THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES OF QUEBEC: VITALITY, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND LINGUICISM

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Since the 'Quiet Revolution' the Francophone majority of Quebec has focused on the threatened status of the French language relative to English, not only in Canada but also within their own province. In contrast, it is only since the aftermath of Quebec's 'Quiet Revolution' that English-speaking Quebecers have seriously considered their declining vitality as a linguistic minority relative to the Francophone majority in the province. When considering the fate of their respective counterpart, Quebec Francophones have tended to focus on the prestige and drawing power of the English language relative to French in both Quebec and North America, while ignoring the decline of the Anglophone community as a minority group in the province. Conversely, Quebec Anglophones have focused on the dominant position of the Francophone majority in the province while asserting that French is no longer threatened as the majority language in Quebec. Thus the 'two solitudes' often speak at cross purposes when it comes time to consider their respective fate in Quebec: while Francophones feel most concerned about the fate of their own language relative to the spread of English, Anglophones feel most concerned about the decline of their own community relative to the Francophone dominant majority in the province.

The first part of this chapter provides an inter-group analysis of how language laws such as the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) succeeded in changing the respective vitality of the Francophone majority and of the Anglophone minority in Quebec. The second part of the chapter offers a selective review of empirical studies showing how the use of French and English changed following thirty years of language planning in favour of French in Quebec. The third part of the chapter provides an overview of recent social psychological studies exploring issues such as multiple identities, feeling of belonging, feeling of threat and of being a victim of linguicism in Quebec.

1. The vitality of Quebec Francophones and Anglophones.

The group vitality framework was originally proposed to analyse the Quebec context at the time when sociolinguistic research was developed to guide the crafting of the Charter of the French language (Bill 101) adopted by the Parti Québécois government in 1977 (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). Group vitality was defined as that which makes a language community likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within multilingual settings. The more vitality a group was assessed to have, the more likely it was expected to survive collectively as a distinctive linguistic community within its multilingual environment. Conversely, groups that had little vitality would be expected to assimilate more readily and eventually disappear as distinctive linguistic communities. The vitality framework was used as an analytical tool to assess the position of Quebec's French language majority relative to the English-speaking elite of the day in three socio-structural domains: demography, institutional support, and status.

In the 1970s, four factors were identified as undermining the future of the Francophone majority in Quebec: 1) the decline of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (ROC); 2) the drop in the birthrate of the Quebec Francophone population from one of the highest to one of the lowest in the Western world; 3) immigrant choice of the English rather than the French educational system for their children; and 4) Anglo-domination of the Quebec economy (d'Anglejan, 1984; Laporte, 1984). Between 1969 and 2001, successive Quebec governments promulgated a number of language laws designed to address each of the above factors undermining the long-term prospects of the French language in the province (Bill 63, 1969; Bill 22, 1972; Bill 101, 1977; Bill 57, 1983; Bill 142, 1986; Bill 178, 1988; Bill 86, 1993; Bill 40, 1997; Bill 170, 171, 2000; Bill 104, 2001; see Bourhis, 2001a; Bourhis & Lepicq, 1988, 1993, 2004; Corbeil, 2007; Rocher, 2002; Woehrling, 2000, 2005). Thirty years after its adoption, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) remains the most important of these language laws (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002).

Indeed, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) was the legislative tool designed to address the perceived threat to the French majority following the vitality assessment of its demographic, institutional support and status position relative to English in Quebec and Canada (Bourhis, 1984a; Corbeil, 2007). Bill 101 guaranteed the rights of every Quebecer to receive communication in French when dealing with the Quebec public administration, semi-public agencies, and business firms, as well as the right to be informed and served in French in retail stores. The law also ensured the right of all employees to work in French and not be dismissed or demoted for the sole reason of being unilingual French. As regards the language of work, Bill 101 stipulated that business firms with more than fifty employees were required to apply for a '*francisation* certificate' which attested that they had the necessary infrastructure to use French as the language of work within their organization (Bouchard, 1991; Daoust, 1984). From 1996 onwards, the *francisation* certificate was necessary for business firms wishing to tender their services to the provincial government (Bouchard, 2002).

Bill 101 also guaranteed English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone pupils (Mallea, 1984). All immigrant children already in English schools by the time Bill 101 was adopted, along with their current and future siblings, were also guaranteed access to English schooling. However, the law made it clear that all subsequent immigrants to Quebec from Canada or abroad were obliged to send their children to French primary and secondary public schools; freedom to attend English-medium schools was abolished by Bill 101. Nevertheless, the law did not affect freedom of language choice at the primary and secondary school levels for wealthy parents wishing to enrol their children in full fee-paying private schools. Given that post-secondary education was optional in Quebec as in the ROC, freedom of language choice was guaranteed to all post-secondary students, who could choose to attend either French or English-medium colleges (CÉGEPS) or universities in Quebec.

Finally, Bill 101 contained a controversial clause that banned languages other than French from the 'linguistic landscape', including road signs, government signs, and commercial store signs (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Conversely, informational, religious, political, ideological, and humanitarian messages could be written in English as long as their aim was not lucrative. These linguistic landscape regulations under the supervision of the *Commission de protection de la langue française* had the advantage of producing visible changes in favour of French less than a year after the adoption of Bill 101 (Bourhis & Landry, 2002).

Though Bill 101 contained some measures related to corpus language planning, its major aim was to improve the status of French relative to English within Quebec society (Bourhis & Lepicq, 1993). During the three decades following the adoption of Bill 101, many studies and analyses

acknowledged its success in increasing the status and use of French relative to English in many public institutional settings (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984a; 1994a; 2001a; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004; Fishman, 1991; Fraser, 2006; Levine, 1990, 2002). However, many Québécois Francophones including language activists, separatist party militants and academics consider that the law did not go far enough and has been unduly diluted by Quebec and Canadian Supreme Court rulings, thus claiming that French is still threatened in Quebec (Corbeil, 2007; Plourde, 1988). Numerous analyses are devoted to assessing the effectiveness of current and proposed language laws designed to more firmly establish the predominance of French in Quebec against a backdrop that highlights the increasing presence of non-Francophone immigrants in the province and the threatened minority status of French in North America (Georgeault & Pagé, 2006, Plourde, Duval & Georgeault, 2000; Stefanescu & Georgeault, 2005). Numerous government commissions must also report on the health and status of French in the province, thus keeping the language debate topical in the media and amongst various factions claiming that the French language is more or less threatened in the province (Québec, 1996, 2001).

However, relatively few attempts were made to assess the impact of Bill 101 on the vitality of the Anglophone communities of Quebec (Bourhis, 1994b, 2001a; Jedwab, 2004; Johnson & Doucet, 2006; Stevenson, 1999). Accordingly, based on our previous analyses, different components of the group vitality framework will be used to assess the impact of Quebec's language laws on the vitality of the Anglophone minority contrasted with that of the dominant Francophone majority in the province (Bourhis & Lepicq, 2002, 2004; Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Cause and effect relationships are difficult to establish when evaluating the impact of language policies on language behaviour and demolinguistic developments (Bourhis, 2001a; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The Quebec case is no exception, and the above caveat must be taken into consideration when assessing the evidence presented in this section of the chapter.

Figure 1: Mother Tongue (L1) Population in Quebec
Canadian Census: 1971 to 2006
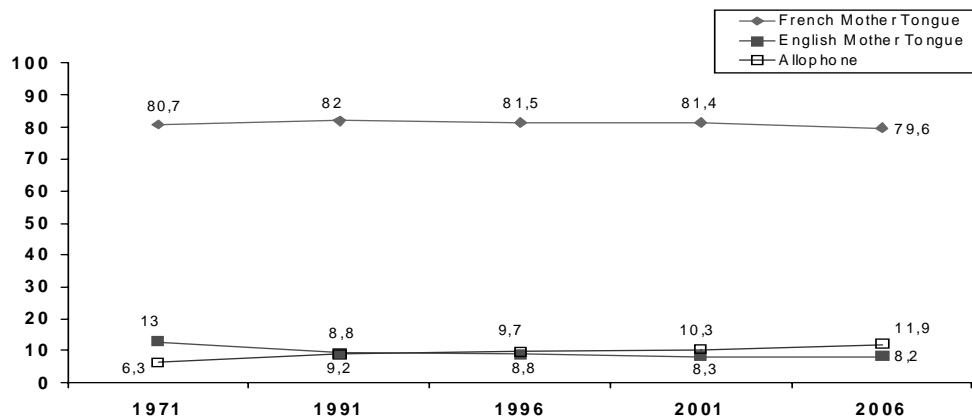
	1971	1991	1996	2001	2006
◆ French MT	4,860,410	5,585,645	5,741,435	5,802,020	5,916,840
■ English MT	788,830	626,195	621,865	591,380	607,165
□ Allophones	390,415	598,445	681,285	732,180	866,000

PS: Mother Tongue (MT): First language learned at home as a child and still understood at census time

Figure 2: Most frequent language use at home in Quebec population:
Use of French, English & other languages
Canadian Census: 1991 to 2006
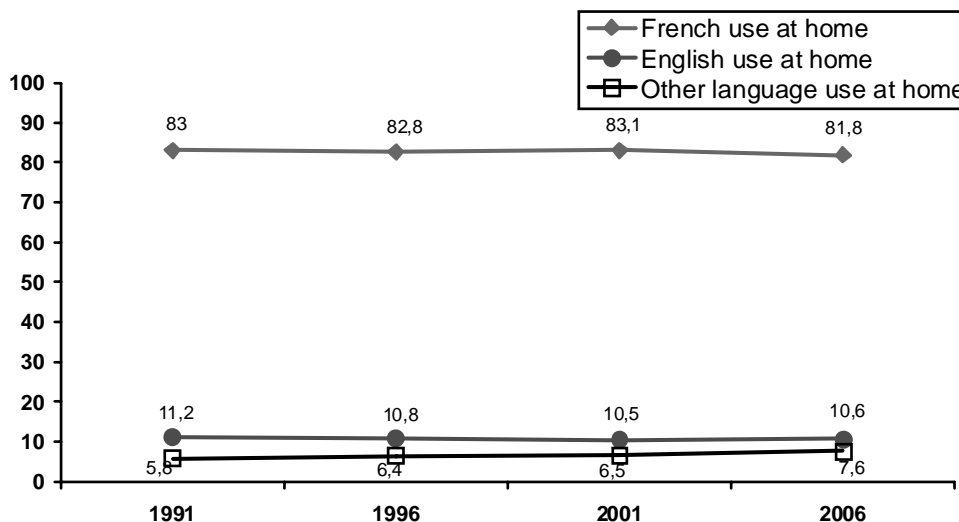
	1991	1996	2001	2006
♦ French use	5,651,790	5,830,085	5,918,390	6,085,155
● English use	761,805	762,460	746,895	787,885
□ Other lang.	396,690	452,540	460,295	562,860

1.1 Bill 101 and the demographic vitality of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec.

The fundamental variable likely to influence the vitality of language groups is the *demographic factor* (Giles *et al*, 1977). Demographic variables are those relating to the number of individuals constituting the language community, as well as the number of those who still speak the language and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional, or national territory. The number component refers not only to the absolute number of language speakers, but also to their birth and mortality rates, endogamy/exogamy, and patterns of immigration/emigration. Further, the distribution component includes such variables as the numeric concentration in various parts of the territory, the proportion of group members relative to that of other linguistic groups, and whether or not the group still occupies its "ancestral" or "national" territory.

