswick's (45.1%), but there are relatively few differences between frequent contact with identity-affirming models and rights-asserting models (27.9% and 22.3%, respectively). The West/North region stands out given its higher concentration of students having had frequent contact with people who value the French language and culture (58.3%), as well as with models who assert language rights (28.8%). It is in the Atlantic and West/North regions where there tends to be less frequent contact (20.0% and 23.8%, respectively) with people who publicly affirm their Francophone identity (e.g., ask for services in French in businesses and other institutions), and it is in New Brunswick that these behaviours are observed most often (39.5% of scores of 6.5 or more). 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 with awareness-raising models, with New Brunswick and the West/North region having an identical mean score (5.5), Ontario a mean score of 5.2 and the Atlantic region a mean score of 4.9.

Figure 4.7 shows the mean scores for each type of awareness-raising model according to Francophone geographic concentration. Francophone geographic density has little to do with the frequency of contact with models who value the French language and culture. The lowest mean scores are found in municipalities with a Francophone

Figure 4.7

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



population of between 10 and 29% (mean score = 5.7) and between 30 and 49% (mean score = 5.7) and the highest mean score (6.3) is for municipalities with between 90 and 100%. We note that these scores are not representative of the general population, but rather the student populations (here, those in Grade 11) that attend French-language schools. We have already noted that the French-language school population tends to be more selective in regions with low Francophone density (e.g., parents with higher education). This could explain why the mean score of contact with valorization models is as high (6.0) in municipalities with a Francophone population under 10% as in those with a population between 50 and 69% (mean score = 6.0) or between 70 and 89% (mean score = 6.1). Public Francophone identity-affirming behaviours are most certainly easier in regions with a high Francophone concentration than in regions where Francophones are small minorities. The results of figure 4.7 tend to confirm this expectation, with the mean score for contact with identity-affirming models being lowest in municipalities where Francophones make up less than 10% of the population (4.4) and the highest mean score being in municipalities where they represent 90% or more of the population (6.3). Nevertheless,

this trend is not absolutely linear. We note that there is no difference between the category of 50–69% and of 70–89%. This indicates that factors other than geographic density are at play.

Finally, the relationship between Francophone geographic density and frequency of contact with people who assert language rights is rather weak. One could, in fact, hypothesize that in regions with a high Francophone concentration, there are few chances of language rights not being respected. On the other extreme, one could also hypothesize that except, perhaps, for school rights, a population with a very low Francophone concentration could be less inclined to assert its rights. Another possible hypothesis would be that once it obtains French schools, the Francophone population is usually little inclined to become mobilized to obtain additional language rights, regardless of Francophone geographic concentration. This would explain why, overall, students feel that they have had only moderate contact with people who assert Francophone rights. Of course, none of these hypotheses can be verified without further study.

The second questionnaire was aimed at determining what categories of people tend to be models for valorization of French 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 contact with six categories of people. They indicated how often, since childhood, they had seen or heard those people promote the French language and culture. These categories and the results of the questionnaire are presented in table 4.18.

We note, for all Grade 11 students from the 30 French-language school boards that took part in the study, that 54.0% state having frequent contact with models who validate the French language and culture in their family and among their relatives (scores of 6.5 and higher). It is interesting to see that the highest percentage (64.7%) is found in the West/North region, i.e., the region with the lowest concentration of Francophones. This supports the theory that students in those regions tend to be part of a more selective school population, i.e., having parents who are more aware of the need to continue learning and using the French language.

Table 4.18
Social Conscientization: Frequency of Observation of Categories of People Valorizing the French Language and Culture

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Family and relatives	Weak (%)	15.2	12.7	17.1	8.3	15.7
	Moderate (%)	30.5	32.0	30.0	27.1	30.2
	Strong (%)	54.2	55.3	52.9	64.7	54.0
	Mean score	**6.4**	**6.3**	**6.2**	**6.9**	**6.3**
Teachers	Weak (%)	3.6	5.0	4.6	2.9	4.0
	Moderate (%)	16.2	11.2	18.8	18.2	17.2
	Strong (%)	80.2	83.8	76.6	78.9	78.8
	Mean score	**7.6**	**7.5**	**7.5**	**7.7**	**7.5**
Friends	Weak (%)	30.0	30.3	30.2	23.9	29.9
	Moderate (%)	38.1	43.0	46.5	43.5	41.6
	Strong (%)	31.9	26.7	23.3	32.6	28.5
	Mean score	**5.2**	**4.9**	**4.8**	**5.4**	**5.1**
Other acquaintances	Weak (%)	22.4	28.7	27.8	23.8	24.6
	Moderate (%)	43.7	38.2	44.3	39.1	43.7
	Strong (%)	33.9	33.1	27.8	37.1	31.6
	Mean score	**5.4**	**5.1**	**5.0**	**5.4**	**5.3**
Artists	Weak (%)	17.6	33.3	26.6	22.8	21.4
	Moderate (%)	38.2	41.9	43.4	38.4	40.3
	Strong (%)	44.3	24.7	29.9	38.7	38.3
	Mean score	**5.9**	**4.7**	**5.1**	**5.5**	**5.6**
Community leaders	Weak (%)	18.7	26.0	26.8	20.9	22.0
	Moderate (%)	39.4	40.5	42.7	32.6	40.5
	Strong (%)	41.9	33.5	30.5	46.5	37.5
	Mean score	**5.8**	**5.2**	**5.1**	**5.8**	**5.5**
Category total	**Overall score**	**6.0**	**5.6**	**5.6**	**6.1**	**5.9**

However, teachers fall in the category of people who provide the largest amount of contact with models for linguistic and cultural valorization in all regions. Nearly eight in ten students (78.8%) state that they have often seen or heard teachers value the French language and culture. Regional differences are rather small, ranging from 83.8% in the Atlantic region to 76.6% in Ontario.

In the other categories of people, the frequency of contact with models of linguistic and cultural valorization are lower. Nearly three in ten students (28.5%) state that they have often heard or seen friends promote the French language and culture, with the lowest percentage (23.3%) being in Ontario. The percentage is similar (31.6%) among the "other acquaintances" and tends to be highest in the West/North region (37.1%) and lowest in Ontario (27.8%).

Artists are strong models of linguistic and cultural valorization for nearly four in ten students (38.3%). The highest student scores are in New Brunswick (44.3%), and the lowest are in the Atlantic region (24.7%).

Finally, community leaders are also considered models of linguistic and cultural valorization for nearly four in ten students (37.5%), with the highest student scores being in the West/North region (46.5%) and in New Brunswick (41.9%). It is also in these regions that we find the highest mean scores for all categories of people (6.1 and 6.0, respectively). The two other regions have identical mean scores of 5.6. For all students, frequency of contact with models of linguistic and cultural validation for all categories ranges from moderate to moderately high. As shown in figure 4.8, mean scores for all categories together are distributed demographically in a similar manner as the valorization scores set out in the previous figure (see figure 4.7). The relationship with Francophone geographic density is rather weak.

The last questionnaire regarding social conscientization contained 12 questions measuring a variety of awareness-raising personal experiences about the Francophone situation. A factorial analysis groups these experiences together under two categories: experiences with discrimination (e.g., strong experiences that make the student aware of the injustices borne by the Francophone minority or being a victim of unjust treatment because they were speaking in French) and awareness-raising experiences (e.g., awareness of Francophone rights, awareness of events relating to the struggle of Francophones for the survival of their language and culture). 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.

Figure 4.8

Social Conscientization
Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration

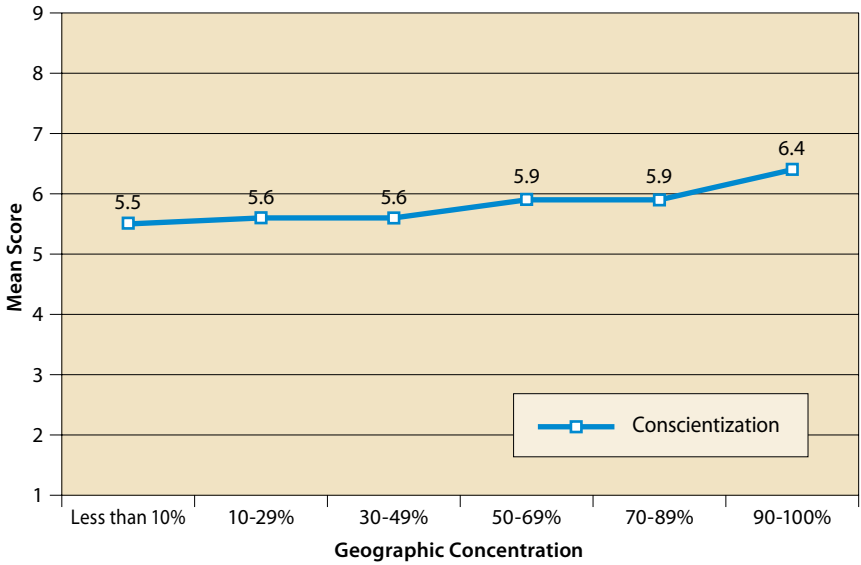


Table 4.19
Social Conscientization in Relation to the French Language and Culture: Personal Experiences Since Childhood

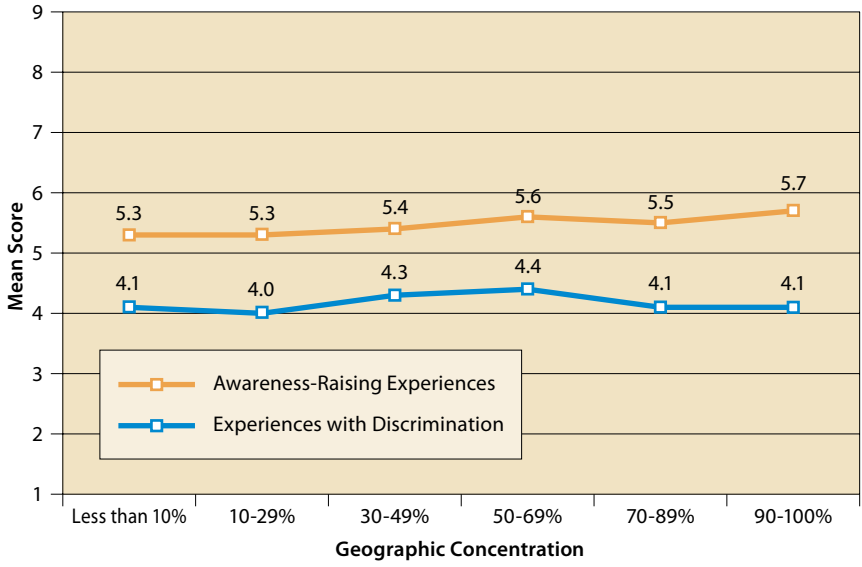
		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Awareness-raising Experiences	Weak (%)	47.4	46.6	41.4	33.6	44.6
	Moderate (%)	36.6	37.1	41.1	41.8	38.5
	Strong (%)	16.0	16.3	17.6	24.6	16.9
	Mean score	**5.5**	**5.2**	**5.4**	**5.7**	**5.5**
Discrimination Experiences	Weak (%)	13.2	17.3	16.6	10.2	14.5
	Moderate (%)	55.8	61.0	53.5	53.2	54.9
	Strong (%)	31.0	21.7	29.9	36.6	30.6
	Mean score	**4.0**	**4.1**	**4.2**	**4.7**	**4.1**
Personal Experiences	**Mean score**	**4.8**	**4.6**	**4.8**	**5.2**	**4.8**

On the whole, students feel that the situations described in the questionnaire correspond moderately to theirs (mean score of 5.5) as concerns awareness-raising experiences and relatively weakly for

discrimination experiences (mean score of 4.1). 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 (30.6%) is nearly double that of strong awareness-raising experiences (16.9%). It is in the West/North region that the highest proportion of students feel that they have had strong experiences, both on the awareness-raising level (24.6%) and on the discrimination level (36.6%). It is relevant to note the relatively high number of students (44.6%) that state having been only weakly made aware of the Francophone situation. We note that the percentage of students who feel that they had little awareness-raising experiences of the Francophone situation tends to be inversely related to the geographic density of the regions (47.4% in New Brunswick, 46.6% in the Atlantic region, 41.4% in Ontario and 33.6% in the West/North region). This is an interesting contrast given that the mean scores for awareness-raising experiences are barely related to the concentration of Francophone populations as shown in figure 4.9. The same holds true for experiences with discrimination.

Figure 4.9

Experiences with Discrimination and Awareness-Raising Based on Francophone 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, psycholinguistic traits that result from ethnolinguistic 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 is or recognizing oneself as 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 and Allard, 2005). For example, a person can say they are Francophone 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 Francophone identity without first recognizing themselves as Francophone. 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 highly correlated

with the self-definition component, whereas it is the more qualitative aspects of personal autonomization and social conscientization that are most closely related to the identity involvement component (Deveau, 2007).

4.3.1.1 Self-definition

Persons may identify themselves with several groups. Our questionnaire measured six identities: Francophone, Anglophone, bilingual, Franco-territorial (e.g., Franco-Ontarian, Acadian), Quebecois and Canadian. We measured Quebecois identity even if the students all go to school outside Quebec for two reasons. First, numerous Francophone communities outside Quebec are the result of more or less remote Quebecois migrations. Second, due to recent migrations, some students may have been born in Quebec or have Quebecois parents. Although in certain communities students may come from several Canadian provinces, it is Quebecois migration that tends to be predominant in Francophone communities outside Quebec (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004).

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-Francophone _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ Francophone

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 the Canadian identity is strongest in all regions. The scores are very high (mean score of 8.4) and vary

only slightly according to region. The somewhat lower percentage of high scores in Ontario (90.6%) is explained by the higher percentage of immigrants in this province's schools. On the other hand, it is the Quebecois identity that is weakest (mean score of 2.2), which is expected given that students go to schools and live outside Quebec. We note, nevertheless, that a certain percentage of students (6.3%) identify themselves strongly as Quebecois. They were probably born

Table 4.20

Categories of Identity Self-Definition

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Francophone	Weak (%)	1.9	5.4	6.2	0.6	3.7
	Moderate (%)	14.2	19.4	28.8	24.4	20.4
	Strong (%)	83.8	75.2	65.0	75.1	75.9
	Mean score	**7.8**	**7.2**	**7.0**	**7.5**	**7.5**
Anglophone	Weak (%)	29.5	13.4	13.3	8.6	22.2
	Moderate (%)	43.7	28.9	36.5	34.6	40.4
	Strong (%)	26.9	57.7	50.2	56.8	37.4
	Mean score	**4.9**	**6.4**	**6.2**	**6.4**	**5.5**
Bilingual	Weak (%)	10.2	2.7	1.6	1.1	6.4
	Moderate (%)	23.5	9.8	13.6	6.4	18.9
	Strong (%)	66.3	87.5	84.8	92.5	74.7
	Mean score	**6.9**	**8.0**	**7.9**	**8.3**	**7.4**
Franco-territorial	Weak (%)	15.5	18.4	9.4	13.9	13.0
	Moderate (%)	14.0	8.4	27.4	16.3	19.4
	Strong (%)	70.5	73.3	63.2	69.8	67.6
	Mean score	**7.0**	**7.0**	**6.8**	**6.8**	**6.9**
Québécois	Weak (%)	84.5	85.2	77.2	77.5	81.4
	Moderate (%)	10.1	7.8	15.7	13.2	12.4
	Strong (%)	5.5	7.0	7.1	9.3	6.3
	Mean score	**2.0**	**2.0**	**2.5**	**2.5**	**2.2**
Canadian	Weak (%)	1.5	0.4	1.9	2.5	1.7
	Moderate (%)	4.1	3.7	7.5	3.3	5.4
	Strong (%)	94.4	95.9	90.6	94.2	92.9
	Mean score	**8.5**	**8.6**	**8.3**	**8.4**	**8.4**

in Quebec or to Quebecois parents. This percentage is lowest in New Brunswick (5.5%) and highest in the West/North region (9.3%). We also note that another 12.4% of students have a moderate Quebecois identity. The four other identities measured are linguistic in nature. The strongest among them are the Francophone (mean score of 7.5) and bilingual (mean score of 7.4) identities. Three in four students (75.9%) have a strong Francophone identity and very few have a weak Francophone identity (3.7%). The other 20.4% identify themselves as moderately Francophone. Francophone identity is not uniform according to region. In New Brunswick, more than eight in ten students (83.8%) state having a strong Francophone identity. In Ontario, fewer than two in three students (65.0%) identify themselves strongly as Francophone. In the Atlantic and West/North regions, three in four students (75.2% and 75.1%, respectively) state having a strong Francophone identity.

As for the strength of the Anglophone identity, New Brunswick stands out once again from the other regions. The mean score of New Brunswick students on this identity is moderate (4.9), but it is moderately high (between 6.2 and 6.4) in the other regions. We note that slightly over one in four students state having a strong Anglophone identity (26.9%) in New Brunswick, while the figure is one in two students (50.2%) in Ontario and nearly six in ten students in the Atlantic and West/North regions (57.7% and 56.8%, respectively). In general, for all Grade 11 students outside Quebec, the mean for Anglophone identity is two points below that of Francophone identity (5.5 versus 7.5).

Francophone students state that they are increasingly bilingual (Dallaire and 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 and Allard, 2006c); however, when taken alone, bilingual identity tends to be strong in all regions, either for reasons of relatedness or competence (Landry, Allard and Deveau, submitted for publication). In New Brunswick, two in three students (66.3%) report strong bilingual identity, while in the other regions, eight to nine in ten students identify themselves strongly as being bilingual (from 84.8% to 92.5%).

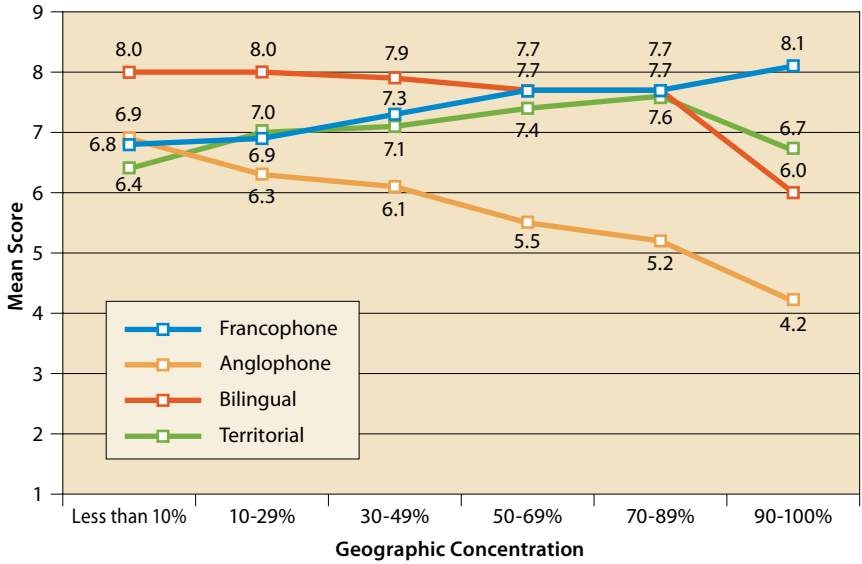
As for Franco-territorial identity, it tends to be similar to Francophone identity. Students from New Brunswick and the Atlantic region expressed their Acadian identity, whereas the others reported their Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Saskatchewanian, Franco-Albertan, Franco-British Colombian, Franco-People of the North and Franco-Yukoner identity, depending on the province or territory inhabited. We note that the difference between Francophone identity and Franco-territorial identity is greater in New Brunswick: 83.8% have a strong Francophone identity, but only 70.5% have a strong Acadian identity. It is highly likely that these identities vary depending on the student's origin and depending on the regions of New Brunswick inhabited (e.g., Landry and Allard, 1994b). In the Atlantic region, nearly three in four students have a strong Acadian identity (73.3%), but we note a low percentage of moderate self-definition (8.4%), which seems to indicate a certain polarization with respect to Acadian identity. The data would need to be analyzed further in order to determine whether the Acadian identity is strongly related to a Francophone identity. In Ontario, there is little difference in the percentage of students who identify themselves strongly as Francophone (65.0%) or as Franco-Ontarian (63.2%). Since the term Franco-Ontarian corresponds less to an ethnic origin than the Acadian identity, Francophone identity and Franco-Ontarian identity are probably highly correlated. Finally, in the West/North region, the percentage of students with a strong Franco-territorial identity is a bit lower than the percentage with a strong Francophone identity (69.8% versus 75.1%). The variables would have to be further analyzed individually for each province and territory to analyze the correspondence between these two identities.

Figure 4.10 shows the relationship between Francophone geographic density and the four language-based identities. We note that the bilingual identity is strong in all demographic categories, but tends to plunge in municipalities with 90% or more Francophones.

The Francophone identity becomes strongest in regions with a high Francophone concentration, whereas the Anglophone identity increases linearly as the Francophone population decreases. The territorial identity increases linearly the higher the Francophone density, with the mean score increasing from 6.4 to 7.6 between the categories

Figure 4.10

Ethnolinguistic Identity Self-Definitions Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



of 1-9% and 70-89%, and then plunging to 6.7. One explanation for this exception is the differences between northwest and northeast New Brunswick, the two regions in which a majority of the localities have Francophone citizens representing over 90% of their populations. In the northwest, a high percentage of Francophone residents do not identify themselves as Acadian, whereas almost all Francophones in northeastern New Brunswick say that they are Acadian. Finally, it is interesting to note that in municipalities with a Francophone population under 10%, the Francophone identity, Franco-territorial identity and Anglophone identity are practically equal. Therefore, having a strong Francophone identity in a territory where Francophones are a very small minority may be associated with a strong Anglophone identity even if the student attends a French school. The frequency of exogamy and having English as the dominant language in daily activities certainly contributes to this hybrid, if not Anglo-dominant identity.

4.3.1.2 Identity involvement

Identity involvement, the second component of ethnolinguistic identity, was measured with respect to both official language communities. Our conceptual framework groups together three categories of highly correlated variables that constitute a single statistical factor (Deveau, Landry and 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 Francophone community). Collective self-esteem is summarized as the pride felt at the idea of belonging to the group (e.g., Belonging to the Francophone 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 Francophone 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 in order to present the results. We also came up with an overall score for all 12 statements. Table 4.21 presents the results relating to Francophone identity involvement, and table 4.22 presents those corresponding to Anglophone identity involvement.

Table 4.21 shows Francophone identity involvement scores for all Grade 11 students, with mean scores ranging from 6.6 for affective involvement to 7.0 for collective self-esteem. The percentage of high scores (strong identity involvement) is greatest in New Brunswick and the West/North region. New Brunswick has the highest proportion of students (73.6%) who perceive themselves to be very similar to members of the Francophone community (self-categorization). However, it is among students in the West/North region that we find the highest proportion of students with strong affective involvement

Table 4.21
Francophone Identity Involvement

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Self-categorization	Weak (%)	3.2	8.7	10.2	4.4	6.1
	Moderate (%)	23.3	29.7	39.3	32.6	30.1
	Strong (%)	73.6	61.6	50.6	63.0	63.8
	Mean score	**7.2**	**6.6**	**6.2**	**6.8**	**6.8**
Collective self-esteem	Weak (%)	2.9	5.9	6.6	2.4	4.4
	Moderate (%)	21.8	23.2	34.2	24.3	26.9
	Strong (%)	75.3	70.9	59.2	73.3	68.7
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.9**	**6.6**	**7.2**	**7.0**
Affective involvement	Weak (%)	6.3	9.8	10.4	4.5	7.9
	Moderate (%)	29.5	34.8	37.4	27.3	32.7
	Strong (%)	64.1	55.4	52.3	68.3	59.3
	Mean score	**6.8**	**6.4**	**6.3**	**6.9**	**6.6**
Francophone involvement	**Mean score**	**7.1**	**6.6**	**6.4**	**7.0**	**6.8**

Table 4.22
Anglophone Identity Involvement

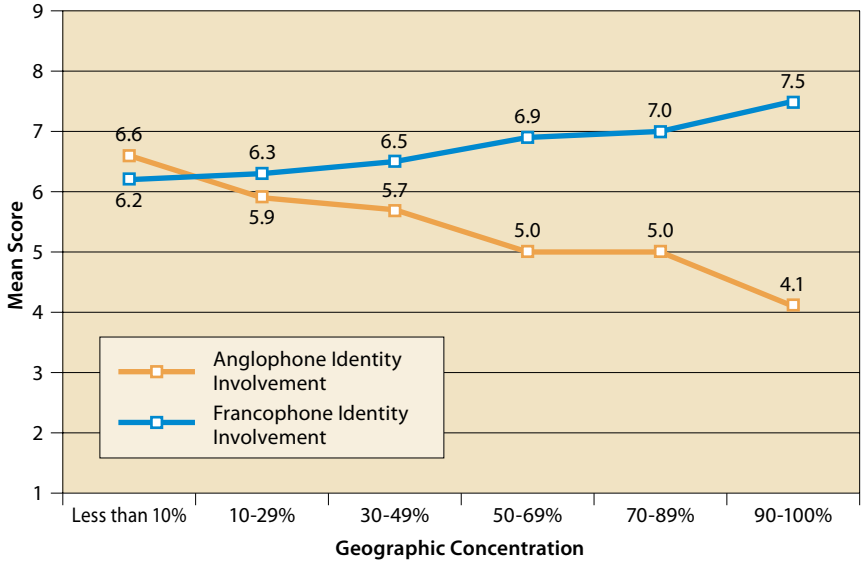
		N.-B.	Atlantique	Ontario	Ouest/Nord	Total
Self-categorization	Weak (%)	32.0	13.4	11.7	6.5	22.8
	Moderate (%)	47.0	45.3	41.2	40.1	44.5
	Strong (%)	21.0	41.3	47.1	53.5	32.7
	Mean score	**4.6**	**5.8**	**6.0**	**6.2**	**5.2**
Collective self-esteem	Weak (%)	29.2	9.7	10.5	4.0	20.7
	Moderate (%)	45.7	44.5	39.7	39.5	43.1
	Strong (%)	25.1	45.8	49.8	56.5	36.2
	Mean score	**4.8**	**6.1**	**6.1**	**6.4**	**5.4**
Affective involvement	Weak (%)	31.2	14.3	17.1	14.8	24.8
	Moderate (%)	45.1	48.5	45.9	44.9	45.5
	Strong (%)	23.8	37.2	37.0	40.3	29.7
	Mean score	**4.7**	**5.7**	**5.5**	**5.7**	**5.1**
Anglophone involvement	**Mean score**	**4.7**	**5.9**	**5.9**	**6.1**	**5.2**

(68.3%). It is in Ontario where percentages of students with strong Francophone identity involvement scores are lowest (50.6% for self-categorization, 59.2% for collective self-esteem, and 52.3% for affective involvement). In the Atlantic region, about seven in ten students (70.9%) have high scores for collective self-esteem, six in ten (61.6%) for self-categorization, and a little over five in ten (55.4%) for affective involvement.

Scores for identity involvement with respect to the Anglophone community (see table 4.22) are rather moderate, ranging from 5.1 for affective involvement to 5.4 for collective self-esteem. For all categories, it is in New Brunswick that we note the lowest percentage of students with high Anglophone identity involvement scores (from 21.0% for self-categorization to 25.1% for collective self-esteem). On the other hand, the West/North region has the greatest percentages of high scores (ranging from 40.3% for affective involvement to 56.5% for collective self-esteem). For their score profiles, Ontario and the Atlantic region are closer to the West/North region than to New Brunswick. We note that collective self-esteem receives the highest scores in all regions and for each of the two languages. Therefore, if persons do not manifest any affective involvement in a specific language community or even if they do not see themselves as similar to the members of the language community, they can still feel a certain pride of belonging or being in contact with that community.

As shown in figure 4.11, identity involvement is fairly strongly related to Francophone geographic concentration. The students in our sample who attended French-language school for twelve years (from K to Grade 11) tend, on average, to be a bit more involved in the Anglophone community (mean score of 6.6) than in the Francophone community (mean score of 6.2) if the municipality inhabited has fewer than 10% Francophones. Francophone identity involvement tends to dominate over Anglophone identity involvement as Francophone geographic density increases. When the Francophone population is 90% and more of the municipality, Francophone identity involvement is very strong (mean score of 7.5) and fairly weak for the Anglophone community (mean score of 4.1).

Figure 4.11
Identity Involvement
Based on Francophone 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 made available to both official-language communities. 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 ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry and 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 and by the degree of compliance with the group's language rights in public institutions. Finally, demographic

capital was measured by its social attraction strength 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 Francophone community are presented in table 4.23, whereas those for the Anglophone community are presented in table 4.24.

For the Francophone community, students evaluate its political capital more positively than the other types of language capital (mean score of 6.3 as compared to mean scores of 4.9 to 5.7 for the other types of capital). Cultural capital is evaluated as being the weakes (mean score of 4.9). This evaluation varies according to the regions,

Table 4.23

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Concerning the Current Francophone Community

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Demographic capital	Weak (%)	3.7	16.0	16.1	28.4	9.6
	Moderate (%)	52.4	43.1	68.0	63.4	59.0
	Strong (%)	43.8	40.9	15.9	8.2	31.4
	Mean score	**6.1**	**5.5**	**4.8**	**4.1**	**5.5**
Political capital	Weak (%)	2.7	9.1	5.5	10.8	4.2
	Moderate (%)	38.5	38.9	48.5	51.9	43.0
	Strong (%)	58.7	52.0	46.0	37.2	52.9
	Mean score	**6.6**	**6.2**	**6.0**	**5.7**	**6.3**
Economic capital	Weak (%)	3.2	12.8	14.6	25.1	8.5
	Moderate (%)	44.9	47.7	65.2	64.6	53.7
	Strong (%)	52.0	39.5	20.2	10.3	37.7
	Mean score	**6.3**	**5.6**	**5.0**	**4.3**	**5.7**
Cultural capital	Weak (%)	12.3	41.9	33.2	35.9	21.8
	Moderate (%)	53.4	55.3	57.0	61.0	55.1
	Strong (%)	34.3	2.7	9.8	3.1	23.0
	Mean score	**5.5**	**3.7**	**4.2**	**3.8**	**4.9**
Francophone vitality	**Mean score**	**6.1**	**5.3**	**5.0**	**4.5**	**5.6**

Table 4.24

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Concerning the Current Anglophone Community

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Demographic capital	Weak (%)	16.4	6.0	1.7	1.2	9.9
	Moderate (%)	51.7	49.6	25.9	12.4	40.1
	Strong (%)	31.8	44.4	72.4	86.3	50.0
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.9**	**6.8**	**7.3**	**5.9**
Political capital	Weak (%)	5.3	2.1	0.9	0.4	3.3
	Moderate (%)	36.7	34.0	14.3	8.0	26.7
	Strong (%)	58.1	63.9	84.7	91.6	69.9
	Mean score	**6.5**	**6.9**	**7.6**	**8.0**	**7.0**
Economic capital	Weak (%)	13.7	4.8	1.5	0.4	8.3
	Moderate (%)	43.9	47.5	18.9	7.9	32.8
	Strong (%)	42.4	47.7	79.6	91.6	58.9
	Mean score	**5.6**	**6.3**	**7.3**	**7.8**	**6.4**
Cultural capital	Weak (%)	5.8	2.7	0.9	0.6	3.6
	Moderate (%)	38.5	30.1	12.9	7.8	27.1
	Strong (%)	55.8	67.2	86.2	91.6	69.3
	Mean score	**6.5**	**7.1**	**7.9**	**8.1**	**7.1**
Anglophone vitality	**Mean score**	**5.9**	**6.6**	**7.4**	**7.8**	**6.6**

with New Brunswick having the highest mean score (5.5) and the Atlantic and West/North regions having the lowest mean scores (3.7 and 3.8, respectively). Francophone demographic capital is evaluated in accordance with average Francophone concentration in the regions, with the highest mean score being in New Brunswick (6.1) and the lowest in the West/North region (4.1).

Finally, scores relating to Francophone economic capital are also in accordance with Francophone demographic strength in the regions, with the highest mean score being in New Brunswick (6.3) and the lowest in the West/North region (4.3).

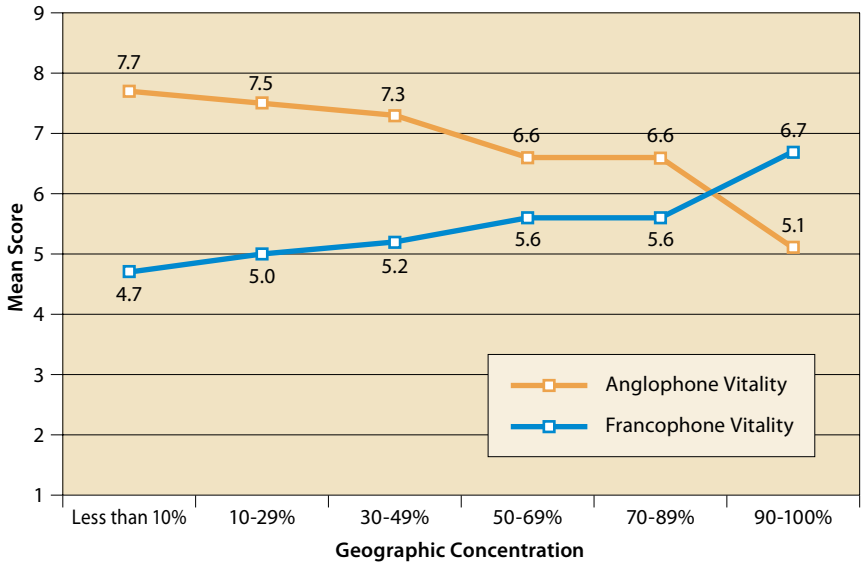
Scores relative to the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the Anglophone community (table 4.24) tend to present the opposite of

the previous table. Where the vitality of the Francophone community is considered weakest (e.g., cultural capital) is where the vitality of the Anglophone community is evaluated the most positively. However, political capital, which is evaluated the most positively among the Francophone community, is evaluated even more positively for the Anglophone community (mean scores of 6.3 and 7.0, respectively). For all types of language capital of the Anglophone community, the mean scores are in accordance with Francophone geographic concentration. The lower the Francophone demographic density, the stronger the Anglophone language capital. Finally, one can wonder if New Brunswick students are naive in evaluating Francophone vitality as positively as, or higher than Anglophone vitality, on average, save in the case of cultural capital. On average, New Brunswick students evaluate Francophone demographic capital (mean score of 6.1) as higher than Anglophone demographic capital (mean score of 5.2). They evaluate the political capital of both communities as being equal (mean scores of 6.6 and 6.5). They even evaluate Francophone economic capital more positively (mean score of 6.3) than Anglophone economic capital (5.6). It is only with respect to cultural capital that New Brunswick students give the Anglophone community higher vitality (mean score of 6.5) than the Francophone community (5.5). All in all, New Brunswick students evaluate the vitalities of both language communities more or less equally (mean scores for the four types of capital of 6.1 and 5.9 for the Francophone and Anglophone communities, respectively). In the other regions, the overall vitality of the Anglophone community is evaluated more positively than Francophone community vitality and the gap widens the lower the Francophone geographic concentration.

We believe, however, that the results for New Brunswick can be explained less by the students' naiveté than by the fact that the students live in municipalities with 74% Francophones on average. Note that it is the vitality of the language communities in their region, and not vitality on the provincial levels, that the students were evaluating. This interpretation is backed by the results presented in figure 4.12, which shows the subjective vitality scores with respect to both language communities according to the Francophone concentration in the municipalities where the students spent most of their lives.

Figure 4.12

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



We note that students evaluate the overall vitality of the Anglophone community more positively than the vitality of the Francophone community for all categories of Francophone geographic concentration, save for those denoting municipalities with 90% or more Francophones. In other words, it is only when they live in regions with a very strong Francophone majority (90% or more) that students, on average, evaluate the vitality of the Francophone group as being equal to or stronger than the vitality of the Anglophone group. It is possibly the high number of students from New Brunswick living in those municipalities that explains their high subjective ethnolinguistic vitality scores regarding Francophone vitality. More detailed analyses of data from New Brunswick according to the regions inhabited would be needed to better understand this profile of the results.

Another subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire asked students to estimate the future vitality of the Francophone community. For four questions, each associated with one of the four types of language capital described above, the student was to estimate, on a nine-point scale, the current situation of the Francophone community in relation to the situation in 25 years time. The future vitality of

this community could be estimated as being much lower (1) to much higher (9). A score of 5 means a future vitality that is similar to the current one. These results are presented in table 4.25.

On average, the students in our sample evaluated the future vitality of the Francophone community in their region as similar to today's. The overall mean score is exactly 5.0. More than five in ten students (from 54.2% to 62.4%) evaluate the availability of Francophone resources as being relatively stable. The other students tend to evaluate future vitality either more negatively (from 15.7% to 24.5%) or more positively (from 18.1% to 21.9%) than current vitality. We note that regional differences are relatively low. It therefore seems that most students are unaware of the heavy trends showing the decreasing vitality of the Francophone communities as we ascertained in the first chapter of this report. We would also like to mention that a relatively

Table 4.25

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

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Francophone population	Weaker (%)	20.0	29.1	30.3	25.3	24.5
	Stable (%)	59.6	52.7	53.1	58.7	56.9
	Stronger (%)	20.3	18.2	16.6	16.0	18.7
	Mean score	**5.0**	**4.7**	**4.6**	**4.8**	**4.9**
Government services	Weaker (%)	16.8	25.0	28.5	28.0	21.9
	Stable (%)	63.2	61.9	55.3	60.9	59.9
	Stronger (%)	20.0	13.1	16.2	11.1	18.1
	Mean score	**5.1**	**4.8**	**4.7**	**4.5**	**4.9**
Businesses and industry	Weaker (%)	13.8	15.6	18.4	14.6	15.7
	Stable (%)	64.8	64.4	59.3	60.4	62.4
	Stronger (%)	21.4	20.0	22.3	24.9	21.9
	Mean score	**5.2**	**5.1**	**5.1**	**5.4**	**5.2**
Cultural activities and the media	Weaker (%)	20.0	29.0	29.8	25.1	24.2
	Stable (%)	56.2	54.6	51.3	54.5	54.2
	Stronger (%)	23.8	16.4	18.9	20.4	21.6
	Mean score	**5.1**	**4.7**	**4.7**	**4.8**	**4.9**
Future vitality	**Mean score**	**5.1**	**4.8**	**4.8**	**4.9**	**5.0**

high number of students (44.6%) reported not having been made very aware over the course of their lives of the Francophone situation (see table 4.19 regarding social conscientization).

Another questionnaire regarding subjective ethnolinguistic vitality measured the perceived legitimacy of the current vitality of the Francophone community. Students were required to estimate what the vitality of the Francophone community in their region should be like if things were truly just and fair given the number of Francophones and Anglophones in their region. The students judged on a nine-point scale whether the resources of the Francophone 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 Francophone community are presented in table 4.26.

Table 4.26

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

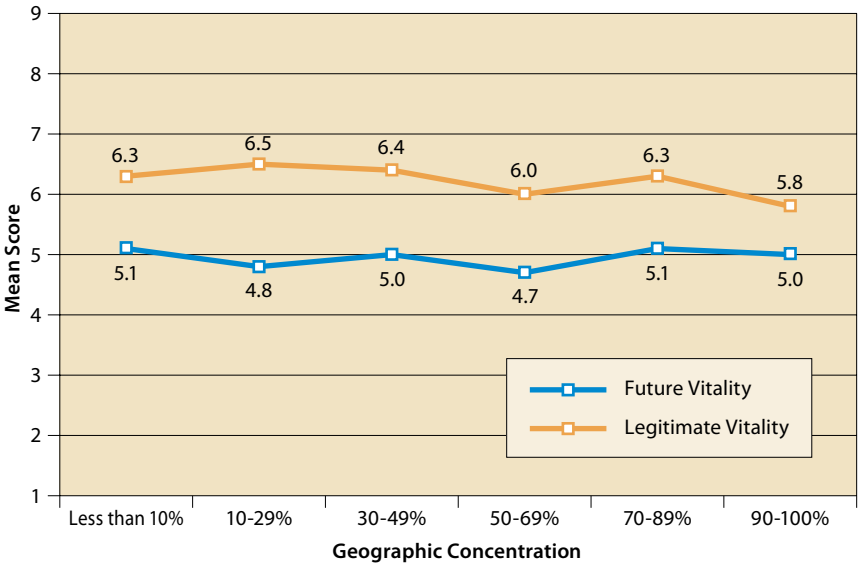
		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Francophone character	Weaker (%)	5.2	8.1	4.4	3.5	4.8
	Stable (%)	51.2	51.9	39.3	41.8	46.1
	Stronger (%)	43.6	40.0	56.3	54.7	49.1
	Mean score	**6.0**	**5.8**	**6.4**	**6.5**	**6.2**
Government services	Weaker (%)	3.1	6.0	3.2	1.7	3.2
	Stable (%)	51.7	56.6	40.1	38.1	46.6
	Stronger (%)	45.2	37.4	56.7	60.2	50.2
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.6**	**6.3**
Businesses and industry	Weaker (%)	2.5	5.0	3.5	2.1	2.9
	Stable (%)	60.2	58.6	53.2	47.5	57.0
	Stronger (%)	37.3	36.4	43.2	50.4	40.1
	Mean score	**6.0**	**6.0**	**6.2**	**6.4**	**6.1**
Cultural activities and the media	Weaker (%)	3.5	6.4	3.9	3.2	3.7
	Stable (%)	55.6	57.7	41.0	38.6	49.2
	Stronger (%)	40.9	35.8	55.1	58.2	47.1
	Mean score	**6.1**	**5.8**	**6.4**	**6.6**	**6.2**
Legitimate vitality	**Mean score**	**6.1**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.5**	**6.2**

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 Francophone community's resources should be moderately stronger (mean score of 6.2). It is in Ontario (6.4) and in the West/North region (6.5) that students notice the greatest need for stronger vitality. Between five and six in ten students in those regions feel that a major increase is needed in resources. In New Brunswick, about four in ten students tend to express this need. These students feel that the Francophone character in their region should be stronger, that there should be more government services in French, that French should be used more frequently in business and industry, and that there should be more French-language cultural activities and media. We note that very few students (between 2.9% and 4.8%) feel that services and resources should decrease, but a large number (between 46.1% and 57.0%) feel that resources should be similar to what they are today.

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

Figure 4.13

Future and Legitimate Vitalities Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



Additional analysis would help to identify the types of ethnolinguistic socialization most closely associated with these results. Social conscientization, which is also weakly related to the demographic density of Francophones, could be a plausible candidate.

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 it (Allard and 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. A reminder 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, i.e., the status attributed to the community, comes more from ethnolinguistic contacts in the public domain (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b).

Francophone youths living in a minority environment are increasingly exposed to certain identity-related tensions. On the one hand, they may feel solidarity towards the Francophone community for identity-related reasons; on the other hand, they may be quite aware of the superior status of the English language in many aspects of their daily life. More and more children of entitled Francophones live in families where one parent is Francophone and the other is Anglophone or Allophone. Depending on the family's language dynamics, they may wish to become part of either language community, or of both. In a very small minority context, a youth may live in French at home, but speak English with friends and neighbours. All of these situations lead youths to make identity-based choices and develop strategies for social and community integration. For youths, a way to reduce identity-based tensions may be to give themselves a bilingual identity and look to integrate both language communities. In this study, we measured the desire of students to integrate each of the 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 bosses and employers in future jobs, government services, compliance with language rights, communication with new immigrants and wishes concerning the cultural and linguistic character of the territory inhabited. 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. So, a student who wishes to listen mainly to television and take part in cultural activities in English would have the desire to integrate the Anglophone community in particular as concerns the cultural capital associated with each community. Students answered the 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 the Francophone community are presented in table 4.27 and those for the desire to integrate the Anglophone community are in table 4.28.

It is with respect to cultural activities and television broadcasts that students have the weaker desire for access to Francophone resources (mean scores of 5.1 and 4.7, respectively). On average, therefore, it is moderately that they wish to have access to the cultural capital of the Francophone community. We also note that this desire is weak to moderate in all regions. New Brunswick tends to have the highest scores and the Atlantic region the lowest scores. On a more community level (e.g., the language of public services, working language), the mean scores are higher. All in all, the mean scores vary between 6.3 and 6.9, with students having a relatively strong desire to be part of the Francophone community. This desire is strongest in New Brunswick, but also tends to be moderately strong in the West/North region. In that region, although they are at a disadvantage from a demographic point of view, students have succeeded in developing a relatively strong Francophone identity, probably due to special efforts on the part of parents and relatively strong social conscientization. The lowest scores for the desire to integrate the Francophone community are in the Atlantic region.

The scores set out in table 4.28 enable us to contrast the desire to integrate the Francophone community with the desire to integrate

Table 4.27
Desire to Integrate the Francophone Community

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Cultural activities	Weak (%)	25.1	41.3	34.0	22.8	28.9
	Moderate (%)	38.6	34.9	38.8	43.8	38.8
	Strong (%)	36.2	23.8	27.2	33.4	32.3
	Mean score	**5.3**	**4.4**	**4.8**	**5.2**	**5.1**
Television broadcasts	Weak (%)	31.9	67.3	45.9	44.3	38.3
	Moderate (%)	32.5	22.6	35.2	38.6	33.6
	Strong (%)	35.7	10.1	18.9	17.1	28.0
	Mean score	**5.1**	**3.1**	**4.2**	**4.2**	**4.7**
Working language	Weak (%)	5.2	10.6	8.1	3.7	6.4
	Moderate (%)	29.1	40.4	33.0	30.5	30.9
	Strong (%)	65.8	49.0	58.9	65.8	62.8
	Mean score	**6.8**	**6.0**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**6.7**
Language of communication with my employers	Weak (%)	4.7	14.7	9.8	6.3	7.0
	Moderate (%)	28.8	39.4	37.6	37.1	32.7
	Strong (%)	66.5	45.8	52.6	56.7	60.3
	Mean score	**6.9**	**5.9**	**6.3**	**6.4**	**6.6**
Language of communication with government services	Weak (%)	5.3	19.0	16.2	9.2	10.0
	Moderate (%)	25.6	44.5	36.9	33.2	30.6
	Strong (%)	69.0	36.5	46.9	57.6	59.4
	Mean score	**7.0**	**5.5**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.6**
Language of communication with public services	Weak (%)	3.5	12.0	11.3	5.4	6.9
	Moderate (%)	29.3	47.1	38.8	38.8	33.6
	Strong (%)	67.1	40.9	49.9	55.8	59.5
	Mean score	**7.0**	**5.9**	**6.1**	**6.4**	**6.6**
Language of communication with other youths	Weak (%)	5.2	15.2	12.3	8.2	8.3
	Moderate (%)	34.2	40.3	39.8	37.9	36.6
	Strong (%)	60.5	44.5	47.9	53.9	55.0
	Mean score	**6.7**	**5.7**	**6.1**	**6.3**	**6.4**
Cultural and linguistic character of my territory	Weak (%)	7.0	12.3	9.4	6.2	8.0
	Moderate (%)	39.2	49.7	42.3	40.1	40.6
	Strong (%)	53.9	38.0	48.3	53.7	51.4
	Mean score	**6.4**	**5.8**	**6.2**	**6.4**	**6.3**
Francophone	**Mean score**	**6.4**	**5.3**	**5.8**	**6.0**	**6.1**

Table 4.28
Desire to Integrate the Anglophone Community

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Cultural activities	Weak (%)	22.5	17.7	15.0	10.5	19.1
	Moderate (%)	32.2	30.0	26.8	28.8	29.9
	Strong (%)	45.3	52.3	58.2	60.7	51.0
	Mean score	**5.6**	**6.1**	**6.3**	**6.4**	**5.9**
Television broadcasts	Weak (%)	9.3	2.9	4.7	3.1	7.2
	Moderate (%)	23.2	8.5	14.4	14.7	19.2
	Strong (%)	67.4	88.7	81.0	82.2	73.6
	Mean score	**6.9**	**8.0**	**7.5**	**7.5**	**7.2**
Working language	Weak (%)	16.1	5.9	7.9	4.3	12.3
	Moderate (%)	43.7	37.1	33.2	23.9	38.8
	Strong (%)	40.2	57.0	58.9	71.7	48.8
	Mean score	**5.7**	**6.5**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**6.1**
Language of communication with my employers	Weak (%)	29.1	9.3	11.8	4.9	21.2
	Moderate (%)	46.7	38.8	37.2	35.1	42.4
	Strong (%)	24.2	51.9	51.0	59.9	36.4
	Mean score	**4.9**	**6.3**	**6.2**	**6.6**	**5.4**
Language of communication with government services	Weak (%)	40.0	11.2	14.7	11.0	28.6
	Moderate (%)	40.2	35.7	35.1	34.0	37.9
	Strong (%)	19.8	53.1	50.2	55.0	33.5
	Mean score	**4.4**	**6.2**	**6.1**	**6.2**	**5.2**
Language of communication with public services	Weak (%)	31.6	9.2	12.5	6.8	22.9
	Moderate (%)	47.2	41.0	38.2	39.3	43.3
	Strong (%)	21.2	49.8	49.3	53.9	33.9
	Mean score	**4.7**	**6.1**	**6.1**	**6.4**	**5.3**
Language of communication with other youths	Weak (%)	25.9	9.5	12.8	7.9	19.9
	Moderate (%)	49.3	38.0	39.7	38.0	44.9
	Strong (%)	24.8	52.5	47.5	54.1	35.1
	Mean score	**5.0**	**6.4**	**6.1**	**6.3**	**5.5**
Cultural and linguistic character of my territory	Weak (%)	22.0	10.6	11.4	4.7	17.1
	Moderate (%)	46.5	41.3	42.4	47.0	44.8
	Strong (%)	31.5	48.1	46.2	48.3	38.1
	Mean score	**5.3**	**6.2**	**6.0**	**6.2**	**5.6**
Anglophone	**Mean score**	**5.3**	**6.5**	**6.4**	**6.6**	**5.8**

the Anglophone community. The overall mean scores (average of eight indexes) can be found at the bottom of each table. In New Brunswick, students show a preference for integrating the Francophone community (mean scores of 6.4 compared to 5.3). In the other Atlantic provinces, the desire to integrate the Anglophone community tends to override the desire to integrate the Francophone community (mean scores of 6.5 and 5.3, respectively). The differences are, however, much higher with respect to cultural elements than community elements. In Ontario, the desire to integrate the Anglophone community (mean score = 6.4) tends to be stronger than the desire to integrate the Francophone community (mean score = 5.8). We note, however, that this difference is associated above all with cultural capital. With respect to more community aspects, students tend to want to integrate both communities equally. The profile of the students in the West/North region tends to resemble the profile of students in Ontario, save that the mean scores are a bit higher in relation to each language community. The difference between the desire to integrate the Francophone community (6.0) and the desire to integrate the Anglophone community (6.6) is explained, as in the other regions, by differences regarding cultural capital.