What impact did pro-French language laws have on the demographic vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities in Quebec? The immediate reactions to Bill 101 of many Francophones were quite positive, since the law was seen as being effective in securing the linguistic future of the French majority in the province (Bourhis, 1984b; Levine, 1990; Maurais, 1987). As seen in Figure 1, while the number of French mother tongue speakers increased by over a million from 1971 to 2006, the proportion of French mother tongue (L1) speakers in Quebec remained stable from 1971 (80.7%: 4,866,410) to 2001 (81.4%: 5,802,020), and in 2006 (5,916,840, 79.6%). The minor drop of 0.8% in the proportion of French mother tongue speakers from 2001 to 2006 was due mostly to the increase in the proportion of Allophones in the province from 9.2% (598,445) in 1991 to 10.3% (732,180) in 2001 and to 11.9% (866,000) in 2006 (Figure 1).

However, in the Montreal metropolitan region, the proportion of French mother tongue speakers

(L1) dropped from 68.1% (2, 255,610) in 1996, to 65.7% (2,356,980) in 2006. This decrease reflects the fact that Quebec Francophones have tended to move to the outer suburbs of Montreal during the last decades (Levine, 2002), while more than 85% of immigrants to Quebec settle in the Montreal region, a trend reflected in the proportion of Allophones residing in the Metropolitan region, which rose from 27.7% (484,970) in 1996 to 32.6% (594,525) in 2006.

Bill 101 sought to ensure knowledge of French as the public language of all citizens. Language use at home is a private matter beyond the reach of the State. Thus language use at home (HL) should not be used as an indicator of the success of Bill 101 in promoting the French language. However, language use at home, when contrasted with mother tongue, can be used as an indicator of linguistic assimilation, especially for linguistic minorities. As seen in Figure 2, Quebec residents have used mostly French at home during the last three decades: 80.8% (4,870,100) in 1971, 83% (5,651,790) in 1991, and 81.8% (6,085,155) in 2006. Taken together, these trends in mother tongue and home language use suggest an increasing intergenerational transmission of French from 1971 to 2006. For instance, more residents reported using French at home (HL) than the number of French mother tongue speakers (L1) in 1991: L1: 5,585,645 vs. HL: 5, 651, 790 = **+ 66,145 (+1%);** and even more so in 2006: L1: 5,916,840 vs. HL: 6,085,155 = **+ 168,315 (+ 2.2%)**. Thus, compared to the drawing power of French as the home language in 1991, the 2006 census results suggest a doubling in language shift in favour of French. Of course, French activists are most interested in the drawing power of French relative to English during this period.

When comparing scores presented in Figures 1 and 2 for English mother tongue and English use at home, the following patterns emerge. More Quebec citizens reported using English at home than the number of English mother tongue

speakers in 1991: L1: 626,195 vs. HL: 761,805 = **+ 135, 610 (+21.6%)**; and in 2006: L1: 607,165 vs. HL: 787,885 = **+ 180,720 (+30%)**. Though in absolute terms, almost as many individuals switched to French as their home language (168,315) as those who switched to English (180,720) in the 2006 census, the relative drawing power of English (+30%) remained much greater than that of French (+ 2.2%) during this period. However, it is noteworthy that English language use at home in the Quebec population dropped from 14.7% in 1971 to 10.5% in 2001, and remained at 10.6% in 2006. Even if the majority of Anglophones declared using English at home (85.7%) in the 2001 census, 12.5% declared using French, thereby attesting to the rising 'drawing power' of French among Quebec Anglophones. While these trends could be seen as encouraging for those who wish French to increase its drawing power as the language of the home, French language activists remain outraged as they consider it abnormal that the language of a minority such as Anglophones should have more drawing power than French in the province. Such concerns ignore the role of English as the *lingua franca* of business, technology and culture in North America for all Quebecers.

As seen in Figure 1, Allophones who have neither French nor English as a first language (L1) increased from 8.8% of the population in 1991 (598,445) to 11.9% in 2006 (866,000), reflecting recent immigration increases in the province. When contrasting mother tongue (L1) and home language use (HL) of Allophones in the province, one notes a steady loss in the transmission of heritage languages in the 1991 to 2006 census. In 1991 the loss in heritage language transmission in the home was: L1: 598,445 vs. HL: 396,690 = - 201, 755 **(-33.7%)**. In the 2006 census, this heritage language loss increased: L1: 866,000 vs. HL: 562,860 = - 303 140 **(-35%)**. Census results show that Allophones who declared using English as the language of the home dropped from 61% in 1996 to 49% in 2006. Conversely, Allophones who declared using French as their home language increased from 39% in 1996 to 51% in 2006. Thus

Figure 3: French – English Bilingualism in Quebec: Francophones: French L1; Anglopł
English L1; and Allophones: L1 other than French or English.
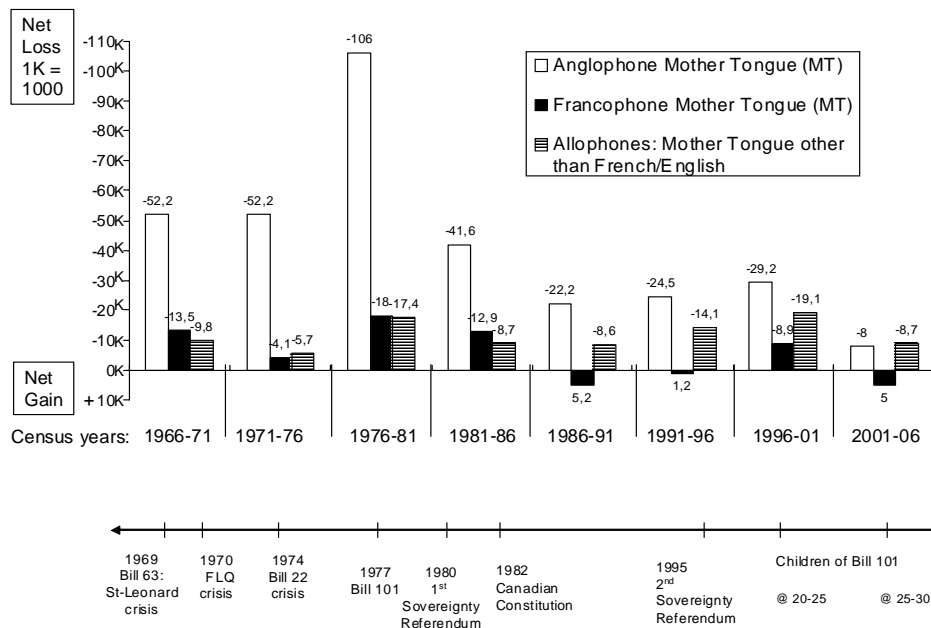Canadian Census: 1971 to 2006
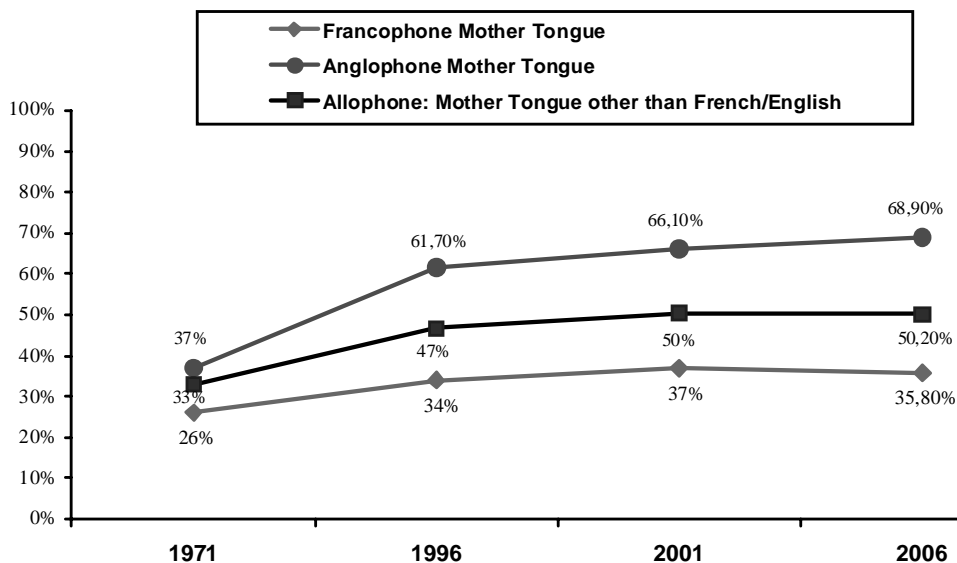
by 2006, Allophones were assimilating as much to French as to English at home, though such language shifts represent a net loss of multilingual and multicultural diversity for Quebec society.

The growing integration of Quebec Francophones within the North American economic and cultural mainstream is implied by the gradual increase of French-English bilingualism among Francophones. As seen in Figure 3, whereas only 26% of French mother tongue speakers reported being French-English bilingual in 1971, this proportion had increased to 37% in 2001 but remained similar at 36% in 2006. Thus Francophones, as the dominant majority in Quebec, do not feel as much pressure to learn English, even though learning English today is more likely to result in 'additive bilingualism', a linguistic asset contributing to greater cognitive development and a broadening of cultural horizons, without undermining mother tongue skills and cultural attachment to the ingroup (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). As seen in Figure 3, an increasing proportion of Anglophones have become French/English bilinguals since the adoption of Bill 101, and for most of these Anglophones especially in Montreal, this

bilingualism was more likely to be 'additive' than 'subtractive'. However, for minority language groups whose overall vitality is weak and/or declining, learning the language of the dominant majority may result in 'subtractive bilingualism' when acquisition of the second language (L2) is achieved at the cost of losing fluency in the L1 mother tongue and may result in eventual linguistic and cultural assimilation to the dominant language group. For some of the Allophones who have become French and/or English bilinguals, this bilingualism may result in a 'subtractive bilingualism' at the cost of the heritage language, a trend seen in 2006 showing the 35% loss of heritage language use at home amongst Allophones in the Province.

Though the English language is not threatened in Quebec, Bill 101 did have the intended effect of eroding the demographic vitality of the Anglophone minority in the province. Anglophone reactions to Bill 101 were largely negative because the law was seen as threatening the traditional elite status of the English minority in the province (Clift & McLeod Arnopoulos, 1979; Freed & Kalina, 1983; Legault, 1992; Scowen, 1991; Stevenson, 1999). It

Figure 4: Net Interprovincial Migration of Anglophones, Francophones & Allophones in Quebec
Arrival – Departure = Net loss in thousands (K)
Canadian Census: 1966 to 2006

Net Loss 1K = 1000

☐ Anglophone Mother Tongue (MT)

■ Francophone Mother Tongue (MT)

▤ Allophones: Mother Tongue other than French/English

Net Gain

Census years: 1966-71 | 1971-76 | 1976-81 | 1981-86 | 1986-91 | 1991-96 | 1996-01 | 2001-06

1966-71: -52,2 / -13,5 / -9,8
1971-76: -52,2 / 4,1 / -5,7
1976-81: -106 / -18 / -17,4
1981-86: -41,6 / -12,9 / 8,7
1986-91: -22,2 / 5,2 / -8,6
1991-96: -24,5 / 1,2 / -14,1
1996-01: -29,2 / -8,9 / -19,1
2001-06: -8 / 5 / -8,7

1969 Bill 63: St-Leonard crisis
1970 FLQ crisis
1974 Bill 22 crisis
1977 Bill 101
1980 1st Sovereignty Referendum
1982 Canadian Constitution
1995 2nd Sovereignty Referendum
Children of Bill 101 @ 20-25 @ 25-30

forced many Anglophones to see themselves as a low status minority rather than as individuals belonging to a dominant elite (Caldwell, 1984, 1994, 1998). Following the election of the pro-sovereignty Parti Québécois in 1976, many Anglophones, dissatisfied with Quebec's language laws and fiscal policies, emigrated to Ontario and other provinces of Canada (Caldwell, 1984, 1994, 2002; Rudin, 1986). Emigration from the province and a low fertility rate were key factors that contributed to the erosion of the demographic vitality of Quebec Anglophones (Castonguay, 1998, 1999).

As seen in Figure 4, the outmigration of Quebec Anglophones was particularly important in the decade following the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977. However, note that Anglophone outmigration in the 1966 to 1976 decade coincided with the linguistic tensions surrounding the adoption of Bill 63 in 1969 and of Bill 22 in 1974. Census results showed a decline of 12% in Quebec's English mother tongue population between 1971 and 1981 (Caldwell, 1984). This net loss of English mother

tongue speakers occurred among the more qualified and economically mobile elements of the Anglophone community, a trend still very much in evidence in the 2001 census (Floch & Pocock, this volume). By this century, these outmigration trends took their toll on the proportion of Anglophones in Quebec. As seen in Figure 1, while English mother tongue speakers made up 13% of the population in 1971 (788,830), this proportion dropped to only 8.2% by 2006 (607,165), a net drop of 181,665 Anglophones in the province. English mother tongue speakers also dropped in the metropolitan Montreal region, from 13.6% (451,855) in 1996 to 12.5% (448,325) in 2006. This phenomenon affected mainly young Anglophones aged between 15 and 30, for whom the outmigration rate from Quebec to the rest of Canada was 15.8% between 1996 and 2001. However, note in Figure 4 that the exodus of Anglophone minorities was lowest in 2001-2006 (- 8,000) since Bill 101. Note that Allophones have also been steadily leaving Quebec since Bill 101, including the children of Bill 101 in 1996–2001 (-19,100) and in 2001–2006 (-8,700). Figure 4 does show some Francophone outmigration between

1966 and 2006 with a peak after Bill 101 in 1976-1981 (−18,000). However, there were Francophone gains to Quebec in 1986-1991 (+ 5,200) and recently in 2001-2006 (+ 5,000).

As seen in Figure 2, English language use at home in the Quebec population dropped from 14.7% in 1971 (887,875) to 10.5% in 2001 (746,895) and remained at 10.6% in 2006 (787,885). Even if the majority of Anglophones declared using English at home (85.7%) in the 2001 census, 12.5% declared using French, thereby attesting to the increasing "drawing power" of French among Quebec Anglophones. The outmigration of many unilingual Anglophones, combined with more Anglophones learning French, had an impact on the proportion of Anglophones who declared having knowledge of French as a second language in the province. Thus for Anglophones who stayed in Quebec, the percentage of bilinguals increased from 37% in 1971 before the adoption of Bill 101, to as much as 68.9% in 2006 (Figure 3). The 2006 census also showed that as many as 80% of young Anglophones (between 15 and 30 years of age) were bilingual in Quebec.

However, according to Magnan (2004), this high rate of bilingualism among young Quebec Anglophones was not sufficient to prevent their exodus from the province. Magnan's study revealed that it was their feeling of not being accepted by the Francophone majority, especially in the work world, that lead many Anglophones to emigrate from Quebec. A study by the Quebec Human Rights Commission showed that whereas Quebec Anglophones made up 8 % of the provincial working population, their presence as employees in the Quebec government public service was less than 1%, a trend obtained after controlling for French language skills, number of Anglophones applying for Quebec government jobs, and years of experience in the Quebec workforce (CDPDJ, 1998; CRI, 2001). Surveys also revealed that political uncertainty due to the separatist movement, language laws, and more promising economic opportunities in the ROC remain important reasons for the outmigration of young Quebec Anglophones (Amit-Talai, 1993; Lo & Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994; Radice, 2000).

Despite an optimal rate of intergenerational transmission, it is clear that the Quebec Anglophone minority is experiencing a sharp decline on more fundamental indicators of demographic vitality such as absolute and relative group numbers, outmigration, and fertility rates (Caldwell, 2002; Henripin, 2004; Jedwab, 1996, 2004; Piché, 2001). With a declining fertility rate from 3.3 children per woman in 1961 to only 1.6 in 1996 and few prospects for a substantial immigration from Anglo-Canada, Quebec Anglophones have recognized their growing dependence on the linguistic integration of Allophones and international immigrants who settle in the province (Bourhis, 1994b; Stevenson, 1999).

Growing linguistic tensions between the Francophone and Anglophone host communities put added pressure on Allophone minorities to openly "take sides" in the Quebec linguistic debate (Bourhis, 1994b). One response of Allophones was to learn both French and English. As seen in Figure 3, the rate of French-English bilingualism amongst Allophones increased from 33% in 1971 to 50.2 % in 2006. With the knowledge of their heritage language, as many as 50% of Quebec Allophones can be considered trilingual, thus creating a linguistic and cultural capital that contributes to the diversity of Quebec society, especially in Montreal. Combining Allophones who know only French or both French and English, census results show that the proportion of Allophones who declared a knowledge of French increased from 47% in 1971 before the adoption of Bill 101 to as many as 73.5% in 2001. Conversely, the proportion of Allophones who declared having a knowledge of English remained stable from 1971 (70%) to 2001 (69.1%).

Figure 5: Knowledge of French and English in Quebec Population:
Canadian Census: 1991 to 2006
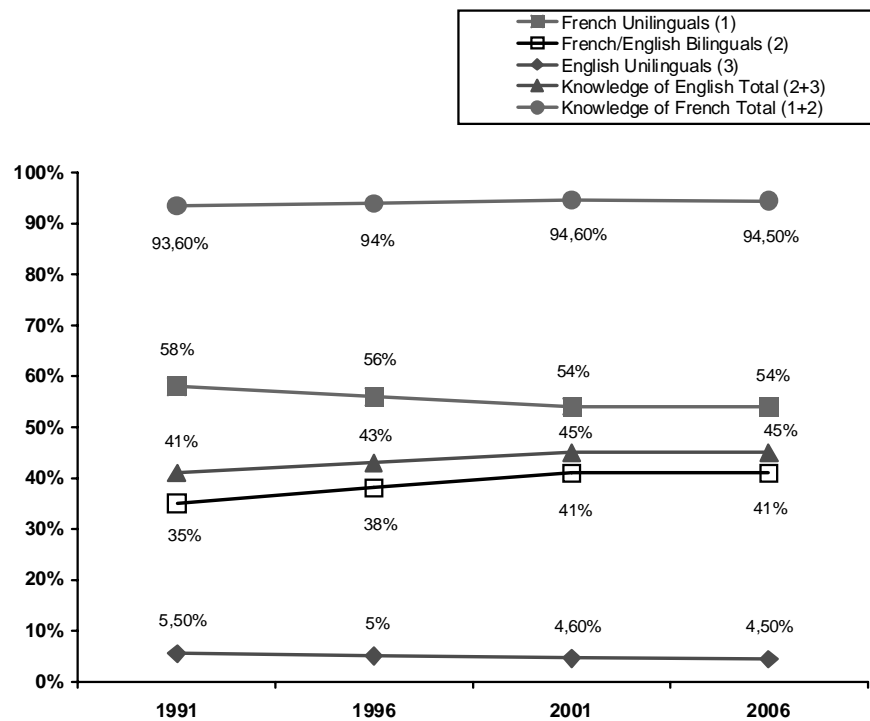
As mentioned, a key role of the Charter of the French Language was to promote the conditions necessary to ensure the widespread knowledge of French as the shared public language of Quebec society. Figure 5 provides data on the knowledge of French and English amongst the population of Quebec based on the 1991 to 2006 Canadian census. As can be seen in Figure 5, there are still some English unilinguals in Quebec, though their share of the provincial population dropped from 5.5% in 1991 to 4.5% in 2006. Most English unilinguals are older Anglophones who did not leave Quebec and a number of recent Canadians from the ROC as well as some new Canadians recently established in the province. In contrast, more than 50% of the Quebec population can afford to stay unilingual French in the province: 58% in 1991 and 54% in 2006. Bilingualism in the general population of Quebec is slowly rising from 35% of the population in 1991 to 41% in 2006. The knowledge of English is also rising in the province: from 41% of the population in 1991 to 45% in 2006. However, the greatest success of Bill 101 has been its role in ensuring that the vast majority of the provincial population knows French: a steady majority of 93.6% in 1991 and 94.5% in 2006.