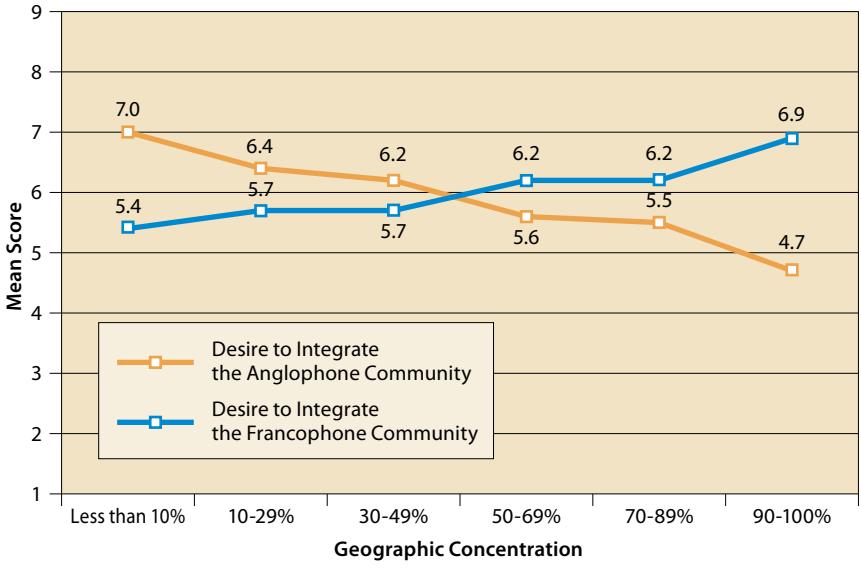
In short, we note, in all regions, the students' strong attraction to Anglophone cultural capital. It is as if the students, exposed since childhood to English-language media and cultural activities (see table 4.13), develop language habits they find difficult to drop even if they build a strong Francophone identity through their social and family networks. Furthermore, as concerns more community-related aspects, the students seem to express the desire to live in a bilingual society, a society that would enable them to use both languages equally. There are two regions that are exceptions to this trend. In New Brunswick, students seem to want to live more in French than in English. However, these results require further analysis in order to reveal different trends in various regions of New Brunswick. In the other Atlantic provinces, we note a weak trend towards wanting to integrate the Anglophone community more, but once again, further analysis of regional differences would be needed. In Ontario and the West/North region, more in-depth analyses would help to better target the differences based on the province or region inhabited. In Ontario, for example, the desire to integrate the Anglophone community in particular is strongest in

the south and northwest regions of the province (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007).

In figure 4.14, we note that Francophone geographic density in municipalities is a significant factor in the desire for integration. At one end (under 10% Francophones), the desire to integrate the Anglophone community is definitely stronger (mean score = 7.0) than the desire to integrate the Francophone community (mean score = 5.4). In these municipalities, the desire to use English-language cultural and language resources is strong, yet the desire to have those same experiences in French is only moderate. At the other end (90% and more Francophones), these two community attitudes are reversed. There is a strong desire to integrate the Francophone community, but only a moderate desire to be part of the Anglophone community. The attitudes towards each language community are linearly associated with Francophone geographic concentration, one positively and the other negatively.

Figure 4.14

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



4.3.4 Feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness

According to self-determination theory (Deci and 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 Francophone personal autonomization tended to be stronger than Anglophone personal autonomization in New Brunswick, but that in the other regions, these experiences were relatively strong in both languages.

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 Francophones and Anglophones, 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 about six in ten Grade 11 students have strong feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness towards the French language and the Francophone community. A slightly lower number (see table 4.30), between 47.8% and 55.4%, have the same feelings towards the English language and the Anglophone community. There are, however, regional differences. In New Brunswick, students state, on average, that their basic autonomy, competence and relatedness needs are better met in their contacts with the French language and their relationships with Francophones (overall mean score of 7.0) than with the English language and Anglophones (mean score = 6.1). In the three other regions, these feelings are relatively strong and also met in each of the languages and in their relationships with people of both language communities. However, if we focus on the percentage

Table 4.29

Feelings of Autonomy and Competence in Relation to the French Language and Feeling of Relatedness in Relation to the Francophone Community

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Autonomy	Weak (%)	3.3	3.5	4.5	2.0	3.7
	Moderate (%)	33.4	45.2	41.2	41.4	36.9
	Strong (%)	63.3	51.3	54.4	56.6	59.3
	Mean score	**6.9**	**6.5**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**6.8**
Competence	Weak (%)	2.5	2.6	4.0	1.2	3.1
	Moderate (%)	36.6	47.4	42.6	45.8	39.4
	Strong (%)	60.8	50.0	53.4	53.0	57.5
	Mean score	**6.9**	**6.5**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**6.7**
Relatedness	Weak (%)	2.8	4.3	6.7	2.9	4.4
	Moderate (%)	26.2	40.9	40.1	36.9	32.3
	Strong (%)	71.0	54.8	53.2	60.2	63.3
	Mean score	**7.2**	**6.5**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**6.9**
Francophone	**Mean score**	**7.0**	**6.5**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**6.8**

of high scores rather than on the mean scores, we note that in these three regions, slightly more students have high scores with respect to the English language and Anglophone community than with respect to the other community. There is, however, an exception. There are slightly more students in the West/North region with a strong feeling of relatedness towards the Francophone community (60.2%) than students with a strong feeling of relatedness towards the Anglophone community (52.3%).

Figure 4.15 shows that Francophone geographic concentration is only slightly associated with the strength of the three feelings. It is in fact above all the strength of personal autonomization that tends to be strongly associated with having autonomy, competence and relatedness needs met, which is in turn 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.

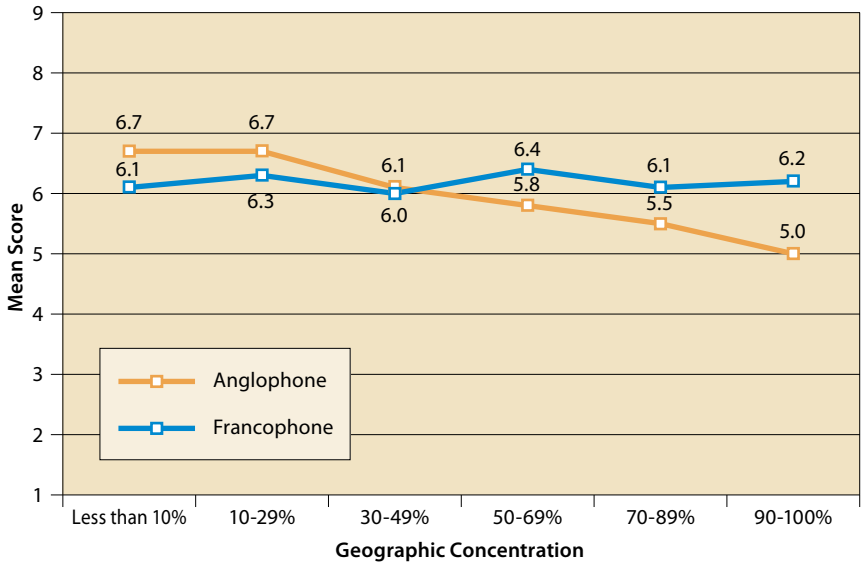
Table 4.30

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

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Autonomy	Weak (%)	7.4	1.8	4.6	3.2	6.1
	Moderate (%)	40.7	40.4	35.8	33.9	38.5
	Strong (%)	51.9	57.9	59.6	62.9	55.4
	Mean score	**6.4**	**6.8**	**6.9**	**7.0**	**6.6**
Competence	Weak (%)	10.5	0.9	2.8	1.6	7.0
	Moderate (%)	47.0	42.5	39.4	34.5	43.5
	Strong (%)	42.5	56.6	57.8	63.9	49.5
	Mean score	**6.0**	**6.8**	**6.8**	**7.0**	**6.4**
Relatedness	Weak (%)	15.5	4.4	6.2	4.1	11.3
	Moderate (%)	42.2	37.7	39.1	43.6	40.9
	Strong (%)	42.3	57.9	54.6	52.3	47.8
	Mean score	**5.8**	**6.6**	**6.5**	**6.6**	**6.1**
Anglophone	**Mean score**	**6.1**	**6.7**	**6.7**	**6.9**	**6.4**

Figure 4.15

Feelings of Satisfaction of Fundamental Needs Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.5 Language motivations

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 regulations 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. A person with this type of motivational orientation could say they are learning and speaking French because this corresponds to their personal identity and cultural values. When using and learning French constitute sources of accomplishment and personal satisfaction, motivational regulation is intrinsic. We note that a Francophone student who has personal autonomization experiences in both languages could be as intrinsically motivated, if not more, to learn English than to learn French.

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 French, and the other for learning and using English. Using a nine-point scale, students responded to each statement, indicating if the reason given by 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 believes to have more or less internalized. For example, students who say they are

learning and using French "Because I didn't want to disappoint my parents" may internalize guilt associated with the social pressure felt, but 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 French to achieve my life plans." Persons saying this associate French 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 French because French reflects who I am" or "Because I want to live in French." 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 French for identity-based reasons. Finally, persons who say they are learning French "For the pleasure I experience in feeling completely absorbed by what I learn about the French 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 French 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 latter for identity-based reasons may be accompanied by instrumental reasons for learning the majority language (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009b). 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.

In table 4.31, we note low mean scores for two types of regulation. For the entire sample, only 5.8% of students have strong amotivation scores for learning and using French (mean score = 2.6). Likewise, only 4.8% 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 6.1, 6.0 and 6.1, respectively). Slightly fewer than one in two students has high scores for these three types of regulation. As for intrinsic

Table 4.31
Motivation for Learning and Using French

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Amotivation	Weak (%)	70.7	66.8	73.0	85.8	72.0
	Moderate (%)	22.6	28.1	22.2	11.7	22.2
	Strong (%)	6.6	5.1	4.8	2.6	5.8
	Mean score	**2.7**	**2.8**	**2.5**	**1.9**	**2.6**
Extrinsic motivation: external regulation	Weak (%)	12.5	13.3	8.0	7.4	10.5
	Moderate (%)	45.6	43.3	38.1	35.2	42.2
	Strong (%)	41.9	43.4	53.9	57.4	47.2
	Mean score	**5.9**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.6**	**6.1**
Extrinsic motivation: introjected regulation	Weak (%)	67.4	58.8	60.2	55.9	64.1
	Moderate (%)	27.6	36.7	35.2	38.6	31.1
	Strong (%)	4.9	4.5	4.6	5.6	4.8
	Mean score	**2.8**	**3.2**	**3.1**	**3.3**	**3.0**
Extrinsic motivation: identified regulation	Weak (%)	13.1	14.5	11.0	9.8	12.1
	Moderate (%)	40.8	50.1	43.4	38.1	41.9
	Strong (%)	46.1	35.3	45.7	52.2	46.0
	Mean score	**6.0**	**5.5**	**6.0**	**6.4**	**6.0**
Extrinsic motivation: integrated regulation	Weak (%)	12.1	15.7	16.4	9.3	13.8
	Moderate (%)	37.9	45.6	40.8	34.1	39.1
	Strong (%)	50.0	38.7	42.8	56.7	47.1
	Mean score	**6.2**	**5.8**	**5.9**	**6.5**	**6.1**
Intrinsic motivation	Weak (%)	30.7	28.2	26.6	15.7	28.6
	Moderate (%)	48.3	55.0	49.1	51.4	48.8
	Strong (%)	21.1	16.8	24.2	32.9	22.6
	Mean score	**4.6**	**4.5**	**4.8**	**5.4**	**4.7**

motivation, the mean scores are fairly moderate (ranging from 4.6 to 5.4). It is students in the West/North region who state being the most (32.9%) strongly intrinsically motivated to learn and use French. This region contains the largest number of strongly motivated students for identity-based reasons (56.7%). We note, however, that a similar number of students in this region (57.4%) state being strongly motivated for instrumental reasons (external regulation). This seems to indicate

Table 4.32
Motivation for Learning and Using English

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Amotivation	Weak (%)	80.0	73.7	75.8	85.0	78.4
	Moderate (%)	16.2	22.8	19.7	11.3	17.6
	Strong (%)	3.8	3.5	4.6	3.7	4.1
	Mean score	**2.2**	**2.4**	**2.4**	**1.9**	**2.3**
Extrinsic motivation: external regulation	Weak (%)	6.7	6.2	6.2	4.6	6.4
	Moderate (%)	29.9	38.1	33.3	25.7	31.3
	Strong (%)	63.4	55.7	60.5	69.7	62.3
	Mean score	**6.9**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**7.1**	**6.8**
Extrinsic motivation: introjected regulation	Weak (%)	73.5	64.1	65.8	68.2	70.1
	Moderate (%)	22.8	31.2	29.2	24.3	25.6
	Strong (%)	3.7	4.7	5.0	7.5	4.3
	Mean score	**2.5**	**3.0**	**2.9**	**2.8**	**2.7**
Extrinsic motivation: identified regulation	Weak (%)	6.9	9.2	6.3	3.8	6.6
	Moderate (%)	32.1	35.8	32.9	25.6	32.3
	Strong (%)	61.0	55.0	60.8	70.7	61.1
	Mean score	**6.8**	**6.5**	**6.8**	**7.2**	**6.8**
Extrinsic motivation: integrated regulation	Weak (%)	40.6	29.1	21.6	17.4	32.1
	Moderate (%)	40.6	35.2	43.2	43.0	41.7
	Strong (%)	18.8	35.7	35.2	39.6	26.2
	Mean score	**4.3**	**5.3**	**5.4**	**5.6**	**4.8**
Intrinsic motivation	Weak (%)	25.9	19.9	21.8	16.1	23.9
	Moderate (%)	46.2	52.5	49.3	46.9	47.5
	Strong (%)	27.9	27.6	29.0	37.0	28.6
	Mean score	**5.0**	**5.2**	**5.2**	**5.5**	**5.1**

that students may be strongly motivated to learn a language for both identity-based and instrumental reasons.

In New Brunswick and in the other Atlantic provinces, the instrumental motivations for using and learning French are a bit weaker than in the two other regions. Atlantic students are the least motivated for identity-based reasons, i.e., to achieve personal goals. The lowest mean

scores for integrated motivation are found in the Atlantic region and Ontario.

Table 4.32 presents the motivation scores for the English language. Like for French, we note that mean scores for introjected regulation and amotivation are very low (2.7 and 2.3, respectively). On average, motivation for English for instrumental reasons (mean score = 6.8) is stronger than for French (mean score = 6.1). The same holds true for identified regulation (6.8 versus 6.0). While nearly one in two students states strong identity-based reasons for using and learning French (47.1%), one in four students (26.2%) expresses these reasons for using and learning English. Intrinsic motivation for English (mean score = 5.1) is slightly stronger than for French (4.7).

In the four regions, the percentage of students with strong instrumental reasons for learning English is higher than the percentage of students with the same reasons for learning French. In each region, the percentage of students with strong identity-based reasons for learning French is higher than the percentage of students with the same reasons for learning English. The difference is best noted in New Brunswick (50.0% versus 18.8%), followed by the West/North region (56.7% versus 39.6%). In Ontario (42.8% versus 35.2%) and particularly in the Atlantic region (38.7% versus 35.7%), the differences are smaller. Also, in all regions, the number of students with strong personal reasons (identified regulation) for learning and using English is much higher than the number of students having the same reasons for learning and using French.

In short, the strongest motivations for students to learn English are social mobility-external regulation and achieving personal goals (identified regulation). Identity-based reasons tend to be strongest for learning and using French, but non-negligible percentages of students also learn English for identity-based reasons (two in ten students in New Brunswick and from three to four in ten students in the other regions). These results are also a reflection of the exogamy rates in the regions.

Figures 4.16 and 4.17 present the mean scores for external and integrated regulations for each language based on Francophone geographic concentration. We note that even if the relationship is fairly weak, the instrumental reasons for learning French (external regulation) tend to

Figure 4.16

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

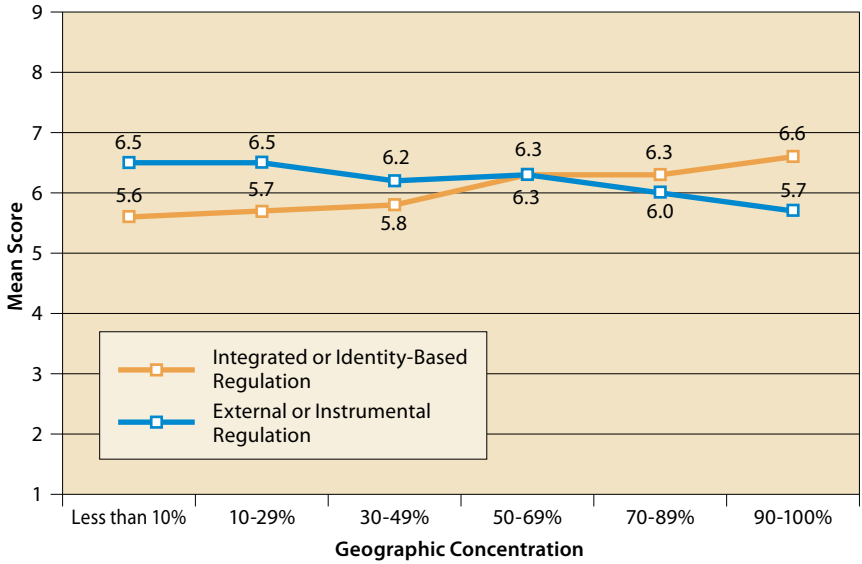
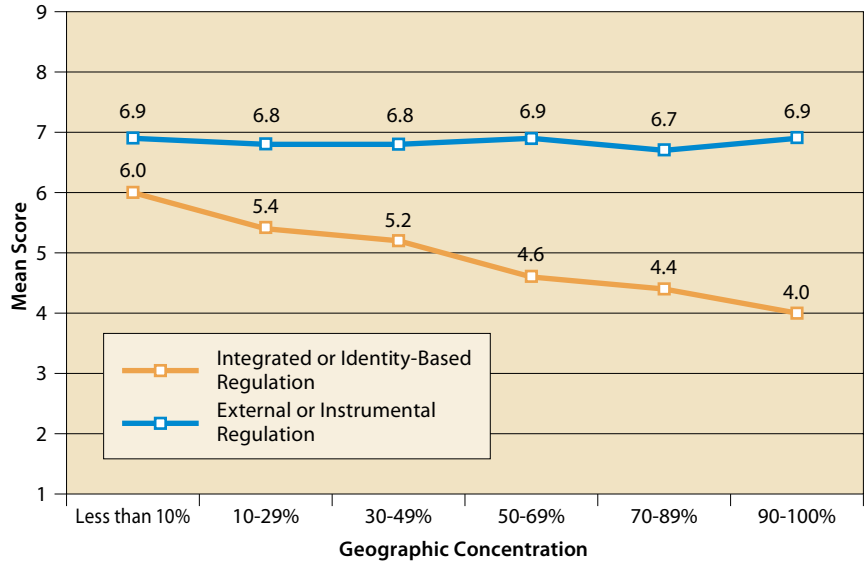


Figure 4.17

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



decrease the higher the Francophone geographic concentration. The opposite is observed for integrated regulation. The higher the concentration of Francophones, the higher the mean score for identity-based reasons. As for English, there is very little variation for instrumental motivation, but a negative relationship with the concentration of Francophones where identity-based reasons are concerned.

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 writing skills but, according to Cummins, it reflects the ability to use the language without assistance from extralinguistic support. These skills are strongly related to schooling experiences in the language, as well as with literacy experiences within the family and elsewhere. More so than oral-communicative proficiency, it is strongly related to intellectual aptitudes (Genesee, 1976, 1978). Moreover, 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 and Allard, 1996). 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. There is therefore strong interdependence between cognitive-academic linguistic competencies (Cummins, 1979, 1981; Landry and Allard, 2000; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009b).

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 and 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 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 the student finding 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 correction methods: a) accepting only the original words of the text (exact words) and b) accepting the original words and other appropriate words (e.g., synonyms), this method being the "acceptable words" method. We used the latter method. However, we note that scores for both methods provide very similar results (correlation of about 0.97).

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 for those 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 and 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 Francophone students outside 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.

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 about one standard-deviation below each of the standards (mean score = 40.7 in French and 41.1 in English). However, these mean scores hide significant regional differences.

New Brunswick is the only region where students have a higher mean score in French (41.9) than in English (36.9). Moreover, one would expect the scores for New Brunswick students to vary depending on the region inhabited, with the northern regions being heavily Francophone, the southeast region being mostly bilingual, and the

Table 4.33
Cognitive-Academic Competence in English and French

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
French	Weak (%)	36.5	39.1	49.4	42.0	41.4
	Moderately weak (%)	21.0	25.7	19.0	20.1	20.3
	Average (%)	35.6	31.8	25.8	32.3	31.9
	Moderately strong (%)	4.4	1.8	3.5	4.1	4.0
	Strong (%)	2.5	1.6	2.2	1.6	2.3
	Mean score	**41.9**	**41.1**	**38.7**	**41.3**	**40.7**
English	Weak (%)	57.7	24.2	31.5	17.4	45.2
	Moderately weak (%)	12.1	10.0	13.0	12.0	12.5
	Average (%)	17.9	31.9	28.5	38.6	23.1
	Moderately strong (%)	6.9	9.5	13.8	13.3	10.0
	Strong (%)	5.3	24.4	13.1	18.7	9.2
	Mean score	**36.9**	**49.2**	**45.8**	**49.5**	**41.1**

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

central/southwestern region being heavily Anglophone (Landry and Allard, 1994b). We note that if the scores were distributed perfectly along a normal curve, we would expect to have about 68% of the scores in the moderately weak, average and moderately strong categories. The other students would be equally distributed among the strong (16%) and weak (16%) categories. The scores for the New Brunswick students are distributed along positive dissymmetrical curves in both languages, i.e., we find fewer scores above the mean than expected and more scores below the mean than expected. We note that we find in French much fewer students in the "weak" category (36.5%) than in English (57.7%).