Taken together, these trends show that the Charter of the French Language and related laws have had the effect of improving the demolinguistic ascendancy of the Francophone majority in Quebec, have fostered the demographic decline of the Anglophone minority, and have increased the knowledge of French amongst both the Allophone and Anglophone minorities of the province.

1.2 Bill 101 and institutional support.

Institutional support constitutes a second dimension likely to influence the vitality of language communities (Giles *et al.*,1977). Institutional control relates to the formal and informal representations gained by language communities in the various institutions of a community, region or state (see Bourhis & Landry, this volume). Formal support is achieved by linguistic groups whose members have achieved positions of control at decision-making levels in various state and private institutions. Informal control refers to the degree to which a language group has organized itself as a pressure group to represent and safeguard its own language interests in local and national institutional settings. Institutional support for language

communities can be gained for the provision of municipal, regional and national government services, in primary to higher education, in the military, in the mass media, across the linguistic landscape, and in politics, industry, business, finance, culture, sports, and in religious institutions (Bourhis, 2001a, Bourhis & Barrette, 2006). This section offers a brief overview of the impact of Bill 101 on two key institutional domains: education and business ownership including language of work.

Education is a key element of institutional support, especially for linguistic minorities who depend on schooling in their own language as a way of supporting the intergenerational transmission of their heritage language in majority group settings. In the aftermath of Bill 101, Anglophones were most concerned about the erosion of their educational institutions resulting from the fact that most new immigrants to Quebec could no longer choose to send their children to English schools but were obliged to send their children to the French primary and secondary school system (Mallea, 1984; Mc Andrew, 2002). Bill 101 has had its intended impact on enrolments within the English school system of Quebec. Allophone enrolment in the English school system dropped from 85% in 1972 to only 20% in 1998, while their enrolment in the French primary and secondary school system increased from only 15% in 1972 to 80% in 1998. Thus, following Bill 101, Anglophones could no longer count on immigrants to maintain the demographic base necessary to keep open key English-medium schools across the province (Chambers, 1992). Enrolment in English-medium schools across the province dropped from 248,000 in 1971 prior to the adoption of Bill 101, to only 108,000 in 2007 (Lamarre, 2007, this volume). Studies suggest that this 60% drop in the number of students enrolled in the English school system was also due to the declining birth rate of Quebec Anglophones as well as socio-political and economic factors which reduced the number of Anglo-Canadians from the ROC willing to settle in Quebec (Québec, 1996).

The drop in the number of English-speaking students has been felt most dramatically in isolated schools across regions of the province which do not benefit from the large Anglophone population base found in the Montreal region (Lamarre, this volume). This problem is compounded by the dearth of English-speaking teachers available for primary and secondary schools in the regions, while recruitment of complementary service professionals is also difficult. Especially in the greater Montreal area, middle class Anglophone parents have been keen to enrol their children in French immersion programmes offered by English schools (Lamarre, 2000, 2007). The proportion of Anglophone pupils in French immersion classes increased from 24% in 1981 to 32% in 1998 and to as much as 41.3% in 2004. Furthermore, a growing number of English mother tongue students are enrolled in the French school system: from 10% in 1972 to 17% in 1995, and to 21.4% in 2007 (Quebec, 1996b, Lamarre, this volume). Quebec Anglophones are the most bilingual students in the Quebec school system (Mc Andrew, 2002). However, on the island of Montreal, poor urban Anglophones of multiethnic origin are often those whose economic background limits their access to French immersion, putting extra pressures on inner city schools faced with declining services and deteriorating infrastructures (Lamarre, this volume). Clearly, restrictions on access to English schooling implemented since Bill 101 have had a major impact in reducing the size and the institutional support for the English educational system across the province.

The three publicly-funded English universities in Quebec were attended by 60,000 full-time and part-time students at the undergraduate level while 160,000 students were registered in the seven French universities. As in the past, the 1996 census showed that the proportion of Quebec Anglophones with a university degree was greater (21%) than for the Quebec Francophones (14%) and for the Canadian population as a whole (16%). Of those enrolled in post-secondary education, more than 92% of Quebec Anglophones chose

English-medium colleges and universities, a trend which remained stable in the 1980s and 2000s. Anglophone enrolment in French at the collegiate level increased marginally from 5% in 1980 to 6.6% in 1990, while enrolment in French universities remained stable at around 7% up until the 2000s. A brain drain of English-speaking university graduates also occurred since the adoption of Bill 101. From 1976 to 1986, the net outmigration of English-speaking university degree holders was as high as 40% (26,550 graduates). This Anglophone brain drain remains persistent as revealed in the 2001 census (Floch & Pocock, this volume). The exodus of young university-trained Anglophones is not only having a negative impact on the development of Quebec society as a whole, but also undermines the present and future capacity of the Anglophone minority to renew the highly trained decision-makers needed to maintain their institutional vitality in education, health care, social services, and in business and finance.

Bill 101 was designed to improve the use of French as the language of work in privately-owned industries, businesses, and financial institutions across Quebec. In an economic study conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, Ridler and Pons-Ridler (1986) estimated that the switch to the use of French as the language of work cut as much as 0.5% of the provincial economic output, while 2% of employment was lost. The election of pro-independence governments, two referendums on Quebec separation, fiscal policies and the *francisation* of the Quebec workplace contributed to the departure of many Anglo-Canadian business firms. The resulting outmigration of Anglophone employees and administrators had an impact on the position of Francophones and Anglophones in the work world. For instance, in the Montreal region, while the proportion of Anglophone administrators dropped from 34% in 1971 to just 18% in 1991, the proportion of Francophone administrators and professionals within the workforce increased from 55% in 1971 to 68% in 1991. Also, the proportion of Anglophones holding senior administrative positions dropped from 47%

in 1971 to 20% in 1991, and the proportion of Francophones holding such positions increased from 41% in 1971 to 67% in 1991. In their recent analysis of the ownership of the Quebec economy using employment data from the censuses and a Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey, Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt (2007) concluded:

> *"-impressive growth in the ownership of Quebec's economy by francophones from 1961 to 2003, with the overall rate up by 20 percentage points; ..-a decline in foreign ownership of Quebec's economy by 26 percent between 1961 and 2003, while Anglophone Canadian ownership declined by 44 percent."* (p.11)

The modernization of Quebec society and the cumulative effect of Bill 101 can also be credited for improving the income position of Francophones relative to that of Anglophones in the province. Controlling for education, experience, and age, government studies showed that in 1970, Anglophone unilinguals or bilinguals earned 8% more in annual salary than bilingual Francophones and 16% more than unilingual Francophones (Québec, 1996a). By 1990, the income gap between Francophones and Anglophones was considerably reduced or reversed in some cases. Carefully controlled studies showed that Anglophone unilinguals and bilinguals earned only 3% more than unilingual Francophones by 1990, while Francophone bilinguals earned 4% more than Anglophone unilinguals or bilinguals. In 1970, studies had shown that the "income premium" for knowing English in Montreal was 16%. By 1980, this income premium decreased to 6% and was further eroded to 3% in 1990 (Québec, 1996a).

Using updated census data, Vaillancourt et al. (2007) used the labour income of unilingual Francophone men to calculate the percent advantage of being unilingual or bilingual in the Quebec workforce from 1970 to 2000. While a unilingual Anglophone had a 10.1% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, by 2000 it was the unilingual Francophone that had an 18.1% income advantage over the unilingual

Anglophone. While bilingual Anglophones had a 17% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, this advantage was reduced to a zero advantage by 2000. In contrast, bilingual Francophones maintained their income advantage over unilingual Francophones: 12.6% in 1970 and 12.2% in 2000. The income position of Allophone men relative to Francophone unilinguals declined substantially from 1970 to 2000 in Quebec. While English-speaking Allophones had zero advantage in 1970, they suffered a -30% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. While French-speaking Allophones contribute to the French fact in Quebec, they gained 0% income advantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 1970, and were even suffering a -33.9% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Finally, while French-English bilingual Allophones enjoyed a 6% income advantage over Francophone unilinguals in 1970, such trilingual Allophones were suffering a -11.8 % income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Results for women in the labour force were similar but more complex. Vaillancourt et al. (2007) conclude their study as follows:

"The socioeconomic status of francophones in Quebec has increased substantially since 1960, whether one uses as an indicator mean labour income, returns to language skills, or ownership of the Quebec economy. The relative status of francophones within Quebec itself is under no immediate threat, though one might see a relative decline in the socioeconomic status of all Quebec workers in the North American context if policy makers fail to address concerns about productivity issues." (p. 11)

In seeking to account for the improvements in the socioeconomic status of Francophones in the past four decade, Vaillancourt et al. (2007) proposed the following key factors:

"First, there was a significant departure of Anglophones from Quebec over the 1970-2000 period as a result of push factors (the threat of sovereignty, the passing of language laws in 1974 and 1977, and the

moving of some head offices) and pull factors (including a general drift of economic activity toward the West, particularly the 1970-85 oil boom in Alberta). Anglophone migrants were generally younger and better educated than those who remained, which reduced the earnings potential of Anglophones who remained relative to substantially less mobile francophones. Unilingual Anglophones were also somewhat more likely to leave than bilingual Anglophones. Moreover, Anglophones had a better knowledge of French in 2000 than in 1970 thanks to more efficient learning techniques such as immersion, while allophones know French better in 2000 than they did in 1970 as a result of the language laws of the 1970s.

Second, as a result of the Révolution Tranquille *of 1960-66, Quebec's public sector-government, hospitals, public enterprises- grew in size, hiring large numbers of qualified francophones. In turn, francophone–owned firms in the private sector grew by providing services in French to the public sector. …The result of this large state intervention, Quebec Inc., significantly increased ownership of Quebec's economy by francophones and increased the labour income of francophones relative to Anglophones in the province…*

Third, the increased purchasing power of francophones who have benefited from Quebec Inc. has also increased demand within Quebec for goods and services in French. This in turn, has increased the relative use of French in labour market and thus the relative value of French-language skills." (p.11-12)

In 2001, for the first time in Canadian census history, Statistics Canada included questions related to the language of work. In Quebec, when comparing these results with earlier self-report studies, the proportion of Francophone workers (FMT) who declared working most often in French increased from 52% in 1971 to 95.7% in 2001 and 95.8% in 2006. Similarly, the proportion of Allophone workers who declared working mostly in French increased from 17% in 1971 to 56.6% in 2001 and to 59.3% in 2006. For these last two census years, when including the number of

Allophones who also reported using French *regularly* at work, the total combined use of French at work was 76% in 2001 and 77.3% in 2006. Conversely, the proportion of Allophones who used a language other than Englsih or French at work (combining most often and regularly) was 22.3% in 2001 and dropped to 19.6% in 2006. Bill 101 also had an impact on the proportion of Anglophones using mostly French at work which increased from 2% in 1971 to 30.7% in 2001 and 31.6% in 2006. When including Anglophones who also reported using French *regularly* at work, the combined proportion of Anglophones using French at work was 65.4% in 2001 and 67.9% in 2006. (Canada, 2008; Québec, 1996a). Finally, the proportion of the Quebec population that reported using English most often at work was 17.8%: in 2001 and 17.1% in 2006. When including the proportion of the Quebec population also reporting using English *regularly* at work, the combined proportion using English at work was 39.5% in 2001 and 40.4 % in 2006, tthis in a continental NAFTA setting where English is the *lingua franca* of work in both Canada and the USA. Given these results, it is possible to conclude that the *francisation* measures have met the objective of improving the use of French at work, particularly for Francophones and Allophones. The tendency is not as strong for Anglophones; however, we have seen that their demographic weight within Quebec, and therefore within the workforce, has been declining steadily since Bill 101.

Bill 101 and the status of language communities.

Status factors pertain to the social prestige of a language community, its socio-historical status, and the prestige of its language and culture within its own territory and internationally (Giles *et al*.,1977). Even if status factors are not easily quantifiable in comparison with demographic and institutional support factors, social psychological research shows that the more status a language group enjoys, the more probable it is that its members will have a positive social identity, which in turn will influence its members to mobilize collectively to increase the vitality of their own group (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990, 2001, 2005). Even with effective leadership, being a member of a disparaged low status language group may undermine mobilization to improve institutional vitality. Negative stereotyping about low status language minorities can be internalized as self-disparagement and acceptance of diglossic language norms in favour of the prestige language for public functions and restriction of minority languages to lower status use in private and informal settings (Bourhis & Maass, 2005; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Ryan & Giles, 1982). Such diglossic situations can be enshrined through language laws establishing the relative status of rival language groups within a given territory (Bourhis, 1984a, Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Wardhaugh, 1987).

The enduring international interest in the "Quebec case" stems from the fact that the ascendancy of two historically and culturally prestigious languages in the Western world is at stake in this region. Though a minority language in North America, French benefits from more vitality on the "status front" than if the Quebec case involved a minority language of a lesser historical or cultural influence in the West (Bourhis & Marshall, 1999). Within Quebec, the diglossic situation in favour of English relative to French was felt mostly in the work world of bilingual contact zones in Montreal, western regions along the Ontario border, and in the Eastern Townships along the U.S. border. A rich tradition of research on the social psychology of language attitudes and bilingual communication convincingly documented the diglossic situation favouring English rather than French as the language of social prestige in these contact zones (Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 1993; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Hamers & Hummel, 1994; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960). Studies showed that Anglophone students tested in their English high schools within French majority regions such as Quebec City were likely to use as much English in their everyday lives as Anglophones tested in the West Island of

Montreal where they were a majority (Landry, Allard & Bourhis, 1997). The same study with French high school students showed that Francophone students tested in the English-majority West Island of Montreal were less likely to use French in their everyday life than Francophones tested in majority French settings such as Quebec City. Results point to the continuous appeal and prestige of the English language for Francophones and to the capacity of Quebec Anglophones to behave as majority group speakers in North America regardless of their declining demographic presence and institutional support within the province of Quebec.

Judicially, it is through the adoption of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101 that the changing status of French over English was most vividly enshrined (Bourhis, 1984a). Quebec language planners vividly symbolized this changing status by banning government and commercial signs that included English-language messages and place names from the linguistic landscape (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). Removing English from the linguistic landscape is a way of demoting the status of that language relative to French, whose presence becomes uniquely predominant as a prestige language of public use in the Quebec visual environment. Empirical studies conducted with Francophone minority respondents across Canada showed that the more visible French was in the linguistic landscape, the more it contributed to the perception that the Francophone community enjoyed a strong vitality, and the more Francophones reported using French in public settings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Given the symbolic and informational consequences of having English removed from the Quebec linguistic landscape, it was not surprising that Quebec Anglophones mobilized to reintroduce the presence of English in the Quebec landscape and this, through cases brought to the Quebec and Canadian Supreme Courts and also to the Human Rights Court of the United Nations (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). Court rulings stated that

freedom of expression included not only the content of messages but also the language in which such messages were conveyed. As a compromise, and despite the outcry of Quebec separatists, the Quebec government adopted Bill 86 in 1993, stipulating that languages other than French could be included on commercial signs as long as French was twice as predominant as the combined presence of all other languages included on such signs. Clearly, language status contributes to the vitality of language minorities and majorities in multilingual settings such as Quebec.

2. Sociolinguistic norms and bilingual communication in Montreal

As seen earlier, diglossia refers to situations where co-existing languages differ in prestige and are assigned different social functions reflecting the power position of the language communities within the social stratification (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967, 1972, 1991). The language that enjoys a higher status is used for formal communication such as the public administration and management functions within the work world. In contrast, the use of the lower status language(s) is optional and usually limited to informal communication in private settings such as conversations between family members and friends (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). While the languages are complementary, the function of the higher status language corresponds to more socially valued domains of public communication, often reflecting the advantaged position of its speakers.

2.1 Diglossia and language norms in Quebec.

Before the adoption of Quebec language laws in the 1970s, English traditionally enjoyed a higher status than French, thereby reflecting the elite position of the dominant Anglophone minority. While English was the language of work and upward mobility, French was deemed more appropriate for informal or familiar exchanges, given the subordinate position of the Francophone majority in the province (Québec, 1972). As in

most other diglossic settings of the world, lower status Francophones in contact with Anglophones shouldered the effort of bilingualism and were likely to switch to English when communicating with higher status Anglophones. In contrast, few members of the Anglophone elite needed to learn French or converge to the linguistic needs of Francophone majority speakers (Taylor, Simard & Papineau, 1978). However, the adoption of Bill 101, which favoured the status and use of French relative to English reflected the changing power relationship between Quebec's two solitudes. Bill 101 reinforced situational norm favouring an increased use of French as the language of communication in business and commerce, especially in Montreal. In a sociolinguistic survey conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, results showed that Montreal Francophone undergraduates stated they were more willing to maintain French in a conversation with an Anglophone interlocutor than they had been before the promulgation of the law (Bourhis, 1983). Such reports were concordant with those of Anglophone undergraduates, who in the survey declared that Francophones converged less to English with them than had been the case before the adoption of Bill 101. Furthermore, Anglophone undergraduates reported that their own language switching to French with Francophone interlocutors had increased since Bill 101.

A more situated example of a sociolinguistic norm is the formal and informal rule governing the language choice of retail store clerks towards their clients in bilingual encounters. Bill 101 formally specified that all consumers of goods and services have the right to be informed and served in French when dealing with store clerks and public employees. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of this component of Bill 101, two experimental studies were conducted, one in Montreal and the other in Quebec City (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988). Using a dialogue version of the matched guise technique, over 1200 Francophone and Anglophone high school students were asked to listen to recorded conversations between a client

and a clerk (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Lambert *et al.*, 1960). In these content-controlled dialogues, the client and the clerk actors used different combinations of French and English language switches across four speaker turns. Students rated their impressions of the relationship between the client and the clerk across speaker turns and also rated the personality traits of the client and the clerk based on their language switching strategies and their background Francophones and Anglophones. Though complex in other ways, results showed that Francophone and Anglophone students systematically rated the clerk more favourably when he or she converged to the linguistic needs of the client than when he or she maintained his or her own language, this being particularly so when the clerk was portrayed as an Anglophone who converged to French with a client portrayed as a Francophone. Overall, the client/clerk encounter was also perceived as more harmonious when the clerk converged to the language choice of the client rather than when the clerk did not converge, and this whether the clerk converged to French or to English and whether students were tested in Quebec City or in Montreal. The more favourable rating of the clerk converging to French with the Francophone client was in line with the Bill 101 regulation stipulating that Francophones have a right to be served in French by store clerks. However, favourable ratings of the Francophone clerk converging to English as a way of accommodating to the linguistic needs of the Anglophone client were not in line with Bill 101 regulations. But such results did attest to the strength of the sociolinguistic norm favouring the linguistic choice of clients who, because of their buying power, impose accommodating language choices on clerks, especially in a setting where the offer of goods and services exceeds demand. Clearly, sociolinguistic norms regulating language-switching behaviour can eventually be influenced by language policies designed to change the relative status of rival language groups in bilingual/multilingual environments.

2.2 Communication accommodation theory (CAT).

Social psychological processes are important mediators of multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is the social psychological framework most pertinent to the understanding of language switching behaviour in cross-cultural encounters (Bourhis, 1979; Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007; Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile & Ota, 1995; Giles *et al.*, 1977, 1987; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Sachdev & Giles, 2004). The CAT framework seeks to account for language-switching behaviour not only on the basis of sociolinguistic norms, but also depending on interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991).

According to CAT, three basic speech strategies can be used in bilingual encounters: language convergence, language maintenance and language divergence. Convergence is a language strategy in which speakers choose to switch to the language of their interlocutor. Convergence can be used to improve communication effectiveness, reduce interpersonal uncertainty, or signal interpersonal liking. It may also be used as an ingratiating strategy or as a way of being perceived more favourably by one's interlocutor, especially if the code-switching is towards the accent or language of higher prestige in a given sociolinguistic setting.