In the three other regions, although the students are schooled entirely in French except for English classes, average student performance is much closer to the Anglophone standard (mean scores of 49.2, 45.8 and 49.5 for the Atlantic region, Ontario and the West/North region, respectively) than to the Francophone standard. In

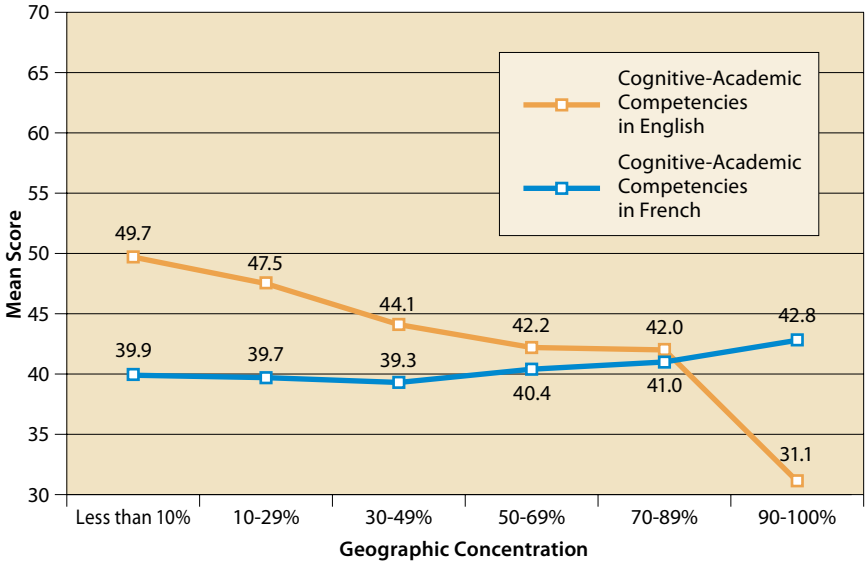
fact, students from the Atlantic and West/North regions reach the Anglophone standard for all intents and purposes, but have French scores that are nearly one standard-deviation below the Francophone standard. In English, Atlantic students have fewer scores than expected in the average (51.4% if we add the percentages of the three categories in the middle), but more low scores (24.2%) and more high scores (24.4%). Actually, in French, their curve is positive dissymmetrical with a few more students (39.1%) in the "weak" category than in New Brunswick. The scores of students in the West/North region are distributed "normally" in English (17.4% in the "weak" category, 63.9% in the three categories in the middle and 18.7% in the "strong" category). Their performance in French actually forms a positive dissymmetrical curve with a high number of students (42.0%) with scores of one standard-deviation or more below the Francophone standard.

It is Ontario that has the lowest performance scores in French (mean score = 38.7); however, unlike the Atlantic and West/North regions, this weak performance in French is not compensated by high scores in English. In Ontario, the mean score of 45.8 in English is close to the Anglophone standard without reaching it. Analyses already published (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007d) show that southern Ontario, where Francophone vitality is lowest, is where students have the mean score that is closest to the Anglophone standard (mean score = 48,96). Eastern Ontario had the highest French scores (mean score = 42.23). We note that as for New Brunswick, the curves describing score distribution are positive dissymmetrical in both languages, save that, unlike that province, Ontario has many more scores in the "weak" category in French than in English. Nearly one in two students (49.4%) in Ontario has scores one standard-deviation or more below the Francophone average, but nearly one in three students (31.5%) has low scores in English.

One wonders whether cognitive-academic competence is related to Francophone geographic concentration. We note a relatively strong linear trend for scores in English in figure 4.18. Students living in regions with fewer than 10% Francophones have a mean score on the cloze test in English that is equal to the Anglophone standard (mean score = 49.7). We note a downward linear trend, with the mean score in English being more than two standard-deviations below the

Figure 4.18

Cognitive-Academic Competencies Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



standard (31.1) in municipalities with 90% or more Francophones. The results for the 50-69% and 70-89% categories are, however, almost identical.

There is, in French, very little connection between Francophone geographic concentration and cognitive-academic competence. Although the highest mean score (42.8) is in the category of 90% and more Francophones, this mean score is less than one-third standard-deviation above the scores obtained in the three categories with the fewest Francophones. In those three categories, the mean score ranges from 39.3 to 39.9. This weak relationship requires further analysis. A few factors may be in play. First, prior studies summarized in Landry and Allard (1996) have shown that it is the degree of schooling in French that is by far the factor that explains the greatest variance in the French cloze scores (more than the socio-economic level and intellectual capacity combined). However, all students in this sample, save for some exceptions, have attended a French-language school since kindergarten and have been schooled entirely in French except for English classes. The degree of schooling in French would therefore be

a constant for all the groups. There is, however, in this study, a negative relationship between Francophone geographic concentration and the level of parent education. Regions with a lower concentration of Francophones not only have fewer children of entitled Francophone parents who attend French-language school (see Corbeil *et al.*, 2007), but those students tend to constitute a more selective group, including with respect to their parents' education. Therefore, in this study, the more selective nature of the students living in regions with low Francophone concentration could partially compensate for their less frequent contacts with the French language in the community. Conversely, students living in regions with high Francophone concentration tend to have lower socioeconomic levels. This is particularly the case for students in New Brunswick. Finally, the language habits of students as concerns reading and media consumption may be related to the cognitive-academic competence scores in French. These factors require further verification to better understand the cognitive-academic competence scores presented in this section. All in all, it is interesting to note that French competence is stronger than English competence only in regions with a Francophone population of 90% or more, even if all schooling was in French, except for English classes.

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 (such as, 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). The student addressed three tasks for each skill on a nine-point scale (1 = Very weak, 5 = Moderate, 9 = Very good).

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

Globally, for the entire sample and for the four competencies combined, students' mean scores are identical in French (7.1) and in English (7.1). As for cognitive-academic competencies, these mean scores hide regional differences, and differences according to the competencies considered. We note that, on average, students tend to have

Table 4.34
French Competence Self-Assessment

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Comprehension	Weak (%)	4.0	20.0	9.7	8.7	6.5
	Moderate (%)	20.8	30.4	30.6	22.3	24.8
	Strong (%)	75.2	49.6	59.8	69.0	68.7
	Mean score	**7.5**	**5.9**	**6.7**	**7.2**	**7.2**
Speaking	Weak (%)	1.9	4.9	7.8	4.2	4.3
	Moderate (%)	16.6	31.3	35.8	35.8	24.8
	Strong (%)	81.4	63.8	56.4	60.0	70.8
	Mean score	**7.6**	**6.8**	**6.6**	**6.8**	**7.2**
Reading	Weak (%)	4.9	20.6	12.1	7.1	8.0
	Moderate (%)	19.1	29.6	29.6	25.2	23.5
	Strong (%)	76.0	49.8	58.2	67.7	68.5
	Mean score	**7.5**	**5.9**	**6.5**	**7.0**	**7.1**
Writing	Weak (%)	3.2	8.4	8.4	5.6	5.3
	Moderate (%)	22.8	41.3	35.6	32.7	28.3
	Strong (%)	74.0	50.4	56.0	61.8	66.4
	Mean score	**7.4**	**6.2**	**6.6**	**6.9**	**7.0**
French	**Mean score**	**7.5**	**6.2**	**6.6**	**7.0**	**7.1**

higher scores in English than in French with respect to understanding and reading (7.6 versus 7.2 for understanding and 7.4 versus 7.1 for reading) while the opposite is noted for speaking (6.6 versus 7.2) and writing (6.7 versus 7.0).

In French, it is students in New Brunswick that evaluate their competencies strongest, with the percentages of students having high scores ranging from 74.0% for writing to 81.4% for speaking. These same students assess their competencies in English as weakest. While slightly over seven in ten students say they understand (76.7%) and read (71.2%) English very well, nearly five in ten students say they speak (49.7%) and write (54.3%) English very well.

It is in the Atlantic region that students assess their French competencies weakest. Only about half of the students assess their French comprehension, reading and writing skills as strong, while 63.8% assess

Table 4.35
English Competence Self-Assessment

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Comprehension	Weak (%)	5.1	0.5	1.8	1.7	3.7
	Moderate (%)	18.2	4.7	12.9	11.2	15.8
	Strong (%)	76.7	94.8	85.3	87.1	80.5
	Mean score	**7.4**	**8.3**	**7.9**	**8.0**	**7.6**
Speaking	Weak (%)	9.9	5.4	4.1	2.4	7.4
	Moderate (%)	40.4	25.7	26.2	20.3	34.1
	Strong (%)	49.7	68.9	69.6	77.3	58.5
	Mean score	**6.3**	**7.1**	**7.1**	**7.4**	**6.6**
Reading	Weak (%)	7.3	1.1	2.4	2.1	5.2
	Moderate (%)	21.5	13.8	17.5	12.1	19.6
	Strong (%)	71.2	85.1	80.1	85.8	75.2
	Mean score	**7.1**	**7.9**	**7.6**	**7.9**	**7.4**
Writing	Weak (%)	11.2	3.9	3.4	2.9	7.8
	Moderate (%)	34.5	20.1	26.1	23.4	30.7
	Strong (%)	54.3	76.1	70.6	73.7	61.5
	Mean score	**6.3**	**7.4**	**7.2**	**7.4**	**6.7**
English	**Mean score**	**6.8**	**7.7**	**7.5**	**7.6**	**7.1**

their ability to speak the language as strong. A very high percentage of students in this region indicates being able to understand (94.8%) and read (85.1%) English very well. Lower percentages are obtained for speaking (68.9%) and writing (76.1%) English very well.

Students from the West/North region are those, after New Brunswick, who assess their French skills as strongest. Between 60.0% and 69.0% of students evaluate their four skills as strong. We note, however, that a higher percentage (from 73.7% to 87.1%) evaluated these skills in English as strong.

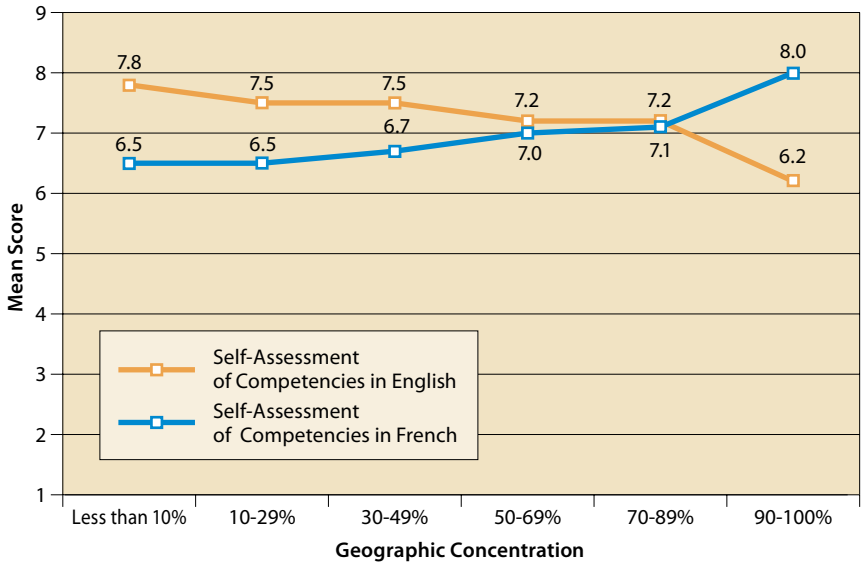
In Ontario, students also assess their skills as stronger in English than in French. In French, their scores are between those of the Atlantic region and those of the West/North region. In all skills categories, fewer than six in ten students assess their French skills as strong, compared to 69.6% to 85.3% in English.

All in all, in New Brunswick, receptive skills (comprehension and reading) tend to be only slightly stronger in French than in English, while productive skills (speaking and writing) tend to be considerably stronger in French than in English. Note that the averages hide regional differences within the province which are not analyzed in this report. In the three other regions, receptive skills are evaluated significantly stronger in English than in French, and the same holds true for productive skills. For example, despite Franco-dominant schooling, five to six in ten students evaluate their ability to write French as strong, while over seven in ten students state that they can do the same tasks at the same level in English.

Figure 4.19 presents global self-assessments combining the four competencies in English and French based on Francophone geographic concentration. Although the differences are fairly small, since most students are bilingual, we note nonetheless a linear trend for each language. In English, the mean scores range from 7.8 where there are fewer than 10% Francophones, to 6.2 where there are 90% or more. The opposite is observed for self-assessments in French, with mean scores ranging from 6.5 to 8.0.

Figure 4.19

Self-assessment of Competencies Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



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 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 the radio and on 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 moderately strongly confident that they communicate well in "standard French" (mean score = 6.3). They are therefore more or less at ease when required to communicate in standard French. Students in the Atlantic region stand out from those of the other regions on this factor. One in four students (24.9%) feels capable of properly communicating in standard French, while in the other regions it is about one in two students who reports strong confidence (from 49.9% in New Brunswick to 56.2% in the West/North region). Moreover, only 5.2% of students feel strong linguistic insecurity when required to communicate in "standard French." Interregional differences are rather small, ranging from 3.5% in New Brunswick to 7.6% in the West/North region. Moreover, we note that the Atlantic region has the lowest (62.0%) number of students with a weak feeling of insecurity and the highest (32.7%) number with a moderate feeling of linguistic insecurity.

Table 4.36

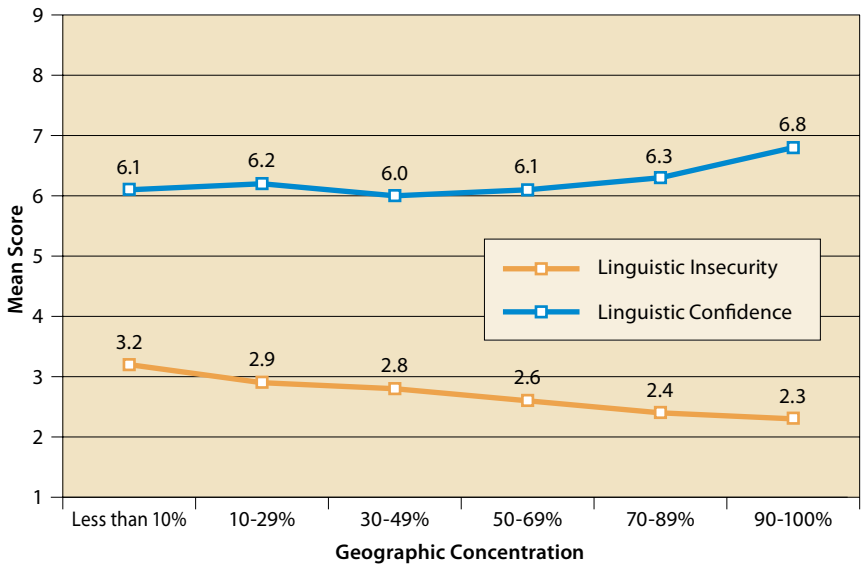
Feelings of Confidence and Insecurity in Relation to the Use of "Standard French"

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Linguistic confidence	Weak (%)	7.8	25.1	7.6	3.2	7.8
	Moderate (%)	42.2	50.0	41.8	40.6	42.1
	Strong (%)	49.9	24.9	50.5	56.2	50.0
	Mean score	**6.3**	**5.1**	**6.4**	**6.7**	**6.3**
Linguistic insecurity	Weak (%)	77.9	62.0	66.7	66.0	73.0
	Moderate (%)	18.5	32.7	25.9	26.4	21.8
	Strong (%)	3.5	5.3	7.4	7.6	5.2
	Mean score	**2.5**	**3.1**	**2.9**	**3.0**	**2.7**

Figure 4.20 shows that linguistic confidence and linguistic insecurity tend to be related to Francophone geographic concentration, but only weakly, with linguistic confidence tending to be stronger where Francophones are in higher numbers in the territory inhabited and linguistic insecurity being the opposite.

Figure 4.20

Linguistic Confidence and Linguistic Insecurity Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



4.3.7 Language behaviours

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

The first category involves measuring how the students are *currently* using both languages. The three categories of ethnolinguistic socialization, the results of which we presented above (enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization), dealt with past language experiences since early childhood. We measured enculturation for the period of life between ages 2 and 12 for the students, so that they 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 establishes 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 said usage (see figure 2.7).

The second category, which looks at engaged behaviours towards the French language and culture, groups together French 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

Twenty language behaviours in all were measured. For each, students indicated their use of English and French on a nine-point scale: 1 = Always in English, 3 = Most often in English, 5 = In both languages equally, 7 = More often in French than English, 9 = Always in French. This frequency scale with respect to language use is aimed at evaluating the language dominance of behaviours rather than the absolute frequency of use of each language. In presenting the results, we grouped 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 presented the averages scores for all students and those of the four regions while specifying the percentages of students who use mostly English (scores from 1 to 3), use both languages fairly equally (scores from 4 to 6) and use mostly French (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 French. On the overall score for the seven behaviours, it is in New Brunswick that use of French is strongest (overall score of 7.5). In Ontario and in the West/North region, average use of French with relatives is only a bit stronger than for English (mean scores of 5.6 and 5.7, respectively). For students in the Atlantic region (excluding New Brunswick), use of French is moderately strong and is between that of New Brunswick and the other regions.

A second finding is a "generation effect," symptomatic of increasing exogamy and decreasing intergenerational use of French. This trend is most visible and best defined in Ontario, but can be seen in all regions. To explain this generation effect, let us look at the case of Ontario. We note that at least six in ten students speak mostly French with their paternal grandparents (60.0%) and maternal grandparents (65.1%), but fewer than one half of the students speak mostly French with their father or guardian (47.3%) and with their mother or guardian (48.3%). On the other hand, only slightly more than one third of the students (37.0%) has a high use of French when speaking with their siblings. We note that use of French with cousins is similar to use with siblings (36.9%), whereas use with uncles and aunts (45.2%) is akin to use of French with parents. The generation effect is therefore clearly illustrated.

The generation effect is least pronounced in New Brunswick. In this province, over eight in ten students speak mostly French with their paternal grandparents (81.4%) and maternal grandparents (83.9%), but more than three in four students (76.8%) speak mostly French with their siblings. Use of French with parents is similar to use with grandparents. In New Brunswick, French dominance is weakest with cousins (66.0%) and aunts and uncles (69.7%) as concerns family and

Table 4.37

Language Spoken with the Family

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Father (Guardian)	Mostly English (%)	8.4	26.3	35.3	31.4	19.6
	Both equally (%)	12.0	6.9	17.4	23.7	14.4
	Mostly French (%)	79.6	66.8	47.3	44.9	66.1
	Mean score	**7.5**	**6.4**	**5.3**	**5.4**	**6.6**
Mother (Guardian)	Mostly English (%)	5.7	26.5	26.2	20.7	14.3
	Both equally (%)	11.9	11.0	25.5	29.8	17.6
	Mostly French (%)	82.5	62.5	48.3	49.5	68.2
	Mean score	**7.7**	**6.2**	**5.7**	**5.9**	**6.9**
Siblings	Mostly English (%)	5.7	27.0	36.6	31.2	19.1
	Both equally (%)	17.5	17.6	26.4	38.1	21.7
	Mostly French (%)	76.8	55.4	37.0	30.7	59.3
	Mean score	**7.5**	**5.9**	**5.0**	**5.0**	**6.4**
Cousins	Mostly English (%)	6.7	20.7	31.1	32.4	17.0
	Both equally (%)	27.2	32.5	32.0	42.2	29.5
	Mostly French (%)	66.0	46.7	36.9	25.4	53.4
	Mean score	**7.1**	**5.7**	**5.2**	**4.8**	**6.3**
Aunts and uncles	Mostly English (%)	5.3	14.5	20.8	18.8	11.7
	Both equally (%)	25.1	34.6	34.0	37.5	29.0
	Mostly French (%)	69.7	50.9	45.2	43.7	59.4
	Mean score	**7.3**	**6.2**	**5.8**	**5.8**	**6.6**
Paternal grand-parents	Mostly English (%)	9.3	22.8	27.5	23.5	16.7
	Both equally (%)	9.4	6.6	12.6	15.0	10.7
	Mostly French (%)	81.4	70.6	60.0	61.5	72.6
	Mean score	**7.7**	**6.7**	**6.2**	**6.4**	**7.1**
Maternal grand-parents	Mostly English (%)	6.2	22.0	21.5	18.4	12.5
	Both equally (%)	9.8	8.1	13.4	12.6	11.2
	Mostly French (%)	83.9	69.9	65.1	69.0	76.3
	Mean score	**7.9**	**6.7**	**6.6**	**7.0**	**7.4**
Family	**Mean score**	**7.5**	**6.2**	**5.6**	**5.7**	**6.7**

relatives, which is probably indicative of a higher exogamy among couples in these families.

In the West/North region, the generation effect is quite similar to Ontario's, but the intergenerational distance is even stronger. While 69.0% of students in this region speak mostly French with maternal grandparents, only 30.7% of students do so with their siblings, and only 25.4% with cousins. Furthermore, slightly less than one in two students speaks mostly French with parents or guardians (44.9% and 49.5% for the father and mother, respectively).

The generation effect among Atlantic students is less pronounced than among those in Ontario and the West/North region, and more similar to that of New Brunswick students. In the other Atlantic provinces, about seven in ten students speak mostly French with their paternal grandparents (70.6%) and maternal grandparents (69.9%), but only slightly more than five in ten students (55.4%) use French with their siblings. As in New Brunswick, it is with cousins (46.7%) that frequent use of French is lowest.

The generation effect that we observe in all regions reflects parental exogamy that has been increasing steadily over many years (Landry, 2003a, 2010). It is strongest in regions with the lowest concentration of Francophones and the highest rate of exogamy. Note that the scores presented in this study are for Grade 11 students whose parents are entitled and have chosen French-language school for them. The generation effect could be even more pronounced were we to analyze use of English and French among all students of the same age of all entitled Francophone parents. We must also take into account the fact that the results presented for each of the regions do not show the variations according to the areas inhabited by the students in those regions.

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.

The first finding regarding use of both languages in the networks is the major difference between students in New Brunswick and those in other regions. On average, for all of these networks, students speak mostly

French (mean score of 6.9) in New Brunswick, but English and French equally in the Atlantic region (mean score of 4.9) and more English than French in Ontario (4.2) and in the West/North region (3.8).

A second finding is that students say they speak mostly French with classmates. Nevertheless, it is only in New Brunswick that a high percentage of students (78.3) speaks mostly French with the school's other students. In the Atlantic region, fewer than half of students (43.6%) use mostly French. In Ontario, one in four students (26.3%), and in the West/North region only one in five students (20.2%) use mostly French as the language of conversation with other students.

Table 4.38
Language Spoken in Social Circles

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Friends	Mostly English (%)	4.8	25.0	40.0	36.2	19.6
	Both equally (%)	35.5	47.0	38.7	47.2	37.2
	Mostly French (%)	59.7	28.0	21.3	16.5	43.1
	Mean score	**6.8**	**5.1**	**4.4**	**4.3**	**5.8**
Classmates	Mostly English (%)	1.6	15.7	32.0	27.3	14.3
	Both equally (%)	20.1	40.7	41.7	52.6	29.6
	Mostly French (%)	78.3	43.6	26.3	20.2	56.1
	Mean score	**7.6**	**5.7**	**4.8**	**4.7**	**6.4**
Neighbours	Mostly English (%)	10.3	35.8	53.6	66.8	29.0
	Both equally (%)	21.7	32.0	25.8	24.5	23.5
	Mostly French (%)	68.1	32.1	20.6	8.8	47.6
	Mean score	**7.1**	**4.9**	**3.8**	**2.9**	**5.7**
Social encounters (parties, weddings, dances)	Mostly English (%)	7.6	34.9	45.7	54.3	24.1
	Both equally (%)	36.3	43.5	37.2	36.0	36.8
	Mostly French (%)	56.1	21.5	17.0	9.7	39.2
	Mean score	**6.6**	**4.4**	**4.0**	**3.4**	**5.5**
Social and cultural organizations	Mostly English (%)	8.3	32.3	44.4	51.7	23.9
	Both equally (%)	34.2	42.7	39.0	35.8	36.2
	Mostly French (%)	57.5	25.0	16.7	12.5	39.9
	Mean score	**6.7**	**4.6**	**4.0**	**3.7**	**5.5**
Social network	**Mean score**	**6.9**	**4.9**	**4.2**	**3.8**	**5.8**

In New Brunswick, the region with the highest Francophone geographic concentration, students tend to speak French more often with their neighbours than with their friends (68.1% and 59.7%, respectively, use French frequently). Moreover, in the other regions, students tend to speak French slightly more often with their friends than with their neighbours. But for both types of networks, except for the Atlantic region, where nearly a third of students speak mostly French, one in five students or less uses French frequently.

In the less private and more extended circles of social gatherings (parties, weddings, dances) and social and cultural organizations, French tends to be used less frequently. Fewer than six in ten students in New Brunswick (56.1% and 57.5%) and one in four to less than one in ten students, depending on the region, state speaking mostly French in these social settings. These scores are lowest in the West/North region.

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 Francophone geographic concentration in these regions, with scores being highest in New Brunswick (mean score of 6.4 for all three public places) and lowest in the West/North region (mean score of 2.2). We note that it is in shopping malls, usually located in more urban regions, that scores regarding use of French are lowest.

We saw in the section on ethnolinguistic socialization in this chapter that enculturation through contact with the media was very Anglo-dominant. These results (see table 4.13) were based on their language experiences between the ages of 2 and 12. Table 4.40 shows the language of currently used media, i.e., used by students who are now 16 and a half 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 together in a single score the mean score for the language of the media consumed between the ages of 2 and 6 and between the ages of 7 and 12. This comparison allows us to note that the Anglophone media have an even greater impact on students now than when they were between the ages of 2 and 12. For example, in New Brunswick, in the region where consumption of Francophone media is strongest, nearly four

Table 4.39
Language Spoken: Public Places

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Convenience stores	Mostly English (%)	14.4	42.0	62.9	84.8	35.6
	Both equally (%)	26.9	26.2	23.5	12.2	25.1
	Mostly French (%)	58.7	31.7	13.6	3.1	39.3
	Mean score	**6.6**	**4.4**	**3.2**	**2.0**	**5.2**
Shopping malls	Mostly English (%)	20.4	61.4	66.0	89.3	40.6
	Both equally (%)	34.2	20.1	24.4	8.0	29.5
	Mostly French (%)	45.4	18.5	9.5	2.6	29.9
	Mean score	**6.0**	**3.4**	**3.0**	**1.8**	**4.7**
Services	Mostly English (%)	12.6	41.9	55.1	70.3	31.1
	Both equally (%)	27.5	27.5	27.3	20.5	27.2
	Mostly French (%)	59.9	30.6	17.5	9.2	41.6
	Mean score	**6.7**	**4.3**	**3.6**	**2.7**	**5.4**
Public Places	**Mean score**	**6.4**	**4.0**	**3.3**	**2.2**	**5.1**

in ten students (38.6%) said that they watched television programs mostly in French (table 4.13), but now fewer than two in ten students (18.1%) state having this behaviour. For radio, listening mostly in French drops from 41.9% to 22.9%. For reading at home, the percentage of Franco-dominant reading drops from 57.6% to 41.0%. For shows, the score drops from 53.1% to 27.2%. For the Internet, even if access was weaker before than it is now, we note that the percentage of students using this media mostly in French between the ages of 2 and 12 drops from 32.6% to only 13.2%. We can draw comparisons for each region. For all media-related behaviours and in each of the regions without exception, current use is lower than use between the ages of 2 and 12, even if, for most of the media, use of French was already quite low.

Given the very strong presence of Anglophone media outside Quebec, it is difficult to expect high percentages of students to give priority to French media. Table 4.40 shows that it is only for reading at home (excluding homework) that more than a third of students (41.0%), and only in New Brunswick, use French more than English. In the other regions, it is between 16 and 17% of students

Table 4.40
Language of the Currently Used Media

		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Shows	Mostly English (%)	42.5	66.0	66.8	70.0	53.0
	Both equally (%)	30.3	23.4	24.9	24.5	28.0
	Mostly French (%)	27.2	10.6	8.4	5.6	19.0
	Mean score	**4.6**	**3.0**	**3.0**	**2.9**	**3.9**
Television	Mostly English (%)	50.2	87.3	72.9	73.3	60.1
	Both equally (%)	31.7	9.0	19.3	21.7	26.3
	Mostly French (%)	18.1	3.8	7.8	5.0	13.6
	Mean score	**4.0**	**2.0**	**2.8**	**2.7**	**3.5**
Radio	Mostly English (%)	49.8	79.6	71.3	76.4	59.3
	Both equally (%)	27.3	12.8	19.6	17.7	23.9
	Mostly French (%)	22.9	7.6	9.1	5.8	16.8
	Mean score	**4.1**	**2.3**	**2.8**	**2.4**	**3.5**
Reading outside school	Mostly English (%)	26.8	50.8	44.6	46.9	34.6
	Both equally (%)	32.1	32.3	39.1	36.6	35.0
	Mostly French (%)	41.0	16.9	16.3	16.5	30.4
	Mean score	**5.5**	**3.7**	**4.0**	**4.0**	**4.9**
Internet	Mostly English (%)	51.7	70.9	58.2	61.2	54.7
	Both equally (%)	35.1	26.7	33.7	34.4	34.4
	Mostly French (%)	13.3	2.4	8.1	4.4	10.9
	Mean score	**3.8**	**2.6**	**3.3**	**3.1**	**3.6**
Media	**Mean score**	**4.4**	**2.8**	**3.2**	**3.0**	**3.9**

who read most often in French. For all the other media, except in New Brunswick where results are a bit higher, it is 10% or fewer students who state that they consume mostly Francophone media.

For students with heightened awareness and who have parental support, we could expect to see a certain proportion of those students consume about as much Francophone media as Anglophone media. We note that the percentages of students in this category tend to be higher than the percentage having Franco-dominant behaviours. For all students, these proportions range from 23.9% for radio to 35% for reading at home. It is, nevertheless, in the category of mostly

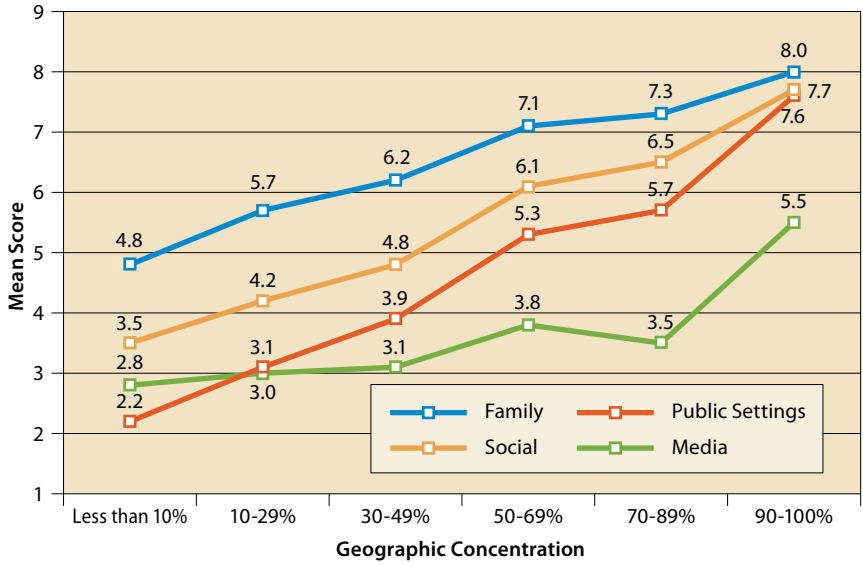
English use that we find the highest percentages, save for reading at home among students in New Brunswick, where 26.8% of students state reading mostly in English. For the other media, the percentage of Anglo-dominant consumers ranges from 42.5% for shows in New Brunswick to 87.3% for television in the Atlantic region.

Figure 4.21 sets out the mean scores of students for the four categories of language behaviour according to Francophone geographic concentration. We note that use of French for each behaviour category increases with Francophone geographic density. This trend is, however, less linear (straight line) for media consumption. For this category, the lowest mean score (2.8) is in municipalities with a Francophone population under 10% and the mean score is higher (5.5) in municipalities with a Francophone population over 90%. We note, however, that even in the latter, media consumption tends to be as high in English as in French. Moreover, for media consumption, use of French tends to be uniformly low in municipalities having a Francophone population between 10 and 29% up to those with between 70 and 89%.

Figure 4.21 also reveals that it is in the family and with relatives that French usage is most frequent. For this category, French usage is

Figure 4.21

Frequency of Language Use
Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration



practically the same as English usage (mean score of 4.8) in municipalities with fewer than 10% Francophones and practically only French is used (mean score of 8.0) when Francophones constitute 90% and more of the population. It is in their social circles that French is the second most frequently used (mean scores ranging from 3.5 to 7.7). With the exception of the media, it is in public places that French usage is lowest, with mean scores ranging from 2.2 to 7.6.

4.3.7.2 Engaged behaviours

As mentioned above, engaged behaviours include three types of behaviour. Students indicated on a nine-point scale to what extent statements describing behaviours of valorization of the French language and culture, identity affirmation and language assertion corresponded to what they are doing now or have already done (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 French" reveals a behaviour of valorization. The statement "Asking to be served in French in an establishment, even when first addressed in English" illustrates a behaviour of affirmation. Finally, "Demonstrating against injustices experienced by the Francophone community (e.g., absence of government services in French)" is an indication of a behaviour of assertion. Table 4.41 contains the results for each category of behaviour, each covering four indications for each category.

As established by the conceptual framework, valorization behaviours tend to be more frequent than affirmation and assertion behaviours. It is in the Atlantic region that the percentage of students stating that the valorization behaviours described by the statements corresponded strongly to their own behaviours is the lowest (19.9%). In the other regions, about three in ten students (from 27.8% to 31.5%) state having strong engaged behaviours of valorization.

It is in New Brunswick that the percentage of strong affirmation behaviours is highest (31.8%) and in the Atlantic region that the percentage is lowest (8.8%). The percentages are quite similar in Ontario (16.7%) and in the West/North region (15.9%), with the prevalence of identity affirmation behaviours being located between that of New Brunswick and the Atlantic region. Strong assertion behaviours are,

Table 4.41
Engaged Behaviours Towards the French Language and Culture

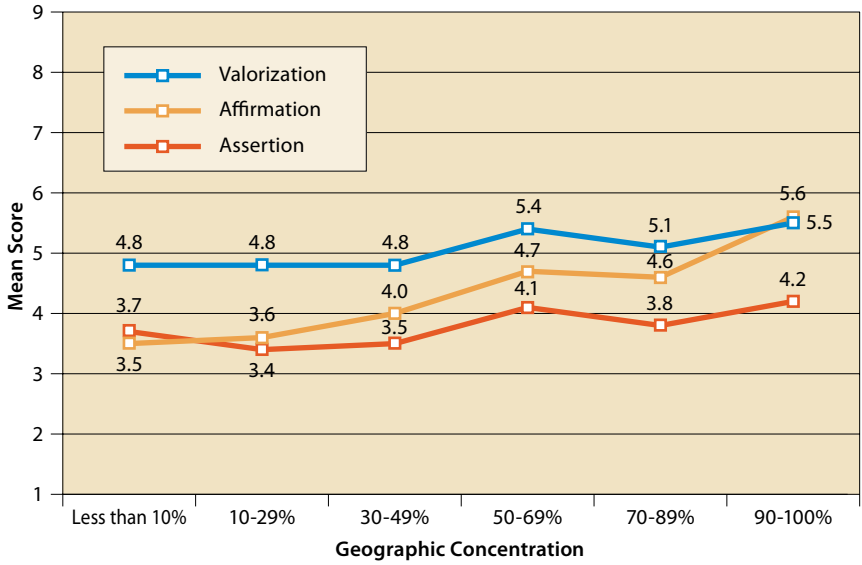
		N.B.	Atlantic	Ontario	West/North	Total
Valorization	Weak (%)	21.0	23.5	22.4	14.7	21.4
	Moderate (%)	49.5	56.7	49.8	53.8	49.8
	Strong (%)	29.6	19.9	27.8	31.5	28.8
	Mean score	**5.1**	**4.7**	**5.1**	**5.4**	**5.1**
Affirmation	Weak (%)	31.7	58.3	46.3	42.3	38.3
	Moderate (%)	36.5	32.8	37.0	41.8	36.8
	Strong (%)	31.8	8.8	16.7	15.9	24.9
	Mean score	**4.9**	**3.3**	**3.9**	**4.0**	**4.5**
Assertion	Weak (%)	51.2	48.5	48.3	34.1	49.5
	Moderate (%)	33.7	37.7	37.9	45.5	35.8
	Strong (%)	15.1	13.8	13.8	20.4	14.7
	Mean score	**3.8**	**3.7**	**3.8**	**4.4**	**3.8**
French	**Mean score**	**4.6**	**3.9**	**4.3**	**4.6**	**4.4**

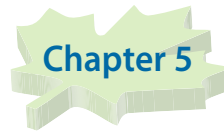
for all students, those with the least frequency (14.7% versus 24.9% for affirmation and 28.8% for valorization). Nevertheless, these behaviours, in relative frequency, vary according to the region. For example, among students in New Brunswick, strong affirmation tends to be more frequent than strong assertion, but in the West/North region and in the Atlantic region, this trend is reversed. The percentages of strong assertion behaviours are a bit higher than the strong affirmation ones. In Ontario, the percentage of strong affirmation behaviours (16.7%) is only slightly higher than assertion behaviours (13.8%). Factorial analyses have actually shown that these behaviours tend to be grouped into two categories rather than three, with valorization behaviours being the first and the two others being a single category grouping together behaviours of assertion and affirmation (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2009).

Figure 4.22 shows the relationship between the three categories of engaged behaviour and Francophone geographic density. Even if the highest scores are in regions where Francophones make up 90% and more of the population, the relationship is only slightly linear.

Figure 4.22

Engaged Behaviour Based on Francophone Geographic Concentration





Main Study Findings and Pedagogical Implications

In this last chapter, we summarize the fundamental findings of the study and discuss the resulting crucial pedagogical implications. Our goal is not to make specific pedagogical or language planning recommendations. Based on the results obtained, we highlight the essential areas of intervention that we believe to require work, as we did when we highlighted in a previous report (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007d) the necessary interventions suggested by the results of students in Francophone schools in Ontario. We conclude by establishing a connection between these areas of intervention and any societal or cultural autonomy project that Francophone and Acadian communities may want to undertake.

5.1 Study results: fundamental findings

Note that the results are broken down into three sections. The first outlines the particular features of the students on the demographic level, some of which will certainly have repercussions on the language variables studied. The second analyzes their ethnolinguistic experiences. They represent several aspects of their ethnolinguistic socialization since early childhood. The third defines the students' psycholinguistic characteristics, which describe what these students are today as concerns identity, competence in the official languages, affective attitudes towards the official language communities and language behaviour. Detailed results on these variables are presented in chapter four for each of the four regions (New Brunswick, Atlantic, Ontario, West/North) and for all of Canada outside Quebec.

The Grade 11 students who took part in the study had been in the school system for about twelve years, including kindergarten. Data for these students must therefore not be applied to the current situation of new enrolments. In other words, students enrolling in French-language

schools today do not necessarily have the same characteristics as these students who enrolled over ten years ago. The resumption of the study during the 2015-2016 school year may, however, show how the demolinguistic and ethnolinguistic situations of students in French-language schools have evolved over a period of about ten years.

5.1.1 Demographic variables

A little over eight in ten students (83.0%) had French as their mother tongue. English was the mother tongue for 14.0% of students, and 3.1% of students were Allophones. The proportion of Francophones was highest in New Brunswick (92.5%), then in the West/North region (80.3%); the Atlantic and Ontario regions had similar proportions of Francophone students (70.7 and 70.3%, respectively). There are very few Allophone students (less than 1%) in New Brunswick and in the other Atlantic provinces; however, in Ontario and the West/North region, the percentages are 6.1 and 4.6, respectively. The results regarding the students' mother tongue reflected the mother tongue of the parents, which was used to infer the Francophone endogamy and exogamy rates observed. Francophone endogamy is highest in New Brunswick (79%), and is less than 60% in the other regions.

On the socioeconomic level, we note that mothers tend to have a higher level of education than fathers, and that there are significant interregional differences in this respect. The highest proportion of parents who have not completed high school is in New Brunswick (15.7 and 30.4% for mothers and fathers, respectively) and the lowest percentage of parents with university degrees can be found in New Brunswick. For university studies, the rate was particularly high in the West/North region (41.9% for mothers and 36.5% for fathers). In the other regions, the percentage of parents with university degrees was significantly lower, ranging from 25 to 28% for mothers and 21 to 25% for fathers.

Based on how the students were grouped in the four regions, we noticed that these regions formed a continuum with respect to the proportion of Francophones in the municipalities where the students spent most of their life. These average percentages per region were 74.0, 50.1, 33.0 and 14.9 for New Brunswick, the other Atlantic provinces, Ontario and the West/North region, respectively. Overall, for

all schools in the 30 school boards, the students lived in municipalities where 56.4% of residents are Francophones.

The fact that it is in the West/North region (where Francophone concentration is lowest) where we find the highest proportion of students having French as their mother tongue, with the exception of New Brunswick, and that it is in this region where we find the highest level of education among the parents, shows that in regions with lower Francophone vitality, it is the parents with the most education and those who transmitted French as the mother tongue to their child who are the most inclined to enrol their child in a French-language school. In these regions with low Francophone vitality, the French-language school is less imposed by its geographic situation than by a conscious and voluntary decision by the parents. Accordingly, this parental determination could very well influence some of the students' language variables, including the language spoken at home, Francophone identity and competencies in French.

Since the regions themselves form a continuum of Francophone vitality, it is easy to anticipate that several aspects of the students' ethnolinguistic socialization (from early childhood to age 12) are influenced by these different vitality contexts. The same holds true for the effect of Francophone geographic concentration, which we have broken down into six categories (less than 10%, from 10 to 29%, from 30 to 49%, from 50 to 69%, from 70 to 89% and from 90% and over) and in light of which several ethnolinguistic experiences have been analyzed. We recall that this same continuum was also used for the psycholinguistic variables.

5.1.2 Ethnolinguistic experiences

We measured three types of ethnolinguistic experiences based on our conceptual framework: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization. The following are the main findings for each type of linguistic experience.

5.1.2.1 Enculturation

The measurements we applied to enculturation were aimed at measuring the degree of contact with English and French during childhood, i.e., from age 2 to 12. The students answered the questionnaire

relating to two periods of their life (from 2 to 6 years of age, and from 7 to 12). In order to simplify the presentation, we combined these two periods in order to have a single score for enculturation. We set the age limit at 12 to distinguish between prior socialization during the childhood period and current language behaviours measured by other questionnaires.

As concerns language of education, the mean scores for the four regions differed little and were close to 8.0, the point on the nine-point scale meaning that all classes offered were in French, except for English class, which was the mean score expected for students enrolled in French-language schools. The slight variations between the average interregional scores can be explained by the fact that there are more students in Ontario and the West/North region coming from outside the country than in the two other regions. These students may have completed part of their schooling in another language. The mean scores applicable to the amount of schooling in French are a bit higher for kindergarten to grade 3 (K to 3) than for the other levels. This situation may be explained by the fact that several school boards do not teach English prior to Grade 3, and in some cases not until Grade 5.

Although there are few differences between the scores relating to schooling in French, the phenomenon differs with respect to the scores for the school's language environment outside the classroom. The school's language environment, which tends to be nearly entirely French in the early years, gradually leans towards English from the K to 3 level to the 10 to 12 level. It also varies by region, being in particular more French in New Brunswick than in the other regions. It is in Ontario and the West/North region that the French school environment is weakest. It is interesting to note that the French school environment at the K to 3 level in the West/North region is stronger than in Ontario and in the Atlantic region, and is similar to the New Brunswick French environment. It reflects the language spoken at home. Note that parents in the West/North region who enrolled their children in a French-language school tend to transmit French as a mother tongue more than parents from other regions, with the exception of New Brunswick. However, over the years, the low Francophone geographic concentration in the West/North region has tended to influence the French school environment. At the G10 to G12 level, it is equivalent to Ontario's and is less French than the Atlantic region's.

The results show that the French school environment is highly influenced by Francophone geographic concentration. The mean score applicable to the four school grade levels (K to 3, 4 to 6, 7 to 9, and 10 to 12) combined is 5.3 in municipalities with less than 10% Francophones and increases linearly to 7.9 in municipalities with 90% and more Francophones. A recent study (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009) showed that French school environment was strongly associated with the language spoken with friends outside school, which was in turn associated with the language spoken in the neighbourhood and within the family.

Two measurements were used to evaluate enculturation in social networks in private settings (immediate family, relatives, friends, neighbours and contacts with social, cultural and sporting activities) and public settings (health services, stores and restaurants) from early childhood to age 12: a) the amount of contact with Francophones and Anglophones; and b) the language spoken during these contacts. This is therefore a language experience that is prior to the current experience (refer to the language behaviours below).

When looking at the proportion of contacts during childhood, it is in New Brunswick that the students' social circles were the most Francophone, both in private and public settings. In second place we have those of the students from the Atlantic region. Save for contacts with neighbours and parents' friends, contacts with Francophones in private settings were higher in the West/North region than in Ontario, despite a lower concentration of Francophones in the municipalities inhabited. This situation is explained, as we mentioned previously, by the more selective nature of the school clientele in the West/North region. Our analyses do indeed show that the Frenchness of social circles in public settings is more closely associated with Francophone geographic concentration than in private settings, where the Francophone network is just as strong as the Anglophone network, even in municipalities with 10% or fewer Francophones. Nevertheless, even in private settings, the denser the Francophone geographic concentration, the greater the dominance of the Francophone network. Furthermore, Francophone geographic density has had a greater impact on the social circles of the students in the public setting. In regions with less than 50% Francophones, contacts with Anglophones were more frequent

than contacts with Francophones. The proportion of contacts with these two groups was similar in regions having between 50 and 69% Francophones. It is only when Francophones constitute 70% and more of the population that the public social circles with Francophones were more numerous than those with Anglophones.

As was expected, the scores for language use tend to imitate those of the strength of the social network. Students who have experienced a strong Francophone network tend to have used French much more often in their language contacts than those who have experienced a weaker Francophone network. The interregional differences are quite similar to those observed for the proportion of Francophones in the social networks. The same exceptional situation is also found for students in the West/North region in private settings. Despite a lower density of the Francophone population, the proportion of students speaking mostly French with the immediate family (68.8%) was higher in the West/North region than in the Atlantic region (62.9%) and in Ontario (55.7%). Similar profiles are observed for the language spoken with relatives (cousins, aunts and uncles).

New Brunswick stands out from the other regions as it is the only region where, on the one hand, the proportion of students having spoken mostly French with friends (78.3%) is similar to that of students having spoken this language most often with the immediate family (78.4%) and where, on the other hand, the proportion of students having spoken mostly French at school with other students (85.2%) was higher than the proportion of students having spoken mostly French with members of their family. In the other regions, the students had a tendency to speak French less frequently with their friends and with other students than with members of their immediate family.

For all students in Canada outside Quebec, the family and school are the only living environments where over two-thirds of students (69.1 and 71.1%, respectively) experienced Francophone language dominance during childhood. The more community-based and public the sociolinguistic contacts, the more use of French decreased. Also, the lower the Francophone density, the more the dominance of English in a public setting was imposed in relation to this dominance in a private setting. It is only in regions with a very high Francophone

concentration (90% and more) that use of French in public settings was equivalent to that found in private settings. In private settings, use of French tended to be equal to that of English, even in regions with lower Francophone density (less than 10%). In public settings, it is only when Francophones formed between 50 and 69% of the population that French was spoken a bit more than English, and in regions with between 30 and 49% Francophones that French was spoken as much as English.