In contrast, language maintenance is a strategy in which speakers choose to maintain their own speech style or language while communicating with ingroup or outgroup speakers (Bourhis, 1979). Finally, language divergence occurs when speakers choose to accentuate the differences between their own speech style and language relative to that of the outgroup interlocutor (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). Both maintenance and divergence are dissociative speech strategies which may reflect the speaker's personal dislike of his or her interlocutor. As an inter-group communication strategy, language maintenance and divergence may be used not only as a way of asserting one's owngroup distinctiveness, but to also signify a person's rejection of the other as a rival or despised outgroup speaker (Bourhis, 1979; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel, 1979).

These three language strategies were documented at many levels including paralinguistic, content, style, accent, and language choice. Interestingly, studies showed that speakers were not always aware that they were modifying their communicative behaviours, though levels of awareness about divergence and maintenance were found to be more acute than for convergence (Giles *et al.,* 1987; Street, 1982).

CAT accounts for multilingual communication in terms of psychological processes at two distinct levels: inter-individual and inter-group. At the inter-individual level, CAT highlights the role of personal desire for social approval as the prime motivation for language convergence (Giles *et al.,* 1987). For instance, based on similarity-attraction theory (Byrne, 1969), it was proposed that increased similarity in speech styles would foster more liking between interlocutors. This hypothesis found support in an empirical study of French/English language switching conducted in Montreal (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973). It was found that bilingual Quebec Anglophone students perceived Quebec Francophone bilinguals more favourably when the latter converged to English than when they maintained French. Also, Quebec Anglophones were more likely to communicate in French with their Francophone interlocutor if the latter had previously converged to English than if he or she had maintained communication only in French.

Language convergence can also be accounted for by speakers' motivation to maximize "rewards" and minimize "costs" (Homans, 1961; Van den Berg, 1986). Other interpersonal determinants of language convergence include the need to foster intelligibility (Triandis, 1960), predictability (Berger & Bradac, 1982), and interpersonal involvement (LaFrance, 1979). Using interpersonal attribution

theory, a study of language switching in Montreal showed that individuals were perceived more favourably when their language convergence was attributed to their personal dispositions and good will than when it could be accounted for by external pressures such as situational norms (Simard, Taylor & Giles, 1976).

In multilingual settings, language and accent often emerge as a key dimension of social identification and of inter-group differentiation between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). At the inter-group level, social identity theory (SIT) and ethnolinguistic identity theory (ELIT) help account for language switching behaviour during inter-group encounters (Giles, 1978; Giles *et al.*, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In brief, SIT proposes that individuals are motivated to maintain or achieve a positive social identity, whereas ELIT is concerned with the search for psycholinguistic distinctiveness through favourable comparisons with outgroups on language and speech dimensions. Thus, SIT and ELIT are complementary in accounting for language maintenance and language divergence in terms of speakers' desire for achieving a positive social identity while establishing social differentiation from outgroup interlocutors. When language becomes the most salient dimension of group identity, linguistic divergence can be used to assert ingroup identification, contribute to positive social identity and accentuate boundaries between ingroup and outgroup speakers.

Experimental studies have shown that ingroup identification can be related to the positive evaluation of language maintenance and language divergence voiced by ingroup members during conversations with rival outgroup speakers (Bourhis *et al.*, 1975; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Tong, Hong, Lee & Chiu, 1999). Actual accent and language divergence was also documented in empirical studies of language behaviour. In Wales, adults learning Welsh in a language laboratory for

cultural identity reasons used accent divergence by emphasizing their Welsh accent in English when responding to an outgroup English speaker who had voiced a culturally threatening message using the standard RP British accent (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The strategy of language divergence was documented experimentally in a study conducted in Belgium with trilingual Flemish undergraduates (Bourhis *et al.*, 1979). Flemish undergraduates studying English in a language laboratory responded to a series of neutral or threatening questions voiced in French or English by a French Brussels confederate speaker. Flemish students converged to English when giving their answer to a content-neutral question voiced in English by the confederate. In contrast, when the question was content-threatening and voiced in French, Flemish students diverged by switching to Flemish, disagreeing with the disparaging statements about the Flemish language, and using insulting epithets to describe the French confederate. The Welsh and Flemish studies showed that threatening messages to the linguistic identity of group members can trigger dissociative language strategies such as accent, language and content divergence. Language divergence can also occur under less threatening circumstances. Taken together, these empirical studies of language convergence and divergence provide support for basic premises of CAT in multilingual settings.

2.3. Bilingual communication in Montreal: 1977 to 1997.

Officially at least, Bill 101 was not designed to regulate French/English language use in private situations such as conversations between individuals in the home, with friends, or in anonymous encounters on the streets. However, the architects of Bill 101 posited that vigorous legislation in favour of French in public settings would trigger a 'carry-over effect' in favour of French use in private settings such as the home, with friends, and on the street between strangers.

Four field experiments conducted on the streets of Montreal from 1977 to 1997 were designed to test the 'carry-over effect' in favour of French use not only as the language of public discourse but also as the language of private communication between anonymous individuals on the street. The first study was conducted on the streets of Montreal in 1977, two months after the promulgation of Bill 101. The second street study took place two years later, in 1979, not only in the streets of downtown Montreal but also on the Anglophone campus of McGill University and on the Francophone campus of Université de Montréal (Bourhis, 1984b). The 1991 study was conducted both on the streets of downtown Montreal and on the Francophone and Anglophone university campuses, and included both a White and Black confederate (Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). The final study was conducted in 1997 using the same experimental design as the 1991 study (Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007).

In the four studies, Francophone and Anglophone pedestrians were randomly accosted by a discreetly attractive 20-25 year old female confederate who voiced a plea for directions in either fluent French or fluent English. Pedestrians were accosted randomly during rush hours on weekdays in underground shopping malls of East downtown Montreal for Francophone respondents and in West downtown Montreal for Anglophone participants. The content-controlled 30-second plea was a query for the location of the nearest metro station. Undergraduate students at Université de Montréal and at McGill University were accosted randomly on crowded sectors of the campuses during daytime class hours and were asked the location of the university bookstore. In the 1977 and 1979 experiments, there was only a White confederate asking for directions. However, the 1991 and 1997 studies included both a White and a Black female confederate for the downtown and university campus experiments. Numerous studies have shown that visible minorities are more likely to be the victim of prejudice and discrimination than other minorities in both Quebec and Canada

(Berry, 2006; Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly & Jantzen, 2007). It was expected that White pedestrians may be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of a Black confederate than to those of a White confederate.

Pedestrians who, from their accent and their responses to a brief post experimental questionnaire, were not native speakers of either Montreal French or Montreal English were dropped from the analyses. Results obtained in the four field studies showed that all pedestrians did provide accurate information to the confederates. However, the language used by the pedestrians to provide directions to the confederate served as the main dependent variable. When responding to the confederate's plea, total or partial use of the pedestrian's second language was considered a convergent response. The use of a single word such as "bonjour" for an Anglophone or "good-bye" for a Francophone was coded as a convergent response on the assumption that the pedestrian made an effort to accommodate psychologically to the linguistic need of the confederate (Giles *et al.*, 1973). This lenient criterion for coding convergence was also designed to minimize lack of second language competence as an alternative explanation for respondents who used language maintenance while providing directions to the confederate. Montreal is the most bilingual city in Canada and all its citizens have had a chance to learn a few words of greeting and leave-taking in both French and English. For those participants who were accosted in their mother tongue, the dependent variable was also the language in which they provided directions. In all cases, pedestrians accosted in their first language responded in their first language attesting to the fluency of the confederates in portraying themselves as native French or English speakers.

The procedure used in all four experiments is a face-to-face version of the matched-guise technique (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Lambert *et al.*, 1960). Accordingly, the confederates in each year of the study were chosen for their ability to speak both English and French fluently. The use of the
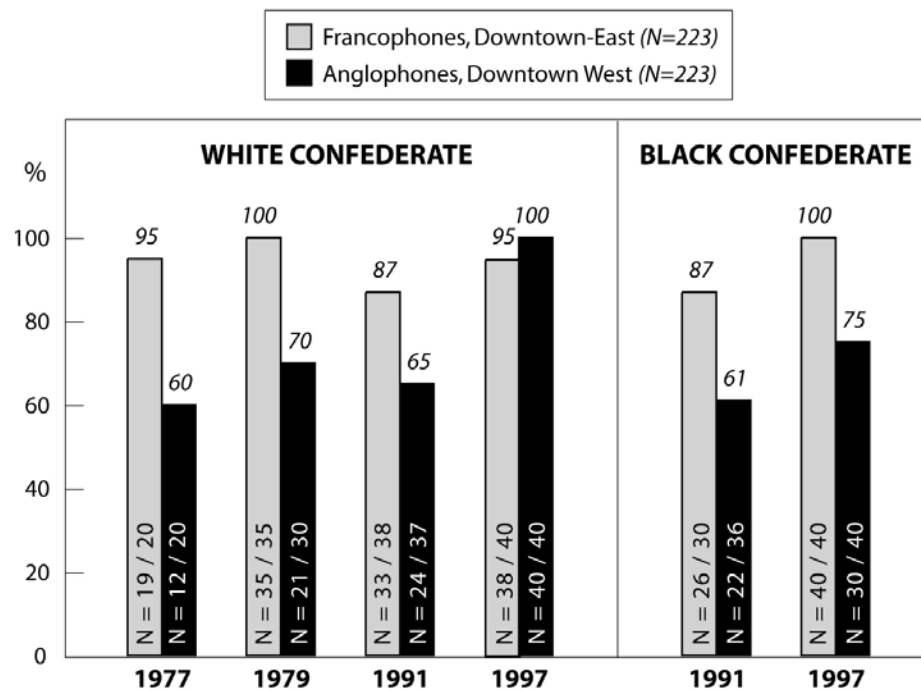
Figure 6a: Language convergence of Anglophones and Francophones in downtown Montreal (Adapted from Bourhis et al., 2007)
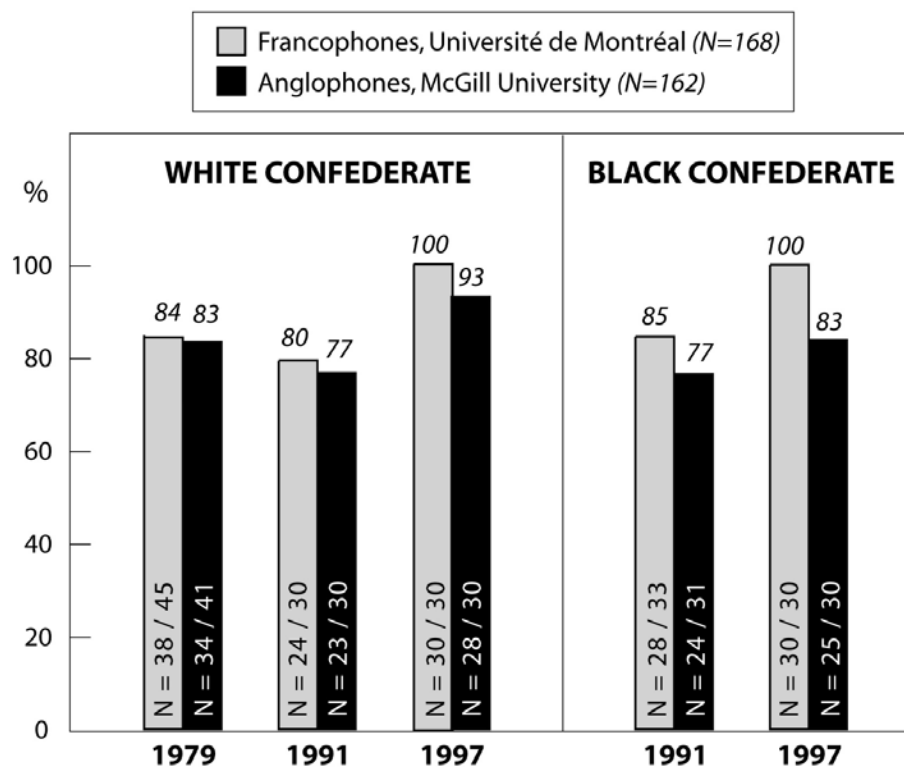