Enculturation was measured in two other areas of life: the media and the linguistic landscape (the language of public and commercial signs). The first domain is mixed, being both public and private. In fact, media are managed by public corporations or companies that serve the public interest, but are most often consumed in private settings, such as the home. In their relationships with the psycholinguistic variables, the media behave more like enculturing experiences of the private type. Their relationship to Francophone identity is stronger than to subjective Francophone vitality. We further note a strong relationship between the consumption of Francophone media and the desire to integrate the Francophone community (Landry and Allard, 1996; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b, and Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007c). The second area, namely linguistic landscape, produces on the psycholinguistic variables effects that are similar to those of the other enculturation experiences in public settings. The relationships are strong, in particular with subjective Francophone vitality, i.e., with the status or prestige that students attribute to French in their region (Landry and Allard, 1996; Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006b).

An initial finding regarding the use of media by students during their childhood deals with the strong power of attraction of the English language. For six of the nine media measured (television, radio, movies, Internet, music and magazines), fewer than a third of students consumed mainly Francophone media. Fewer than four in ten students (38%) had read mostly Francophone newspapers, and nearly one in two students (46%) had read mostly books in French at home. About four in ten students (41%) had been to shows or plays mostly in French, of which a certain number may have been organized by the school. Although there are regional differences, we note a strong

attraction towards Anglophone media, even in New Brunswick, in places where students have lived, on average, in regions with a majority of Francophones. In fact, there is a rather weak connection between the density of the Francophone population and the language of media consumption. It is only in regions with a Francophone population of 90% or more that consumption of French media was stronger than consumption of English media, and even then, consumption in French was only moderately strong (mean score of 6.4 points on a scale of 9).

We observe two anomalies with respect to the expected relationship between the Francophone density of the regions and use of the French language in media consumption. Although the Atlantic region is the second highest in Francophone density, it is where consumption of Francophone media is weakest. Fewer than 10% of the students consumed mostly Francophone media during their childhood. Furthermore, the students in the West/North region are those who come from regions with the lowest density of Francophones, but they were exposed to Francophone media more often during their childhood than students in Ontario and the Atlantic region. This effect could also be associated with the selective nature of the school clientele in that region. Parents may certainly exert a certain influence on media use since consumption occurs mostly at home.

As for the linguistic landscape that the students state having experienced during childhood, it is in New Brunswick where it was the most Francophone. About a third of New Brunswick's Francophone students feels that store notices and signs, road signs and flyers delivered through the mail were mostly in French. The youths of this province state having lived in a generally bilingual linguistic landscape (mean score of 5.4 points on a scale of 9), whereas, in the other regions, the linguistic landscape was described as Anglo-dominant. As for the media, the scores are lowest in the Atlantic region (mean score of 2.8) and the West/North region tends to have scores similar to the Ontario region (average scores of 3.6 and 3.8, respectively). The question of knowing to what extent these scores reflect the realities of the actual linguistic landscape experienced in those regions and to what extent they are influenced by subjective factors remains unanswered.

5.1.2.2 Personal autonomization

In accordance with our conceptual framework, personal autonomization represents a qualitative aspect of the ethnolinguistic experience and, according to self-determination theory, it meets three fundamental human needs: needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness. Meeting these three needs fosters greater autonomy in the choice of behaviour and motivation that is governed by internal factors. With respect to the many students who lived in bilingual contexts, we need to determine whether contact with the French language was as or more autonomy-building than contact with the English language. Our conceptual framework stipulates that an autonomy-building ethnolinguistic experience fosters language usage and learning for identity-related reasons, whereas weaker personal autonomization may be associated with weaker motivation to use and learn the language or more instrumental motivation (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009). Our questionnaires verified, for different life contexts (family, friends and acquaintances, as well as school), to what extent contact with both official languages and members of these communities may have helped to meet autonomy, competence and relatedness needs.

Overall, personal autonomization in French tends to have been stronger than personal autonomization in English. However, it is only in New Brunswick that the experiences were much more autonomy-building in French than in English (average scores of 7.7 and 6.2, respectively). For this group, we note that personal autonomization experiences in English were at least moderately strong. In the other regions, personal autonomization was rather strong in both languages: 7.1 and 6.7 in the Atlantic region, 6.9 and 6.5 in Ontario, and 7.2 and 6.8 in the West/North region, for French and English, respectively. For each of these regions, the difference between the average score for French and the average score for English is only 0.4 points. Furthermore, according to the students, Francophone autonomization tends to support the three fundamental needs equally, while Anglophone autonomization tends to support the need for relatedness a bit more than the needs for autonomy and competence.

Our analyses reveal that Francophone and Anglophone autonomization experiences vary depending on Francophone geographic density. When Francophones form less than 10% of the population,

autonomization experiences are equally strong in both languages (7.0 in French and 6.8 in English). Also, the dominance of Francophone autonomization increases only slightly in relation to Francophone density. Even in municipalities with over 90% Francophones, if Francophone autonomization is very strong (mean score of 8.1), Anglophone autonomization remains nevertheless moderately strong (mean score of 5.9).

5.1.2.3 Social conscientization

Our conceptual framework establishes that social conscientization tends to foster the development of a "critical consciousness" in relation to both the minority situation of French and its legitimacy and stability in Canadian society. This critical consciousness encourages, in turn, engaged behaviours towards the Francophone community (Allard *et al.*, 2005, 2009). An initial questionnaire measured vicarious experiences, i.e., the degree of contact with models of conscientization and involvement (e.g., parents, teachers or other significant people) who valorized the French language and culture, affirmed their identity or asserted their rights.

All in all, contacts with valorization models were more frequent (mean score of 6.0 points on a scale of 9) than contacts with people affirming their identity (5.3) or asserting rights (4.7). However, this trend hides regional differences. New Brunswick's profile is similar to that of the entire sample, but in two regions (the Atlantic and West/North region), contact with assertion behaviours are more frequent than with identity-affirming behaviours. It is in these regions that students state having been the least in contact with people who affirm their identity publically (e.g., asking for services in French in businesses and establishments). In Ontario, the students say that they had somewhat equal contact with identity-affirming and rights-asserting behaviours. If we establish a mean score grouping together the three types of behaviours observed, New Brunswick and the West/North region have identical mean scores (5.5), followed by Ontario (5.2) and the Atlantic (4.9). The overall score for the entire sample (5.3) reflects rather moderate contacts with models of conscientization and involvement.

There is little association between the density of the Francophone population in the regions inhabited by the students and the observation of models who value the French language and culture or who claim language rights. With respect to the first behaviour, school may have a stabilizing effect and tend to standardize contacts with such models (see below). As for the assertion behaviour, two antagonistic effects may also exert a uniformity effect. First, in regions with low Francophone vitality, few rights other than school rights may be asserted, these being perceived as less legitimate. Then, in regions with higher vitality, the need to claim rights may not be as strong due to a more frequent and stable Francophone experience. We note, however, a clearer link in the relationship between Francophone geographic density and models who affirm their identity publically. Student contact with this type of model generally increases with the concentration of the Francophone population. In other words, the more students live in regions with high Francophone vitality, the more usual it was for them to see people from their environment publically affirming their Francophone identity.

A second questionnaire sought to determine the category of people (family and relatives, teachers, friends, other acquaintances, artists and community leaders) who most often represented for the students models of French language and culture valorization. The models most often observed were teachers. Eight in ten students (78.8%) state having often observed teachers validating the French language and culture. Regional differences are rather small. Family members and relatives were models often observed by about 54.0% of students, but it is in the West/North region that the percentage is highest (64.7%). This result further confirms the argument that parents in this region are more involved Francophones. For about four in ten students, artists and community leaders were frequent models, while the other categories of people (friends and other acquaintances) represented frequent models for fewer than a third of the students. The relationship between the density of the Francophone population and the frequency of contact with all of these categories of models is rather weak, but is generally positive.

The last questionnaire measured personal experiences providing awareness of the Francophone situation since childhood. The students

stated that they were moderately aware of the Francophone situation (mean score of 5.5 points on a scale of 9) and had relatively few experiences with discrimination due to their language (score of 4.1). However, when we focus on the percentage of students having had intense experiences (scores of 6.5 and over), experiences with discrimination appear twice more frequently (30.6%) than experiences with awareness (16.9%). The highest percentages for both types of experiences are found in the West/North region. More than four in ten students (44.6%) in the entire sample state that they have been made little aware of the Francophone situation. This situation tends to be inversely related to community vitality, with the highest percentage of low awareness being in New Brunswick (47.4%) and the lowest in the West/North region (33.6%).

5.1.3 Psycholinguistic development

In this section, we summarize the main findings obtained for the different student characteristics on the psycholinguistic level. It is postulated that these psycholinguistic traits are influenced by various aspects of language socialization (refer to our conceptual framework).

5.1.3.1 Identity

A reminder that our conceptual framework identifies two complementary components of ethnolinguistic identity: self-definition (stating one is a member of an ethnolinguistic group) and identity involvement (the meaning and affective attachment associated with that identity). Six different identities were measured with respect to self-definition: Francophone identity, Anglophone identity, bilingual identity, Franco-territorial identity, Quebecois identity and Canadian identity. With respect to identity involvement, only identification with both official language communities was measured.

It is the Canadian identity that scores highest (8.4 out of 9) and varies little according to region. Quebecois identity obtains the lowest mean score (2.2). Francophone identity (7.5) is stronger than Anglophone identity (5.5). It is in New Brunswick (7.8) and in the West/North region (7.5) that Francophone identity is strongest, yet it is nonetheless relatively strong in the Atlantic region (7.2) and in Ontario (7.0). Anglophone identity is moderate in New Brunswick (4.9), but

moderately strong in the other regions (ranging from 6.2 to 6.4). Franco-territorial identity (e.g., Acadian in the Atlantic region and New Brunswick, Franco-Ontarian in Ontario and Franco-provincial or territorial in the other regions) is rather strong (6.9) and varies little according to region (6.8 to 7.0). The Francophone and Anglophone identities are fairly strongly related to Francophone geographic concentration, the first positively, and the second negatively. Franco-territorial identity also tends to increase according to the density of the Francophone population, but less uniformly. Bilingual identity tends to be strong in most of the density categories, but is weaker in regions with a Francophone population of 90% or more.

Bilingual identity is more strongly associated with Francophone community vitality when located on a continuum of identity dominance, ranging from strong Anglo-dominance to strong Franco-dominance (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006c). According to this continuum (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2008), the analyses of the results of our study show a strong bilingual dominance (80.9%). Fewer than one in five students (17.3%) states having a dominant Francophone identity; however, an interesting aspect that is probably the effect of the French-language school, is that fewer than 2% (1.7%) of students state having a dominant Anglophone identity. Francophone identity dominance tends to increase with Francophone population density, ranging from 1.4% in regions with a Francophone population of under 10% to 49.6% in regions with over 90%. Previous studies have shown that the degree of schooling in French was as strongly related to the strength of Francophone identity as the Francophone social network (Landry and Allard, 1996).

Francophone identity involvement (6.8) is strong, on average, than Anglophone identity involvement (5.2). It is strongest in New Brunswick (7.1) and in the West/North region (7.0). New Brunswick stands out, however, due to a weaker Anglophone identity involvement (4.7) than the West/North region (6.1). The differences between Francophone identity involvement and Anglophone identity involvement are smaller in Ontario (6.4 and 5.9, respectively), and in the Atlantic region (6.6 and 5.9, respectively). Identity involvement is somewhat strongly related to Francophone geographic density. The higher the density, the more Francophone identity involvement tends

to dominate Anglophone identity involvement. In regions with low Francophone density (under 10%), Anglophone identity involvement tends to be stronger, and students are more involved with the Anglophone community than the Francophone community, although they were schooled in French since Kindergarten. On the other hand, we reiterate that the Francophone identity is more and more a voluntary choice and less a result of social determinism (Deveau and Landry, 2007). Identity involvement is more greatly promoted by the quality of language experiences than by the quantity of contacts (Deveau, Landry and Allard, submitted for publication). These facts should be considered when developing an education plan in a minority environment.

5.1.3.2 Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

The students were asked to estimate the societal status of the English and French languages in the region where they lived. They were required to assess the resources or "linguistic capital" of each community from a cultural, political, economic and social perspective. Overall, the students assessed that the "political capital" (government services) of their region was stronger than the other types of Francophone capital. As for the Anglophone community, it is the cultural capital (cultural activities and television broadcasts) that is evaluated strongest. Anglophone vitality (mean score of 6.6) is evaluated overall as stronger than Francophone community vitality (5.6). We note, however, that students in New Brunswick tend to evaluate the vitality of the Francophone community as high or higher than that of the Anglophone community, except for cultural capital. These students live in regions where Francophones make up, on average, about three quarters of the population and it is the vitality of the languages in their region, and not for the entire province, that they evaluated. Our analyses reveal that it is only in regions where Francophone concentration is very high (90% or more) that Francophone vitality is estimated as stronger than Anglophone vitality.

Another questionnaire on subjective ethnolinguistic vitality asked students to assess the future vitality of the Francophone community. Each student estimated the current situation in relation to what they anticipated in 25 years. On average, students estimated that future

Francophone vitality would be the same as it is today. They therefore appear to have little awareness of the general trends that show decreasing vitality in the Francophone communities. This estimate varies little by region or Francophone geographic concentration.

A third questionnaire measured the extent to which students considered the Francophone vitality as legitimate given the number of Francophones and Anglophones in their region. They were required to assess whether the situation of the Francophone community should be weaker, the same or stronger for things to be truly just and fair. In general, they assessed that there should be more Francophone community resources than there are currently. The need for more resources was most often expressed in Ontario and the West/North region. Legitimate vitality is only slightly associated with Francophone geographic concentration.

5.1.3.3 Desire for integration

As set out in our conceptual framework, the desire to integrate a language community may be influenced by two elements: the strength of the identity and the perceived societal status of the language (subjective ethnolinguistic vitality). This attitude may also be directly influenced by certain experiences, in particular contact with the media (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007c). We measured the desire of students to integrate each of the official-language communities. A student may wish to integrate one community rather than another or want to integrate both equally.

The desire to integrate the Francophone community tends to be moderately strong (mean score of 6.1 points on a scale of 9), but is generally stronger for access to community resources (e.g., work, public services) than for cultural activities (television broadcasts and cultural activities). The mean scores for the former range between 6.3 and 6.7 and between 4.7 and 5.1 for the latter.

The desire to integrate the Anglophone community is also moderately strong (mean score of 5.8). Of note, however, is that regional profiles vary based on the relative importance given to each community. In New Brunswick, students have a greater desire to integrate the Francophone community (6.4) than the Anglophone community (5.3), except for cultural activities. In the Atlantic region, the desire to

integrate the Anglophone community (6.5) is stronger than the desire to integrate the Francophone community (5.3). The same holds true, albeit to a lesser degree, for Ontario (6.4 and 5.8, respectively) and for the West/North region (6.6 and 6.0, respectively). For each community, it is with respect to the cultural aspect that there is a greater desire to be part of the Anglophone community. For the other aspects, which are more community geared, students in Ontario, the Atlantic region and the West/North region tend to want to live in both language communities. Moreover, in New Brunswick, it is in relation to these community aspects that the desire to live in French tends to trump the desire to live in English. When the desires to integrate these two communities are analyzed in association with Francophone geographic density, a positive relationship appears with respect to the desire to integrate the Francophone community, but the connection becomes negative in relation to the desire to integrate the Anglophone community.

5.1.3.4 Feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness

The students assessed the extent to which they learned and used each language freely and by personal choice (feelings of autonomy), and also the extent to which they felt they could learn and use them efficiently and with competence (feelings of competence). They also assessed the extent to which, in their contacts with Francophones and Anglophones, they felt supported, confident with them, attached to them, listened to and esteemed. In New Brunswick, these three needs are more fully met in contacts with the French language and Francophones (mean score = 7.0) than with the English language and Anglophones (6.1). In the three other regions, the needs tend to be equally met in each language or a bit more in English (mean scores ranging between 6.5 and 6.8 for French and 6.7 and 6.9 for English). These results stem from experiences contributing to personal autonomization. Relationships with the geographic density of the Francophone population are weak.

5.1.3.5 Language motivations

Six motivational orientations for learning and using French were measured; these correspond to the motivational continuum that derives from self-determination theory and is set out in our conceptual framework.

Four of the six motivational orientations provide high or moderately high scores. Overall, the students state that they learn and use French as much for instrumental reasons (external regulation) as for identity reasons (integrated regulation) or for reasons associated with personal goals (identified regulation). The mean scores for these orientations are 6.1, 6.1 and 6.0, respectively. Intrinsic motivation for learning French is rather moderate (4.7). It is in the West/North region that these three motivational orientations for French are strongest and in the Atlantic region that they are weakest.

As for motivation for using and learning English, in all regions, the instrumental reasons and reasons associated with achieving personal goals produce higher mean scores than for learning French (external regulation = 6.8, identified regulation = 6.8). The same holds true for intrinsic motivation (5.1). However, in each of the regions, the integrated motivation for English is weaker (4.8) than for French (6.1).

Accordingly, the picture that is drawn is one of greater motivation with respect to learning English for instrumental or personally motivated reasons, and greater identity-based motivation with respect to French in relation to English. This result appears to confirm the diglossic context of French, with English being a language of status that must be learned for reasons of social mobility, and French being more a language of solidarity learned for identity-based reasons. Nevertheless, the instrumental reasons that justify learning French tend to be moderately strong. The fact that intrinsic motivation is a bit stronger for English than for French (except in the West/North region, where scores are the same) could suggest that the general belief that French is a more difficult language to learn than English is well-founded, but further analysis is needed to verify the validity of this hypothesis. We also note that significant proportions of students state learning and using English for identity-based reasons (two in ten students in New Brunswick and three to four in ten students in the other regions). A large portion of these students may be found in exogamy contexts.

As for the effects of Francophone geographic density, a gradual drop in instrumental motivation for French goes hand in hand with an increase in Francophone density. The reverse is observed for identity-based motivation. It is strongest where Francophone geographic concentration is the most dense. As for motivation for English,

no relationship is noted between Francophone concentration and instrumental motivation for English, whereas identity-based motivations for English decrease as Francophone geographic concentration increases.

5.1.3.6 Linguistic competencies and linguistic insecurity

Two types of linguistic competencies were measured in English and French. Cloze tests were used to measure "cognitive-academic" competencies (or literacy competencies) and students were required to perform self-evaluations of their oral and written competencies. One questionnaire made it possible to measure student insecurity regarding the use of standard French. Based on hypotheses proposed by Cummins (1979 and 1981) and confirmed by our research (Landry and Allard, 2000; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009b), strong interdependence is noticed between cognitive-academic skills in a language and these skills in the other language, provided the students had opportunities to learn both languages.

The results of the cloze tests were standardized such that a score of 50 in French is equivalent to a standard based on the results of unilingual Francophones in Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, and for a score of 50 in English to be equivalent to a standard based on the results of Anglophones in Moncton, New Brunswick. A 10-point gap corresponds to one standard-deviation on a normal curve.

The mean scores for all students correspond to nearly one standard-deviation below the standards for the French language and for the English language, with mean scores being 40.7 and 41.1, respectively. Noticeable regional differences are, however, observed. It is in Ontario that the mean score in French (38.7) is lowest. The students in the Atlantic region and in the West/North region obtain mean scores in English that are close to the Anglophone standard (49.2 and 49.5, respectively). Ontario is less than one-half standard-deviation from the Anglophone standard (45.8), while the students in New Brunswick have the weakest performance in English, (36.9), i.e., more than one standard-deviation below the Anglophone standard. Only New Brunswick has a higher mean score in French than in English. There is a strong inverse relationship between English scores

and Francophone geographic concentration. The lowest scores were noticed in the regions most densely populated with Francophones and the highest scores in regions with lower Francophone density.

There is little relationship between the French scores and the density of the Francophone population. However, as we highlighted previously in chapter 4, the more selective nature of the Francophone school clientele in regions with low Francophone vitality (higher socioeconomic level, in particular) may compensate for less frequent contact with the French language. At the other end of the continuum, more frequent contact with French could be associated (as we noticed) with a lower socioeconomic level. For example, New Brunswick has the lowest level of education among parents.

Although, overall, the self-assessments of the four competencies (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) are identical for English and French (mean scores of 7.1 in both cases), regional differences nevertheless appear in competence profiles. New Brunswick students evaluate their competencies in French stronger and their competencies in English weaker than the students in the other regions. The latter evaluate their competencies in French weaker than in English. It is the students in the Atlantic region who evaluate their competencies in French weakest. As for the effect of Francophone geographic density, it is moderate, but rather linear. In English, mean scores range from 7.8 (less than 10% Francophones) to 6.2 (90% and more). The reverse is observed for the overall evaluation of French competence, with mean scores ranging from 6.5 to 8.0.

With respect to the questionnaire measuring linguistic insecurity with respect to the use of standard French, a factorial analysis revealed a linguistic confidence factor and a linguistic insecurity factor. For all regions, confidence in speaking standard French to communicate is moderately strong (mean score of 6.3), with the lowest mean score being noted in the Atlantic region (5.1). Linguistic insecurity is rather weak (mean score of 2.7) and tends to be weaker in New Brunswick than in the other regions. Linguistic confidence and insecurity are weakly related to Francophone geographic density, the former positively, and the latter negatively.

5.1.3.7 Language behaviours

Two types of language behaviours were measured: the degree of current use of English and French in a range of contexts (not to be confused with socialization experienced between the ages of 2 and 12) and engaged behaviour towards French language and culture. According to our conceptual framework, the former is associated with the community vitality of the language and the habits resulting from ethnolinguistic socialization during childhood, in particular enculturation. The latter would be associated with the strength of social conscientization.

The students tend to speak with family and relatives more often in French than in English. This use of French in the family context is strongest in New Brunswick and the Atlantic region. However, a "generation effect" has been noticed. Students speak French more often with their grandparents than with their parents, and more often with the latter than with their siblings. The generation effect is least pronounced in New Brunswick and most noted in the West/North region, reflecting the higher exogamy of couples and a gradual drop in Francophone vitality.

As concerns the use of both languages in the students' social circles, the dominant finding regarding use of French is the significant difference between students in New Brunswick (mean score of 6.9) and those in other regions (4.9 to 3.8). The scores are strongly related to the Francophone density in each region. It is only in New Brunswick that a large proportion of students state speaking mostly French with other classmates (73.4%). This proportion is 43.6% in the Atlantic region, 26.3% in Ontario and only 20.2% in the West/North region. Whether with friends, neighbours or other people met within the context of cultural or social activities, contacts with the French language are most frequent in New Brunswick, followed by the Atlantic region and Ontario. French is used the least frequently in the West/North region. The trend is the same for use of French in public places, with mean scores ranging from 6.4 in New Brunswick to 2.2 in the West/North region. In this latter region, students hardly ever use French in public places.

Results concerning use of Francophone media reveal that current student consumption is still much more Anglo-dominant than between the ages of 2 and 12, even though consumption at that time

was already quite Anglo-dominant. Except in New Brunswick, where results are a bit more positive, fewer than 10% of students consume mostly Francophone media, with the exception of reading books at home, where 41% of students in New Brunswick read most often in French and where between 16 and 17% of students in the other regions do the same. Between 23.9 and 35% of students for all regions tend to read as much in French as in English. It is in the "Anglo-dominance" category that most students tend to group themselves for all media.

All language behaviours are strongly associated with the density of the Francophone population, except for the media, where the linear trend is rather weak. It is only in regions with a very high concentration of Francophones (90% or more) that use of Francophone media tends to be equal to use of Anglophone media (mean score of 5.5).

Three categories of involvement behaviours were measured: French language and culture valorization, identity affirmation and assertion of rights (refer to our conceptual framework). As for social conscientization, even if behavioural frequency is higher for valorization than for affirmation, and the latter is more frequent than assertion, the profiles vary according to region. It is in the Atlantic region that we see the lowest engaged behaviour scores for each of the three categories. Students from New Brunswick have the highest mean score for affirmation behaviours (4.9) and students in the West/North region have the highest scores for valorization (5.4) and assertion (4.4) behaviours. However, overall, the mean scores that relate to engaged behaviours are moderately low; they vary from 3.9 in the Atlantic region to 4.6 in the West/North region and in New Brunswick. The highest scores tend to be found in regions with a Francophone population of 90% or more, but the relationship is only slightly linear.

5.2 Mission of the French school and pedagogy

Drawing up the sociolinguistic profile of students in French-language schools towards the end of high school was not our study's sole goal. It is meant to be a tool providing food for thought on the challenges posed by language planning in education. A report on students in Ontario has already been prepared to that effect (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007d). This report analyzes the situation across Canada and establishes a profile for the four regions, thereby offering a current

picture of the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic realities of the students on a community vitality continuum. Moreover, in order to refine this continuum, we examined the results broken down into six categories of Francophone geographic concentration, ranging from below 10% to 90% or more. After painting a general outlook of the vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities that manage French-language schools, we showed, in chapter 4, and in light of the main findings that we have just summarized, how this community vitality translates into language realities for Grade 11 students.

In the last section of our report, we propose looking at the consequences affecting pedagogy and language planning that stem from the results observed. These consequences cannot be specified without taking into account the role and mission of the French-language school. Not everyone has the same vision of this school's mission (Pilote and Magnan, 2008) and some may even oppose the use of the word "mission," preferring that the school adapt to the students' sociolinguistic realities in order to reflect what the students are today.

5.2.1 The French school and its mission: upper school or lower school?

Today, society is multicultural and identities are increasingly hybrid. Of course, the goal of "homogenous" French-language schools is not to try to "re-homogenize" Francophone society. However, should the school passively follow our changing society? There are numerous debates surrounding the role of French-language schools in minority communities (Heller, 1999; Heller and Labrie, 2003; Landry and Allard, 1999; Landry and Rousselle, 2003; Pilote and Magnan, 2008; Thériault, 2003; Thériault and Meunier, 2008). Our goal here is not to debate these sometimes diverging positions inspired by various ideologies. In our opinion, the "mission" of the French school will be defined by the society project to be developed by the Francophone and Acadian communities together, either in isolation or with Quebec. It is first and foremost a political issue to which the school may adapt its "mission."

According to the cultural autonomy model, it is civil society that can exercise mobilizing community leadership and lead the group to develop for itself a democratic and representative structure of

governance, as well as a political vision. But it is also normal for differing views to be expressed within said civil society, as shown in the studies by Heller and Labrie (2003). According to these authors, traditional, modern and global views coexist and intersect in the Francophone and Acadian communities. Many people interpret the challenges of the *Francophonie* as individualistic. But is this not also a sign of an absence of political vision and collective approach within civil society? According to Thériault (2007a):

> Civil society is a political body in two ways. On the one hand, the bonds formed by civil society are civil bonds, i.e., bonds that result from the free will of individuals […]. Civil society is political from a second aspect: the fact that it is based on this multitude of connections and associations between individuals makes it a political body. A civil society is a reality capable of acting collectively (politically), that has a personality that shapes a world. Civil society as a political reality must, however, be differentiated from the State and government. We would say today that it is a place of governance, and not of government. (p. 19, our translation)

That is why, in our cultural autonomy model (refer to chapter 1), we distinguish between three categories of players: the local minority community comprising members of the community, civil society, which brings together the leaders and members of institutions and different associations or social organizations, and the state, with its public institutions and all citizens who, in a democratic society, choose the government representatives. Civil society is, to a certain extent, the intermediary between the community and the state. It is under its leadership that the community can give itself a governance structure and mobilize itself.

We also saw in chapter 1 that school is both part of the community (source of social proximity) and part of civil society (cornerstone institution and source of leadership). However, as we emphasize below, this school may have a very local (community) or broader (national and political) vision.

The members of the 31 school boards grouped under the national federation of French-language school boards, FNCSF, are democratically elected. However, what society project can they use to define their academic mission? Without a common vision for society, aren't

the elected school officials for each province called upon to focus on developing an isolated French society? In order to somewhat overcome this isolation, the FNCSF (2005) has developed a national and global plan based on partnership and resource sharing, and the implementation of this plan focuses fully on achieving the goals of section 23. This consistent and well-structured plan appears, however, to overlook any political vision or position. Thériault (2007a) asks us to reflect on these collective projects by underlining the concept that he calls "making society." According to him:

> …the attempt to make society at the level of each province is doomed to failure. Given how it is fragmented, the former French Canada—with the exception of Quebec—does not have the means of its ambitions. If it was a crazy dream to want to create a society, to want to establish a national literature, a national history, a continent-wide organizational capacity for society, then thinking that this model could be reproduced for each provincial minority community is even crazier. The shrinking of identities to that of a provincial scale should have led to a shrinking of ambitions, but this was not the case. (p. 252, our translation)

In this conclusion to our report, we are not taking a position on the society project that the Francophone and Acadian communities would like to and could develop. But, in accordance with our conceptual framework, in particular the cultural autonomy model, we feel that its relevance to the educational mission of schools in Francophone minority communities and to the future vitality of the communities that manage them should be highlighted. We further presume that, regardless of how a society project would be defined for these communities, it would be part of an education project in democracy and would primarily focus on language revitalization (Fishman, 1991 and 2001; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006a). Our study shows that, despite the widespread presence of French schools, the French language continues to be threatened both in society and with respect to personal use. We are adopting here a perspective of language revitalization.

However, generically speaking, what is the role of the school? Should we try, through the school, to build a new society or should the school be an agent of socialization and the reflection of society's

current values and beliefs? Asking these questions in such a polarized manner already provides an element of a response. We believe that the final answers to these questions are never found at either end of a dichotomy. Practical answers arise through interaction between these two poles. In other words, they are at the forefront of a dialectical process that brings the opposites together.

We have already considered these issues (Landry and Robichaud, 1985; Landry, 2002). In our perspective, the school is not solely an "agent of socialization" as per the classic Durkheim paradigm of socialization, but it is not limited, either, to being an agent of "autonomization" that seeks to make each person autonomous and free from society's constraints, as was the case with certain anterior Rousseau-based humanistic approaches. All in all, the school should be an agent of "socialization – autonomization" that focuses on bringing together values and beliefs based on these two perspectives into a consistent pedagogy. It would autonomize by socializing and socialize by autonomizing. The *Faculté des sciences de l'Éducation* of the *Université de Moncton* published its thoughts on these issues in a thematic issue of the journal *Éducation et francophonie* titled *La pédagogie actualisante* (Landry, Ferrer and Vienneau, 2002).

Uniting these two poles into a single dialectic is not an instantaneous and easy solution to the problem of defining the school's role or mission, particularly in a perspective of language revitalization. As recalled by Fishman (1991 and 2001), any type of language revitalization project, whether community or society-based, builds on a clear ideological position. Furthermore, the ideological position of the group seeking to maintain or expand its community vitality always comes up against an ideological societal framework that may be more or less compatible with the group's ideology (refer to our conceptual framework in chapter 2). In many societies, language groups must "negotiate" with the state the elements of vitality and cultural autonomy that they may control.

As a result, does the French-language school in minority communities in Canada have a particular "mission?" It is not up to us to define that mission, but we have already proposed certain responses provided that the Francophone and Acadian communities agree to include the school in a language revitalization project (Landry 2003b;

Landry and Rousselle, 2003). Regardless of the political or ideological orientation that the group takes, these language revitalization factors remain and may adapt to this orientation. In other words, as proposed in the theoretical models described in chapters 1 and 2, language revitalization principles apply to any "minoritized" language group: for example, interventions that influence people's experiences, the need to be aware of one's minority situation and the importance of the collective management of institutions that may contribute to a group's vitality. In such a perspective, the proposal was made that pedagogy in a minority community has every advantage of being both "actualizing" (encourages the full development of each student's human potential) and "community-building" (encourages family–school–community ties and promotes students' current and future roles as active members of the community) (Landry, 2003b; Landry and Rousselle, 2003).

More recently, we argued that the Francophone and Acadian communities had struggled to manage their schools, quite often before the courts, not only in order to implement education in French for the individual bilingualism of the members of the Francophone communities, but in order to have an institutional base that would be the foundation of their survival as historic communities (Landry, 2008a). In other words, there is no doubt that Francophones would consider their language rights to be group rights (Foucher, 2008a, 2008b). In such a context, school can be associated with a more political project, a "society project" that may be realized in a "cultural autonomy" project (Landry, 2008a; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007a).

The cultural autonomy model proposes neither a specific political ideology nor a mode of governance for the minority. Instead it tries to define the conditions for maintaining a minority language group's vitality based on the prevailing research and theories in the field of language revitalization. These important conditions include the need to both clarify the ideological position (Fishman, 2001) and adopt a mode of governance that is compatible with it (Landry, Forgues and Traisnel, 2010).

The cultural autonomy model proposes a two-part role for the school. It is, on the one hand, an agent of "primary" socialization that creates "social proximity" connections having an effect on both students' competencies and on their affective attitudes and identity

building. It is, however, also a group actor of civil society that exerts a fundamental role in any project for cultural autonomy. It is the "cornerstone" institution that prepares actors working within the "institutional completeness" that minority communities would want to and could acquire. The results of our research confirm it: the school is often the only French-language institution to which young Francophones have access, yet it is the students of these schools who will individually and collectively assume the stewardship of the Francophone communities.

The following comments and proposals regarding the educational interventions that stem from the results of our study may be interpreted within the framework of a cultural autonomy project. In other words, the theoretical model helps to define the community vitality variables that must be considered when implementing such a project. However, it is up to the Francophone and Acadian communities to specify the nature of this project and judge its compatibility with the "vital intention" (Thériault and Meunier, 2008) that the "French Canadian" communities have sought to preserve from the start, and with their desire to "make society" in French (Thériault, 2007a).

It would be a long and difficult task to try to clarify in this report the debate on what is left of French Canada since the "rupture" that occurred between nationalists from Quebec and the Francophone and Acadian communities outside Quebec. Bock (2008) summarizes the difficulties of understanding the scope of this rupture quite well:

> Today, the range of interpretations of the French-Canadian memorial project is relatively vast and placed between two poles, empathy and rejection. This is obvious proof that the French-Canadian reference has become again an object of research worthy of this name. (p. 163)

The "French-Canadian" communities have long struggled to acquire common institutions and they perceived themselves as one of the "founding peoples" of the new federal state (McRoberts, 1999; Martel, 1997; Bock, 2008; Pelletier, 2008, Thériault, 2007a). Since Quebec and the Francophone communities have gone their separate ways and the Canadian government rejected the concept of "founding peoples" in order to recognize, at best, two "societies,"

one "Francophone" and the other "Anglophone" within a multiculturalism framework (Bock, 2008), it has become difficult to define Canadian *Francophonie* as a whole and transcend the territorial barriers of the provinces and territories in order to extract a "global society" project. Are the Francophone communities outside Quebec part of a Francophone "global society" that includes Quebec that they must grasp in the hopes of "making society" in French, as proposed by Thériault (2007a) or are they two solitary entities condemned "to continue to live side by side" in their "respective cocoons" as concludes Pelletier (2008, p. 82)? In other words, who is the "collective we" when we talk of Canadian *Francophonie*?

When Quebec Francophones ceased to define themselves as "French Canadians" to better embrace their "Quebecois" identity, the Francophone communities outside Quebec also territorialized their identities by referring to themselves as Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans, Acadians from New Brunswick, Acadians from Nova Scotia, and all the other Franco-territorial identities.

The "vital intention" of the former French Canada remains to be defined, if only to know what to call itself. Although it is not up to us to define it, we feel the need to evoke its actual consequences for the educational mission of minority French-language schools. To paraphrase Thériault (2003), are these schools "lower schools," i.e., community and local schools without any connection to a broader political agenda, or are they "upper schools" associated with a "global society" and a political project with historical continuity? If there is a political agenda, what is it? We feel that these questions should be asked in the history classes taught at school and be part of the dialogue in a consciousness-raising pedagogy in a minority context. What does Francophonie vitality mean in such a context? To put it bluntly like Pelletier (2008), by disassociating itself from Quebec, "Francophone minorities appear to be connected to the federal artificial respirator" (p. 82). Can there be a society project in French without Quebec and is a society project with Quebec achievable? These are a few questions amidst so many that deal with the establishment of an educational mission for Canadian minority Francophonie.

However, like Thériault (2007b) and Thériault and Meunier (2008), we believe that the official-language communities cannot be

treated like other ethnic groups in Canada. Neither a nation nor an ethnic group (Thériault, 1994), their perspective is nationalistic and should be viewed in the historical context of Canada and according to the place that our Constitution provides them. In our opinion, associating the school with a cultural autonomy "society project" is politically legitimate and judicially founded (Landry, 2009b); it is even expressly stated in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* with respect to Francophones in New Brunswick (Landry, 2009a; Landry, 2009b). The contexts of diversified community vitality in the Francophone and Acadian communities cannot enable them to hope to implement the same "institutional completeness," but they can all keep the aspiration to "make society" in French in the Canadian context. It bears repeating, section 23 of the Charter and Canadian case law in language matters make it possible to associate school with a society project. The power thus given to Francophone communities is "institutional" and is not of the same nature as the "government" power that the Francophone majority has acquired in Quebec or the individual fundamental rights granted by the Charter to all Canadian citizens.

Along the same train of thought, jurists François Boileau (2004) and Pierre Foucher (2008a) distinguish between institutional bilingualism and linguistic duality. The first refers to the ability of governments and public institutions to offer services in both official languages. Linguistic duality refers to the ability of communities to acquire homogenous institutions. According to Foucher (2008a), the Canadian language rights model, as concerns Francophone communities, is neither territorial nor personal, but has become "institutional": "the political Francophone space takes on the form of a network of institutions that connects the "archipelagos" of Francophonie" (p. 496).

Nevertheless, since Francophone Quebecois and Francophone and Acadian communities can be seen as sharing the same French-language "societal culture" (as understood by Kymlicka, 2001 and 2003), certain principles apply to the two types of political autonomy: governmental in Quebec and institutional for the Francophone and Acadian communities (Landry, 2009b).

Allow us to illustrate these similarities in principles using an example taken from the field of immigration. Certain difficulties

recently raised by Pilote and Magnan (2008) in giving the French-language school a role in an increasingly diverse and multicultural society can be examined differently if we agree that it is associated with a cultural autonomy project. For example, Quebec society long debated the issue of knowing how its "intercultural" (and not "multicultural") perspective could help make French a language of convergence within Quebec society while developing a "civic" nationalism open to and respectful of diversity (Gagnon and Iacovino, 2007; see also the Bouchard-Taylor Commission report on reasonable accommodation, Government of Quebec, 2008). This debate can be carried over to the minority French school and all institutions that the Francophone and Acadian communities may set up. How can one be "civic" in these institutions and open to and respectful of diversity while looking to make French a "language of convergence" for people who choose to "make society" in French by participating actively in institutions managed by Francophone communities? How can the school promote a French-language "societal culture" and invite people of different origins to live in that culture? By raising these questions, we are able to clearly determine the issues of the "mission" of the French-language school. The Francophone and Acadian communities must decide whether, continuing along the lines of their interpretation of the original "vital intention" and of their distinct constitutional rights, they wish to take part in a society project in which the school plays a pivotal role in a process of language revitalization and cultural autonomy. It is in this perspective that we make our language planning and educational intervention proposals.

5.2.2 Educational interventions

After explaining the results of our study and examining considerations regarding the definition of an educational mission for Francophone minority communities, we propose three areas of intervention. We describe the orientation and relevance of the interventions without insisting on how they are to be applied. It would be a long, laborious and hazardous task to provide a methodological description of these interventions. Moreover, for the most part, no established methodology exists. The challenges are recent, complex and global. The solutions can only be collective, especially if they are approached in the perspective

of "making society" in French. With that in mind, the school would have difficulty settling for being only "community-based" if it intends to adhere to a true society project as stated by Thériault (2003) by distinguishing between the "lower school" and the "upper school." Should a third element be added to the French-language school's mission? In addition to being "actualizing" and focussed on "community-building," must education be also focussed on "society-building," i.e., prepare students for the project to "make society" in French? This pedagogy would be impregnated with a political conscientization role to which the school system is hardly accustomed. The question has been asked. Now the answer falls to the "political community" to which all Francophone communities in Canada, including Quebec, belong.

The areas of intervention on which we focus the discussion about the education consequences that stem from the results of the research are summarized under three headings. First, we look at the issue of recruiting students who come from increasingly hybrid and multicultural contexts, and are less numerous. We then look at staff training needs within the framework of implementing an ambitious and renewed pedagogy. Third, we describe the components of such a pedagogy.

5.2.2.1 An awareness-raising campaign for entitled parents

If the school is associated with a cultural autonomy project or even a language revitalization project at the community level, it can only fulfill its role if the members of the minority community attend it. However, as we mentioned in the first chapter, barely one in two children of entitled parents attends a Francophone minority school (Corbeil *et al*., 2007). We also noted that if the exogamy rate continues to grow and Francophone parents of these exogamous couples are not more aware of the issues and positive effects of "francité familioscolaire" (optimal promotion of French within the family and at school) on their child's bilingualism, enrolment in Francophone schools will continue to drop to the point that, in many places, educational management will take place in empty schools (Landry, 2010). Of course, the Francophone communities do not want to open their doors wide open, either, and turn their academic institutions into immersion

schools, the school becoming as such the sole agent of Francophone socialization.

An awareness-raising campaign aimed at parents cannot produce the anticipated effects without legitimate and effective "social marketing" to energize it (Landry, 2003a, 2006, 2010): legitimate because it is inspired by values that are recognized and accepted by Canadian society, and efficient because it is able to get its message across properly. In Canada, the value of bilingualism, and particularly additive bilingualism, is generally highly respected (Floch and Frenette, 2005). Both Francophone and Anglophone parents want their children to be proficient in both official languages. However, many are unaware of the optimal conditions fostering additive bilingualism (Deveau, Clark and Landry, 2004; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2006a). Can the Francophone and Acadian communities design a campaign that would unveil a "well-kept secret," namely that the minority French-language school outside Quebec produces the highest rate of bilingualism, especially for children from exogamous couples? Once the message is well understood, a more personalized community-based social marketing campaign can guide these parents to apply the optimal conditions to promote this bilingualism (e.g., the importance for the Francophone parent to speak French at home, encourage the child to consume Francophone media and initiate the child to literacy in French). This campaign focused on Francophone parents could take place while implementing in French-language schools a pedagogy of conscientization that would make students aware of the community stakes related to the optimal participation of its eligible clientele. The application of the dialogic strategies of the pedagogy of conscientization (presented below) would enable youths to have a well-considered position on the role and benefits of the French-language school. In addition to encouraging them to stay in the French-language school, this thoughtful consideration might eventually lead them to prepare and enrol their children in a French-language school.

Of course, such a campaign, if at all effective, would have consequences on the needs for early childhood infrastructures (CNPF, 2002; FNCSF, 2005; Gilbert, 2003), including daycares and early childhood centres. Moreover, the schools would need to reorganize their structures to better serve a more numerous and diversified clientele.

Although we cannot fully anticipate the results such a campaign would produce, it remains that its "hidden demographic potential" is considerable (Landry, 2006), despite the fact that many parents with French as their mother tongue have not been sufficiently socialized in French to be able to take part in Francophone institutions (Corbeil, 2005).

5.2.2.2 Campaign for training school staff

A study (Gilbert *et al.*, 2004; Landry *et al.*, 2004) revealed that minority French-language school teaching staff feel they are dealing with huge challenges. We believe that the school boards cannot truly overcome them, especially the pedagogical challenges (Cormier, 2005; Landry, 2003b), unless their teaching staff is both involved in the anticipated solutions and fully aware of the issues (Gérin-Lajoie, 2003; Landry and Rousselle, 2003). The educational leadership provided by principals (Langlois and Lapointe, 2002) could be crucial in such an undertaking.

Without proposing here the content for this training, we feel that careful consideration should be given to the application of a new "paradigm" in education by giving priority to an approach that is much more focused on the person and personal autonomization. The implementation of this new paradigm has already begun, since teacher training is increasingly focused on the individual in the management of the school and in teaching (we only need consider the number of "humanist" educators to which teachers are exposed during their training). Nevertheless, a change in paradigm in education is only complete when the new educational vision is well established and becomes the norm. To better define this new paradigm, we propose a "dichotomy" that describes two contradictory approaches, while keeping in mind that this is effectively a continuum on which teachers or school cultures could be placed.

It seems appropriate to state that a large part of the current school staff still appears to be working within a paradigm that we called "socialization from the outside" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003). In this perspective, teaching is perceived as a process managed from the "outside"; the teaching process is the responsibility of agents of socialization in charge of transmitting knowledge and values. Vested

with a "cultural transmission" function, these agents are logically the last ones in charge (i.e. responsible) of the learning process that they are trying to manage. It is true that in considering the literature on education today and the values transmitted by numerous pedagogues, such a paradigm risks appearing "outdated" and our description may well appear caricatural. However, although this paradigm has emerged from current educational lingo, we cannot infer that it is not well established in the daily practice of teaching. Only in-class observation studies could truly inform us on the nature and extent of these practices.

The opposite of this paradigm, more likely to encourage the personal autonomization and social conscientization of students, could be described by the expression "socialization from within." In such a paradigm, the pedagogical agents comprised of members of the teaching staff accompany the student in a process of "personal autonomization." Teaching remains a social activity, but the focus is less on "transmitting" knowledge or values than on guiding students in a process that leads them to use critical judgement as learners and to make choices and learn like an autonomous person. In other words, although students are not the instigators of their socialization, they learn how to internalize it. It bears repeating, it is not a question of banishing "socialization" as a central element of the teaching process, but of moving, so to speak, its "centre of gravity" so that it occurs in a more autonomous and less controlling environment. In the "socialization from within" paradigm, the teacher tries to help the students to be "responsible" for their own learning. The student is notified and invited to take charge of their learning and personal development.

This pedagogy is based on the premises of the theory of self-determination (e.g., Reeve, 2002) and seeks to make the person autonomous and responsible. As indicated in our conceptual framework, personal autonomization is fostered by meeting three fundamental needs: autonomy, competence and relatedness. A second element, that of "socialization from within," is based on social conscientization. The pedagogy of social conscientization and involvement (Ferrer and Allard, 2002a and 2002b) seeks neither to indoctrinate nor to impose. Its foundation is "dialogue". In the same way that autonomy-building learning proposes to help young people "internalize" their reasons

for acting by becoming autonomous in their behaviours and choices, awareness-building learning encourages them to develop reflexive thinking and critical analysis so that their involvement is fuelled by fully assumed personal values.

In our opinion, this type of learning is absolutely adaptable to a collective language revitalization project. It can only be implemented if the school staff are aware of its building blocks and make theirs the pedagogical practices associated thereto. That is why senior French-language school system officials cannot hope to implement a pedagogy based on "socialization from within" without undertaking a vast training campaign, both as initial training and continuing education.

5.2.2.3 Towards a pedagogy of cultural autonomy

Teaching staff training usually precedes the implementation of a new pedagogy. However, neither the training nor the implementation need to be complete before the process begins. In Ontario, under the direction of Lise Paiement, a "cultural pedagogy" has gradually been implemented in several schools through training sessions offered to the teaching staff. This has been done as part of the implementation of a language planning policy (Gouvernement de l'Ontario, 2004). Rather than proposing a precise methodology here, we prefer to define components deemed essential in the Francophone minority context as well as in any minority language context. Ideally, this pedagogy should contain all of these components. It may, however, take on different forms based on the vitality contexts and the needs of the schools and school districts. In the same way as it is possible, so to speak, to compose an infinite number of melodies using different music notes from the basic scale, it is possible to infinitely vary the implementation of a pedagogy adapted to the minority context using the same pedagogical components.

As previously mentioned, we can assign at least two functions to the "mission" of the minority French-language school. The first is fairly universal, i.e., it could be present in any pedagogy, regardless of the social or linguistic context. It is *a pedagogy of self-actualization* dedicated to developing students' full learning potential (Vienneau and Ferrer, 1999; Landry, Ferrer and Vienneau, 2002; Landry, 2002).

One special feature of the minority context in this "actualizing" of the human capital of students is the emphasis placed on the identity-building component. The process therefore includes more than the usual curriculum. The second function is specific to the minority setting. It is said to be *community building* and invites the school to take part in the development of the community and in the "cultural" production of the minority group. Based on a family–school–community partnership, community-building learning seeks, on the one hand, to optimize the participation of the community members in the schooling process and in curriculum activities, and, on the other hand, to encourage student involvement in their community. The curriculum thereby becomes "pedago-community based" ("pédago-communautaire") (Landry, 2003b).