Figure 6b: Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone undergraduates at McGill and Université de Montréal (adapted from Bourhis et al., 2007).

same person to formulate the same message in both French and English had the advantage of controlling for paralinguistic variables, physical attractiveness, age, and dress style which was neatly casual in all experimental conditions across the four studies. The White and the Black confederates involved in each of the 1991 and 1997 studies were also carefully matched as regards physical attractiveness, age, as well as paralinguistic and speech style cues. All confederates involved across the four studies were carefully trained to voice the 30-second content-controlled message in a clear and neutral speech style.

A basic goal of Bill 101 was to foster a pro-French climate that could make the use of French normal and spontaneous, especially amongst Quebec Francophones in bilingual Montreal. Could a 'carry-over effect' of Bill 101 foster French language maintenance amongst Francophones even when responding to an individual plea for directions voiced in English? As can be seen from Figure 6a, the 1977 to 1997 studies revealed that downtown Francophone pedestrians overwhelmingly converged to English (95%-100%) when accosted in English by the White confederate. At Université de Montreal, where pro-French nationalist activism was evident in the mid 1970s, results of the 1979 and 1991 studies showed that Francophone undergraduates accosted in English were only slightly less keen to converge to English (80%-84%; Figure 6b) than their older counterparts in downtown Montreal (95%-100%). Taken together, these results suggest that Bill 101 had little obvious impact on the private language choices of Francophones in their encounters with English speakers. Francophone respondents seemed mainly concerned with accommodating the personal needs of their English interlocutors, thus accounting for the overwhelming use of English convergence.

Over fifteen years after the adoption of Bill 101, political events such as the 1995 Quebec referendum and the 1996-97 Quebec partition debate further polarized French-English political relations in the province. Thus, in the 1991 and 1997 studies it was expected that Francophones might be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of the English-speaking confederate, especially when she was portrayed as being doubly different by virtue of her first language and Black visible minority status. However, results showed that the proportion of Francophones converging to English did not differ as a function of the ethnicity of the confederate: 87% -100% converged to English with the Black confederate in downtown Montreal (Figure 6a) and 85% to 100% of the Francophone undergraduates converged to her in English at the Université de Montréal (Figure 6b). Thus, more than twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, the majority of Francophones were consistent in converging linguistically with the English-speaking confederates and this, whether the confederate was White or Black or whether she addressed her plea for directions in Francophone downtown Montreal or at the Université de Montreal.

The proportion of Anglophones converging to the needs of the French-speaking confederates was quite stable both immediately and ten years after the promulgation of Bill 101. From 1977 to 1991, the proportion of Anglophones converging to French with the White confederates in downtown Montreal was quite stable: 60% in 1977, 70% in 1979 and 65% in 1991 (Figure 6a). Furthermore, as seen in figure 6b, no significant differences were observed in the proportion of Anglophone undergraduates converging to French with the White confederate on the McGill University campus from 1979 (83%) to 1991 (77%). The ethnicity of the confederate did not have an impact on the proportion of Anglophones converging to French in downtown Montreal: in 1991, 61% converged to French with the Black confederate and 65% converged to French with the White confederate. Likewise on the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were as likely to converge to French with the Black confederate (77%) as with the White confederate (77%). However it remains remarkable that despite a

decade of language planning in favour of French, as many as 30% to 40% of Montreal Anglophones maintained English when responding to a Black or White confederate requesting a plea for directions in French. Such results were obtained even with the charitable criteria of counting a greeting or leave-taking word spoken in French as a convergent response by Anglophone pedestrians. That more than a third of Anglophone respondents in downtown Montreal maintained English when accosted in French reflects the enduring position of Anglophones as high status group members whose personal language choices need not be constrained by the linguistic needs of the Francophone majority. Indeed, it was in 1991 that the president of the pro-English Alliance Quebec, Reed Scowen, urged Quebec Anglophones to adopt English-language maintenance as a collective ethnic affirmation strategy during private encounters with Quebec Francophones across the province (Scowen, 1991).

However, by 1997, results in both downtown Montreal and at McGill University showed that the overwhelming majority of Anglophones converged to French (100% and 93%) with the White Francophone interlocutor (Figures 6a-6b). Were Anglophones less likely to converge to French with the Black than the White confederate? Results of the 1997 downtown Montreal study showed that fewer Anglophones converged to French with the Black confederate (75%) than with the White confederate (100%). On the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were also less likely to converge to French with the black (83%) than with the white (93%) confederate.

Overall results obtained in these four studies suggest that Quebec language policies favouring French at the institutional level may have had a 'carry-over effect' on private language behaviours, particularly on the ones adopted by Anglophones with White Francophones. Despite the political polarization which emerged during and after the referendum debate on Quebec separation in 1995, Anglophone pedestrians converged more to French in 1997 than they did in the field

experiments conducted in 1977, 1979, and 1991. Thus the cumulative effect of Bill 101 did succeed in increasing their use of French, not only as the language of public discourse but also for private language use between anonymous individuals on the streets and on campuses of Montreal.

Though Bill 101 was also designed to increase the status and use of French by Francophones in the Montreal bilingual zone, results obtained with Francophone respondents showed overwhelming convergence to English with both White and Black Anglophone confederates. The strong proportion of Francophones converging to English may attest to the enduring status of English relative to French in Quebec and North America. These results confirm that even in private encounters with strangers, Francophone majority group members remain very sensitive to the linguistic needs of their Quebec Anglophone compatriots.

In the earlier studies from 1977 to 1991, private French-English language choices seemed imbued with inter-group connotations related to ingroup identification, inter-group differentiation, and power differentials favouring the elite Anglophone minority relative to the lower status Francophone majority in Montreal (Bourhis, 1984b, 1994b; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). However, the patterns of language convergence obtained in the 1997 field study suggest that for both Francophones and Anglophones, French/English language choices in bilingual encounters may be emptied of their divisive inter-group content. Though Francophone pedestrians could invoke Bill 101 as the legal framework supporting their quest for cultural affirmation and linguistic differentiation from Anglophone interlocutors, they did not choose language maintenance or language divergence to assert such social identity needs. Few Anglophones maintained English in the 1997 field study, though the diglossic elite status of English in Quebec could have been invoked to justify such a dissociative strategy. Instead, language choices in the 1997 field study were more strongly influenced by the individual and interpersonal needs of the

Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors in the immediacy of their bilingual encounter. However, it remains that 'critical incidents' in the Quebec political and linguistic debate could rekindle the use of language maintenance and language divergence as ingroup affirmative and inter-group dissociative language strategies.

Results obtained in downtown Montreal and on the McGill campus showed that Anglophone pedestrians were less likely to converge to the language needs of the Black Francophone confederate than those of the White confederate. Studies conducted across Anglo-Canada have shown that Anglo-Canadians are sometimes ambivalent towards visible minorities such as West Indians and East Indians (Berry, 2006). Anglophones in Quebec may be particularly ambivalent towards visible minority Blacks who have chosen to integrate linguistically within the Quebec Francophone host majority rather than within the Quebec Anglophone host minority (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). However, Francophone respondents were as likely to converge to English with the Black confederate as they were with the White confederate. Further research may be needed to confirm and explain these contrasting convergence responses towards the Black confederate in our field studies (Moïse & Bourhis 1994).

The 1997 results suggest that after twenty years of implementation, Bill 101 may have had its intended effects of improving the status and use of French by Quebec Anglophones. That both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged and declared their intention to converge to each other's linguistic needs in the 1997 field study suggests that such intercultural encounters are being emptied of their divisive inter-group symbolism and may become more neutral and functional, at least as regards language choices in private face-to-face encounters between anonymous Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors. Could such harmonious language convergence results have been achieved in Quebec without the adoption of pro-French laws such as

Bill 101? The diglossia literature suggests that dominant language groups rarely converge to the linguistic needs of their subordinated minorities or majorities. The Quebec case shows that language policies such as Bill 101 can create the institutional and normative pressures needed to reverse a diglossic situation which traditionally favoured English in the province. Though the Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its institutional and demographic ascendancy over the English minority of Quebec, Francophone nationalists still feel threatened as an official language minority of 23% within Canada and as a linguistic minority of less than 2% within North America. Does the Quebec dominant majority have the linguistic and cultural security to promote the institutional support needed for the long term survival of its national minority of Anglophones within the province?