As we've said, the school may be considered as an integral part of "social proximity." Itself a source of ethnolinguistic socialization, it helps to expand the three ethnolinguistic experiences defined in our conceptual framework: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization. It is also a living environment that offers possibilities as to the three types of experiences that would be very difficult to have elsewhere. We list below six components we consider must be included in a pedagogy adapted to a language minority environment. Five of these components were described within the framework of the aforementioned "pedago-community curriculum" (Landry, 2003b; Landry and Rousselle, 2003). The sixth was proposed by Cormier (2005) in a summary of the literature on pedagogy in a Francophone minority setting.[11] Let us begin with this last one, which we find to be a priority for efficient implementation of the other components.

a) Positive relationship to the French language

The results of our research show that although students tend to be motivated for "identity-based" reasons in relation to the French language (this motivation varies depending on community vitality), there are strong "instrumental" motivations in all regions for learning

11. A current study at the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities focuses on analyzing pedagogical practices implemented by teaching staff to deal with teaching challenges in a minority setting. It proposes to verify the degree of application of each of these six components.

English, whether these are for social mobility reasons or for personal goals (identified regulation – refer to the conceptual framework). Moreover, since French is a very standardized language, many students experience a certain "linguistic insecurity" (Boudreau, 1996; Boudreau and Dubois, 1992 and 1993; Francard, 1994) when they speak French in the presence of Francophones from other regions, provinces or countries. The Atlantic region is where this insecurity is most obvious. We also noted that students in this region tend to have weaker self-assessments in French than youths in other regions, while their mean score (objective) on the French cloze test is as high, if not higher, than those of these same students. Many students speak little French outside school. For them, French can be seen as an "academic language" with little use in other social contexts. Finally, the results show very clearly that French has little place in media consumption, an all-consuming activity for young people.

So how can school help to create a "positive connection" with the French language? This is a true challenge. Cormier (2005) proposes encouraging students to have many informal and educational situations in which experiences are natural and validating. Based on Cummins (1981), she advises progressing gradually from informal and contextualized situations to more formal and decontextualized situations. A situation is "decontextualized" when only the language can be used to communicate (e.g., writing a text), while in a contextualized situation, many extralinguistic means may be used to communicate (especially by using images or gestures).

Students learn to speak French naturally and to feel at ease doing so if they were "normally" socialized in French since childhood. That is why a campaign to make Francophone parents aware of the need to make conscious and voluntary efforts in this regard is important. Behaviours can be as simple as speaking to one's child in French, placing the child in social contexts where French is spoken, enrolling the child in a Francophone daycare, reading to the child in French, searching for French cultural products, watching television shows or movies, and listening to music in French.

The school can then pursue this enculturation with the parents' support at home. Without these basic experiences, it becomes very difficult for the child to have a natural and positive relationship with

the French language. Dalley (2003) has critical words for the school. She believes that certain teachers contribute to children's linguistic insecurity by adopting an overly normative approach. Duquette (1999) emphasizes respecting children's vernacular language, even if it strays from standard French, and highlights the importance of using culturally authentic materials that respect the children's living environment. Suzanne Allard (1994 and 2008) proposes a bidialectal approach through which students are asked to study the similarities and differences between their sociomaternal variety and the normative variety of French. In our opinion, self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 1985, 2000 and 2002) and its principles of application in education (Reeve, 2002) offer a useful guide for making the connection to the language positive and increasing language confidence. The goal is to offer the children learning contexts that validate their autonomy, produce feelings of competence and encourage feelings of relatedness. Based on this theory, school staff can work both on the positive relationship to the language and on self-determination in the student (a component that we describe below).

b) Active enculturation

Enculturation is a socialization process that encourages the appropriation of cultural elements that are specific to a group (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). This is also the meaning we give to "enculturation experience" in our conceptual model. But, as we have noted, the enculturation experience is often a more or less conscious process, i.e., often, without thinking about it, a person socialized in a language or several at a time, acquires language habits and internalizes norms for their use. The person does not always take the time to think about the meaning of the language experiences or the consequences these experiences have on psycholinguistic development.

The pedagogical component of active enculturation proposes that the school seek to optimize opportunities for Francophone enculturation. Optimizing means finding an "optimal" number of opportunities and not maximizing them to the point that students become saturated. To make these experiences relevant and validating, the students must be "actively" engaged in their organization (which increases their autonomization) and must be able to interact while experiencing these

events. For example, if they invite a Francophone artist to the school, they must have opportunities to speak to him, understand his inspirations and identify with his dreams. They must have the opportunity to choose the artists who are to be invited and take an active part in organizing the visit.

In short, active enculturation occurs *from the community to the school* (e.g., people are invited in order to interact with students), through *activities specific to the school* (e.g., activities in a history class focusing on the Francophone community) and from *the school to the community* (e.g., youths are encouraged to understand and explore their community, to act *with* the community in certain projects, and even to act *on* the community). Awareness-raising activities can be added to this enculturation (see below). For example, youths may debate the meaning of Francophone or Acadian identity in an increasingly diverse and multicultural society.

c) Self-determination

Even if a school were to succeed in creating a very French environment, providing numerous experiences of enculturation and ensuring that the students acquire strong competencies in French, if the students have not "internalized" or "made their own" the motivation to learn French and to speak it, the success risks being ephemeral and problematic for their future. As specified in our conceptual framework, students must multiply their Francophone "autonomy-building" experiences: be offered choices in order to develop their autonomy, have optimal challenges and receive positive feedback that will produce in them feelings of competence and foster significant and validating human relationships that enable them to develop their feelings of affiliation and relatedness.

A pedagogy of autonomy is in no way a "method;" it is instead a process, a philosophy that applies transversally in any curriculum and in extracurricular activities. In other words, it is not something that is added to the curriculum, but a different way of applying one's "know-how," "self-management skills" and "ability to live with others" (Delors, 1996). It is an approach that enhances positive and human relationships with the students and helps them truly appreciate the efforts made by the teaching staff to assist them in reaching their

potential (Reeve, 2002). All in all, it means living the "socialization from within" paradigm we have just described. By emphasizing the students' autonomization, we contribute to making each student more involved in and accountable for their own learning. By doing so, the learning environment improves and students are not seen as "problems," but as members of a team that help each other out, that cooperate to encourage everyone's learning. Because, in order to acquire a true sense of belonging, they must learn to respect each other for what they are and cooperate to encourage each person's optimal development, regardless of origin, particular features, qualities and limits.

We recall here the effects of personal autonomization on the development of motivation. It encourages "internalized" and "self-determined" motivation in all sectors where it is applied (Vallerand, 1993 and 1997; Vallerand and Ratelle, 2002). The development of "identified" and "integrated" motivation (refer to our conceptual framework) also appears to contribute to persistence when faced with difficulties (Koestner and Losier, 2002). A pedagogy favouring autonomy gives students choices, engages individual accountability and places less emphasis on external control. It can therefore have effects not only on motivational internalization for learning and using the French language, but for learning all school subjects. When this approach is applied to several areas, the person can gradually develop a more generalized propensity for self-determination (Vallerand, 1997; Vallerand and Ratelle, 2002), not to mention that personal autonomization seems to contribute to the development of a harmonious identity associated with psychological well-being (Landry, Deveau, Losier and Allard, 2009).

d) Conscientization and involvement

This pedagogy can also be applied transversally. A teacher who is not aware of the challenges of *Francophonie* or who does not understand the priority accorded to dialogue in this pedagogy will have difficulty implementing it efficiently and continually. The pedagogy of conscientization and involvement is inspired by the works of Paulo Freire and his pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 1983); we have added to it elements of education in a planetary perspective (Ferrer, 1997) and critical pedagogy (Cummins, 2000; Kumachiro, 2000; Shor, 1992;

Frederikson, 1997). As we have already highlighted by describing the process of social conscientization, a pedagogy of conscientization and involvement (Ferrer and Allard, 2002a and 2002b) is based on "dialogue," is respectful of students and their progression, but targets, without persuasion or indoctrination, the development in students of a "critical consciousness" when dealing with the Francophone reality and their own psycholinguistic development (their language habits, their identity, competencies, desire for community integration) (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2005 and 2009). Confronted by the facts, guided by one's own reflexive analysis, stimulated by the ideas of other members of the class, encouraged by the atmosphere of class dialogue and secure in an approach without judgement and presumption on the part of the teacher, the student gradually learns to understand the realities studied and to develop a critical social consciousness. The student's involvement becomes personal and internalized, especially if the conscientization experiences occur in a framework with an approach favouring the development of autonomy. It is the combination of these two experiences that contributes to the adoption of "autonomous and conscientized" behaviours. This combination optimizes each student's potential to take charge and helps the student to become an agent and resource in his or her own education. They become "acting subjects" capable of assuming their own identity building and of deciding on their personal involvement in the community. They take charge of their own destiny.

We should recall, and the results of our research confirm it, that being Francophone today in a minority setting is less and less imposed by society or by the strength of the social networks. It is increasingly a personal choice that is affirmed in a context of restrictions and limits. Each person must decide when, where and why they speak French. The lower the Francophone community vitality, the more these conscious choices are necessary. Without autonomy and without a "critical consciousness," the probabilities of persistent French use in a context of low vitality are minimal, except in private circles.

We further note that the students' language experiences also increasingly occur in a context of cultural diversity. Immigration itself has contributed to making school a multiform cultural milieu (Farmer, 2008; Pilote and Magnan, 2008), not to mention that many

students do not necessarily identify their Francophone identity with a Francophone "culture" but rather with a certain "cultural hybridity" (Dallaire and Roma, 2003; Dallaire, 2003; Deveau, Allard and Landry, 2008). These are realities of *Francophonie* on which "dialogue" should be engaged to lead students to fully assume their identity harmoniously. In brief, it means, both for the school staff and for students, learning to affirm a Francophone identity that is respectful of diverse origins and cultural identities. In other words, it means affirming oneself without diminishing or denigrating others and opening up to others without losing one's self (Gouvernement de l'Ontario, 2004).

As we discussed briefly above, solutions to these "identity paradoxes" may reside in more political considerations regarding the cultural autonomy project of Francophones. How should the "institutional" power of Francophones in Canadian society lead them to practise a certain "civic nationalism"? Should the *multiculturalism* model in which no dominant culture exists be adopted, or, as has been done in Quebec, should an *interculturalism* model be created in which dialogue occurs between the French language and culture and the other cultures (Gagnon and Iacovico, 2007)? These are also excellent themes for "dialogue" associated with a pedagogy of conscientization and involvement. In fact, as we revealed previously, should a third component be added to the French-language school "mission" that is more political and focused on pursuing the "vital intention" (Thériault and Meunier, 2008) of Canadian *Francophonie*? We could call that component a society-building pedagogy. This component could only take shape if the Francophone and Acadian communities were to decide on a society project that is part of a truly political process and if they wished to include this vision in the mission of their schools and other educational and social institutions. For the time being, according to Thériault (2007a), the identity ambivalence of Francophone minority communities and the absence of a society vision that groups all of Canadian *Francophonie* together rather tend to fuel community-based visions of school. Thériault (2003) expresses his vision of the "lower school" as follows:

> In Pierre Perrault's movie, Un pays sans bon sens, one of the characters states that "when you don't have a country, the country is reduced to the horizon I can access from the window in my house."

> I wonder if the lower school, the school of the minority, does not too often reduce itself to the horizon at my window through its pedagogical project, in particular the cultural project of Francophonie, if somewhere we haven't forgotten that the Francophone culture here has a national dimension and is a culture at the societal level. (p. 53, our translation)

In the conclusion to this chapter, we return to this third potential component of a pedagogy for cultural autonomy. For the time being, suffice it to admit that, without a political dimension, the pedagogy that we call "community-building," even in its "conscientization" component, risks relying not on the legitimacy of a political community, but on a minority cultural, perhaps ethnic, vision.

e) Community entrepreneurship (or leadership)

In our previous writings, we have proposed the concept of community entrepreneurship as an element of the "community-building" component of pedagogy in a Francophone minority setting (Landry, 2003b; Landry and Rousselle, 2003). This construct was inspired by our research on factors that contribute to entrepreneurship and the intention to become an entrepreneur (Landry, Allard, McMillan and Essiembre, 1994). Certain teachers and students of education have told us that they did not want to include this concept in their thought process because they do not want to associate the school with entrepreneurship, which, in their opinion, has capitalist and neoliberal connotations. That was not our understanding. Our intention was to bring out the human characteristics of the people involved in entrepreneurship projects: confidence, love of a challenge, perseverance and leadership. We thought it would be important to foster the acquisition of these qualities in people who would be future leaders in their Francophone community. In fact, these human characteristics are applicable to any individual or group project requiring elements of leadership. That is why this pedagogical component can also be called both community leadership or community entrepreneurship.

The goal of this type of pedagogy is to foster the development of leadership through the curriculum and to give students opportunities for contacts and the sharing of experiences with people who are already leaders in sectors of community life. Students could even be encouraged to work on strategic community matters (e.g., commercial and

public signs, which rarely highlight the French in public places, as shown from the results of our survey on youth experiences). Preparing for leadership can take on different forms. We believe it is more important to provide students with opportunities to make choices as to the actual sectors where they would like to have concrete leadership experiences tan it is to talk about the importance of leadership with students. It should even be possible to organize internships within "coop" programs where they could work in various community sectors, including the political sphere.

f) Mastery learning

This final pedagogical component we are proposing could be somewhat transversal in the sense that it can apply to all school subjects as well as to certain subjects in particular. It also stems from a certain educational philosophy and not only from a pedagogical process (Landry, 2002; Landry and Richard, 2002). In general, what is needed is to believe in the human potential of people and to know how to engender student confidence in their own abilities as learners. We look at this question here, in particular in relation to teaching French. Numerous studies, including ours, have highlighted the difficulties encountered by Francophone minorities in the area of literacy (CMEC, 2004 and 2008; Corbeil, 2006; Bussière *et al.*, 2007; Landry and Allard, 2002; Wagner *et al.*, 2002). In this study, the scores for the cloze tests clearly indicate that it is more difficult to achieve the unilingual standard in French than in English, even if all schooling was in French, except for English class. It is only in regions where Francophones are a strong majority that the results tend to be higher in French than in English.

Based on Cummins' (1979 and 1981) theory on linguistic interdependence, we propose that additive bilingualism in a context of biliteracy is best fostered by promoting high proficiency in the minority language (Landry and Allard, 1993, 1997 and 2000; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2009b). The "cognitive-academic" abilities acquired in this language will be partially "transmitted" to the abilities acquired in the majority language. The many social pressures exerted in favour of learning the latter, as well as English classes at school, will contribute to acquiring very good proficiency in the dominant language.

In brief, additive bilingualism is best acquired when school and literacy experiences in the minority language ensure a high degree of proficiency in this language and when English classes target, to the extent possible, the same learning goals as those set for Anglophones in the majority school system. This last objective appears difficult in communities with a high Francophone concentration, but seems fully achievable in low vitality Francophone minority regions.

Many factors probably enter into play to explain the low results of students on the French test in our study and other analyses will help to define them. In certain regions, the dominant factor is socioeconomic, while in others the scores are undoubtedly associated with weak use of French outside school. We noticed that high proportions of youths in all regions read very little in French. Even the weak consumption of Francophone media could be a decisive factor since the effect is certain on the acquisition of Francophone vocabulary. It is difficult to ask the school to completely compensate for this lack of contact with the French language. Therefore, we must work on the quality of teaching. A minority with an already reduced population can hardly justify allowing itself to produce a less than optimal development of its human capital.

A pedagogy that appears to truly be able to increase student literacy performance is one of mastery learning, also called the pedagogy of success (Bloom, 1968; Block, 1974; Block and Anderson, 1975; Block and Burns, 1976; Block, Efthim and Burns, 1989; Guskey, 1985; Guskey and Gates, 1986). It was somewhat popular in the 80s, but fell out of favour with teachers. One of the reproaches is that it is too "behaviourist" and focused on measuring observable behaviours (Scallon, 2000). It is true that the first protagonists (e.g., Bloom, 1968) placed great emphasis on continuous measurement and evaluation. But was this being overzealous, was an accessory element taken as an essential one? Our point of view on the issue is as follows: mastery learning as an educational philosophy is very humanist, respectful of individual differences and based on profound beliefs in students' learning potential (Landry and Richard, 2002). We have rarely seen a more optimistic educational philosophy with respect to human potential. This approach is based on Carroll's (1963) learning model, which focuses on the idea that learning is less related to limits of capacity than

on dedicated time. In 1976 Bloom was already showing that future learning was more strongly related to the quality of previous learning than with intellectual ability and motivational attitudes combined. Prior learning proficiency is by far the most certain foundation for future learning. Yet, this learning principle is rarely taken into account in practice (Rousselle, 2002), even though numerous studies have highlighted the positive effects of such a pedagogy (Block and Burns, 1976; Guskey and Gates, 1986; Kulik, Kulik and Bangert-Drowns, 1990).

Mastery learning is based on the importance of fuelling high expectations in relation to students' learning potential. We believe that the minority context produces an absolutely contrary effect on the expectations of teaching staff. A vicious circle seems to set in. First, students' little use of French in the family, social circles and in their contacts with the media impairs students' competencies and performance in French. Then, these weak competencies and mediocre performance lead teachers to lower their expectations of students' actual potential in French. Then, the result of these low expectations is that the targeted learning results are adjusted downward. Finally, these expected low results become the implicit norm of the school program.

How does one get out of this vicious circle and transform it into a virtuous circle? That is the benefit of mastery learning. Block (1974) felt that a sensible application of this pedagogy could help 80% of students perform at the same level as the upper quintile of students in conventional education. Bloom (1976 and 1984) also had similarly optimistic prognoses. But even if they were triumphalists, what should be retained from this educational philosophy? The answer seems self-evident. What do we lose in truly believing in the learning potential of students?

What are therefore the essential elements of mastery learning? The first is fundamental: setting high learning goals. They must be formulated in such a way that students are able to understand their scope. For example, one application rule may consist in aiming for performance akin to what is normally achieved by the quarter of the students who best succeed in class. In other words, it means quantitatively aiming for the 75th performance percentile. These objectives must be well understood by the students and they must be told that we believe they

have the ability to achieve them. Each student is encouraged to take charge of the process that requires achieving those objectives. For certain activities, cooperative learning can also be applied (Slavin, 1985; Kagan, 1992; Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Gamble, 2002): students are encouraged to work in groups and help each other determine the objectives. Group work makes the challenges less threatening and cognitive requirements can be higher.

Second essential element: criterion-referenced and formative evaluation (Scallon, 2000). This type of evaluation helps students understand what they have learned and informs them of what they have and have not mastered (criterion-referenced). The results of the evaluation are then used as a basis for new learning activities that focus on the non-mastered aspects (formative evaluation). Students who have mastered all the elements in question can do enrichment activities, such as tutoring other students who need help. Although we cannot customize every student's education, the evaluation must be individualized, i.e., each student must receive specific feedback on the learning goals. When the academic material is prepared in advance, the students can dedicate more time themselves to the targeted learning. Homework can help each student spend more time on the non-mastered aspects or on specific enrichment activities.

The goal is not to bring all students to the same learning standard, but rather to encourage each one to surpass themselves and believe that they are able to achieve the best outcome. With this approach, no student can have a lower outcome than in an education program that is less focused on mastering learning, and, on average, all students can considerably increase the number of objectives mastered. We have tested this approach on a reading research project with about 400 students in Grade 1 to Grade 6 (Landry and Robichaud, 1986). The performance goals were very high. All tasks had to be successfully completed at a rate of at least 90%. One of the most interesting results consisted in increasing the learning rate of the weakest students. The school year was divided into four parts. At the start of the year, the lowest quintile (i.e., the 80 students out of the 400 with the lowest performance on a pre-test) achieved 16% of these performance goals. But since they had the opportunity to dedicate extra time targeted at specific learning, they gradually improved their learning base. Their

future learning was based on a more solid foundation than if they had not been asked to review certain aspects. Their ongoing evaluations showed real progress, and at the end of the school year, those same 20% of the students with the lowest performance mastered 44% of the goals set. Those students had practically tripled their learning rate, while in conventional education, the tendency among these students is to fall further and further behind the group.

We are mentioning this research as an example. It was done in the early 80s. The twenty participating teachers had no computer to prepare their material and the student evaluation profiles. We did not even have the knowledge we currently have on the advantages of an "autonomy-building" approach or of cooperative learning. We believe that the potential of the approach would be even greater today than at that time. Applied today, our practice of mastery learning would be less behavioural, but would follow the same principles inspired by a positive belief in student potential. As shown by the research, the students themselves increased their confidence in their abilities to learn. This new confidence reinforced their feeling of competence. Adding to this support for autonomy (allowing students to choose reading and writing tasks connected to the goals and the means to achieve them) and an optimal number of group activities (support for the feeling of relatedness), the approach can be applied in a truly autonomizing fashion.

5.3 Conclusion

Teaching in a Francophone minority context is somewhat like riding a bike against the wind. The effort is difficult and the distances covered, limited. The risk of exhaustion is great, especially if you feel you are alone on the journey. The new paradigm proposed, namely of "socialization from within," focuses on building a "group" bike to make the journey less arduous, even if you cannot reduce the speed of the wind. The synergistic forces of a group that shares the same vision converge on that bike. Each member of the group has internalized that vision and acquires an autonomy of action that makes them stronger and more determined to reach the destination. With each member being stronger and better concentrated on the task, the "group" bike advances more efficiently.

This analogy can be applied in many ways. At the national level, the cyclists are the Francophone and Acadian communities who can decide to share the same vision and act both globally and locally; at the provincial level, it is the school boards and the schools; at a more local level, it is the classrooms in the school and, within the classroom, it is the teacher and each student.

In order to develop a pedagogy for a Francophone minority setting, the vision must be clearly defined and its scope determined. We saw, within the framework of the cultural autonomy model, that school is an incontrovertible group player, but the results of our study clearly show that the minority French-language school, acquired under section 23 of the Charter, and following many legal struggles, does not necessarily lead all interested parties to want to live in French and be part of the Francophone community. Can the school clearly define its mission if the community itself has not given itself a society project? Is each community responsible for giving itself, in isolation, a local vision and specifying the role of the school, which would make it a community school, a "lower school," to use Thériault's expression (2003)? Or instead, as this author proposes, should a society project be defined that draws on the "upper school," a project that would be political in nature and be in line with the "vital intention of French Canada" (Thériault and Meunier, 2008)? In other words, in addition to being actualizing and community-based, should learning in a Francophone minority setting be "society-based?"

In our opinion, these are fundamental questions that require answers in order to develop a coherent pedagogy within the framework of a society project. It seems logical to us that the environmentalist slogan "global vision, local action" applies well to this challenge. There is no contradiction in sharing the same vision and implementing community and local projects adapted to community realities. We proposed this possibility in our seventh language revitalization principle, the "principal of teleological asymmetry" (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006a). It means sharing the same global project—which is the meaning of the word teleological (goal-oriented)—and accepting local and asymmetrical creativity (the conditions are not the same) is necessary for the global project—the society project—to be realized. This is a nice principle. However, it can only be implemented if Canadian *Francophonie* itself defines its society project, a prerequisite to effectively preparing youths to want to "make society" in French.

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☐ Les langues au Canada, Recensement de 2006 (2011) / Languages in Canada, 2006 Census (2011)

Older Publications/Anciennes publications :

- ☐ Les langues officielles au Canada : transformer le paysage linguistique (1998)
  Official Languages in Canada: Changing the Language Landscape (1998)
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- ☐ Minorités francophones : Vitalité des communautés, confiance des communautés,
  Forum de recherche sur les LO / Community Vitality – Community confidence
  in Official Language Research Forum (2005)
- ☐ Appui aux langues officielles – Approche du ministère
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- ☐ The Canadian Heritage Approach to Official Languages
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- ☐ Droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité : état de la situation (1996)
  Status Report: Minority-Language Education Rights (1996)
- ☐ Un profil des fournisseurs de formation en anglais ou en français langue seconde
  A Profile of the providers of Training in English or French as a Second language