3. Multiple Identities, feelings of threat and Linguicism

Personal and social identities provide individuals with self-esteem, a sense of personal continuity, a framework of meaning through which people can understand the world, a way of distinguishing the self from others as individuals and as group members, and a sense of solidarity and security with members of the ingroup (Capozza & Brown, 2000). While shared social identity can provide group solidarity and altruism through connections of similarity, it can also lead to feelings of insecurity, rivalry and conflict through the demonization of outgroup ethnic, linguistic or religious differences. With the polarization of "us-them" categories comes the tendency to essentialize ingroup vs. outgroup characteristics, to include and exclude others on the basis of their social identities. These processes along with competition over scarce resources help account for the development of prejudice and discrimination against devalued outgroups, and favouritism towards owngroup members and the glorification of the ingroup social identity (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). However, people also belong to multiple social identities by

Figure 7: Quebec Anglophone and Francophone: Sense of belonging to
Various groups in Quebec

Very strong + somewhat strong belonging in %
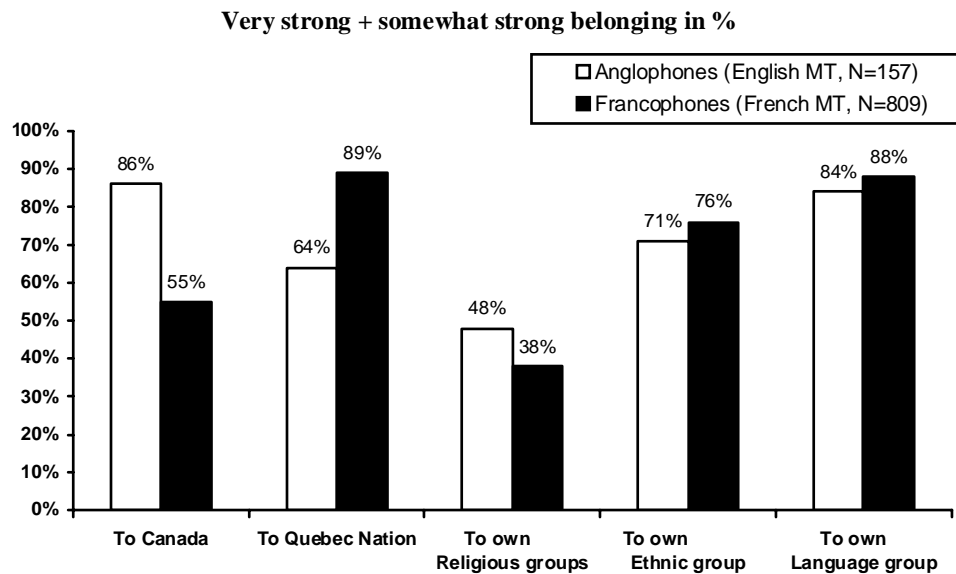
virtue of their age, gender, family role, occupational status, and group memberships based on language, ethnicity, religion and national origin. There is no fixed hierarchy in which a person will always feel more strongly Canadian than they do a woman or a school teacher. Different social identities will light up or switch off depending on the social context and the immediate situation in which people find themselves (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994). Thus while a Québécois Francophone may identify most as a dentist when working in Montreal, he may identify most as a Québécois when attending a professional conference in Toronto, and feel most Canadian when travelling as a tourist in South America.

3.1 Sense of belonging and multiple identities.

The multiple identities of Quebec Francophones and Anglophones were explored in a recent survey commissioned by the Association of Canadian Studies (Jedwab, 2008). This Leger poll was conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec population made up of French (N= 809)

and English (N= 157) mother tongue respondents sampled in Montreal and across the province.

As can be seen in Figure 7, results show that that more Francophones (89%) have a strong sense of belonging to the Quebec Nation than do Anglophone (64%) respondents. Conversely more Anglophones feel they strongly belong to Canada (86%) than do Francophone (55%) respondents. Importantly, as great a proportion of Anglophones declared they had a strong feeling of belonging to their own language group (84%) as did Francophones (88%) respondents. Thus the vast majority of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones identify strongly with their own language group in the province. Likewise the majority of both Francophone (76%) and Anglophone (71%) respondents strongly identify with their respective ethnic group. Finally, even fewer Francophones (38%) identified strongly with their religious group than did Anglophones (48%). These results suggest that the recent hearings on religious 'reasonable accommodations' held by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2007-2008) may not have focused on the most important element of

Figure 8: Strong Feeling of belonging to own language community and importance of this belonging: Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in Rest of Canada. (ROC)
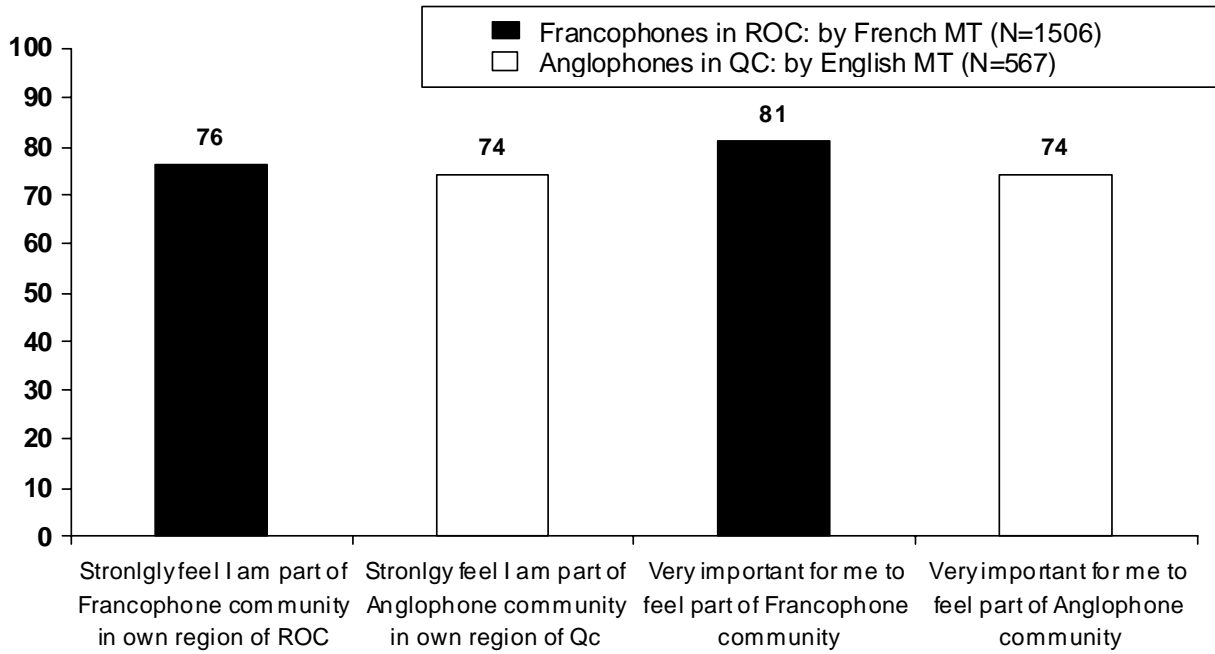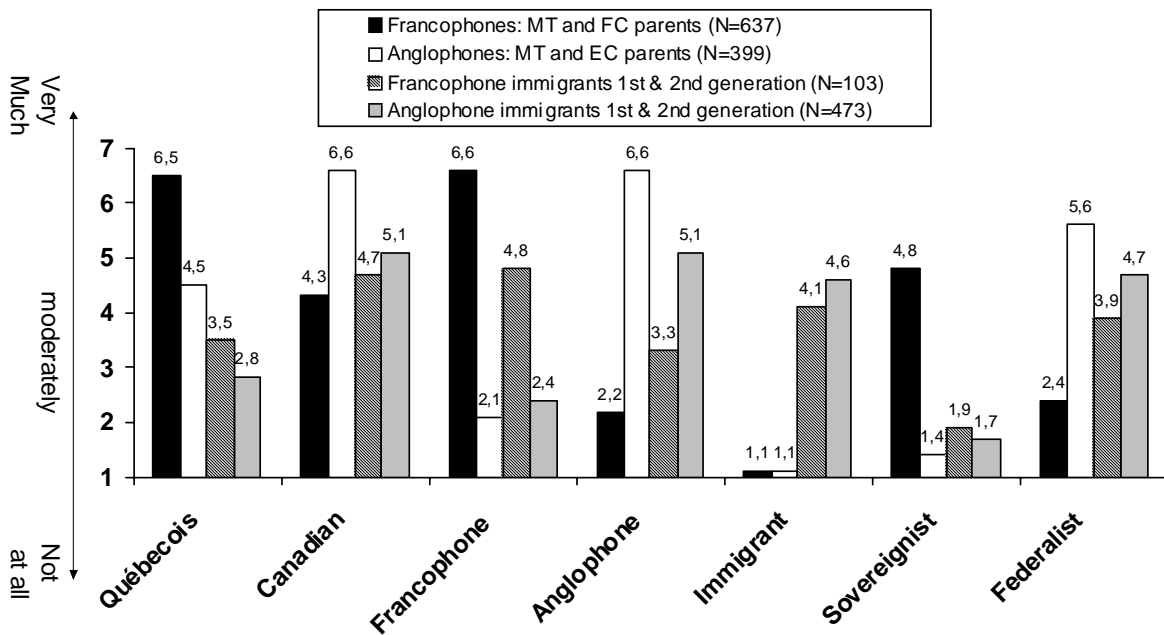

Figure 9: Multiple Identities of Montreal College Students (Cegeps) in Quebec

group identification for the Quebec population. No wonder so many testimonials dealt more with language, ethnic and national identity issues than with religious questions.

Recently, the Department of Canadian Heritage conducted a large survey of attitudes towards Canada's Official Languages (Canada 2006). The survey of the Canadian population included a sample of French mother tongue Canadians (N= 1506) living in the rest of Canada (ROC), and a sample of English mother tongue respondents residing in Quebec (N= 567). Results obtained with Francophones in the ROC showed that the vast majority of Francophones (76%) strongly identified with their Francophone community in their own region and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their Francophone community (81%). Importantly, results also showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones (74%) strongly identified with their regional Anglophone community and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their own Anglophone community in Quebec (74%). Clearly, Anglophones in Quebec are as loyal and committed to their own language community as are Francophones in the ROC. From a public policy perspective these results suggest that it is as imperative for the federal and provincial governments to maintain and develop the vitality of Anglophones in Quebec as it is to do so for Francophone communities across the rest of Canada.

Multiple identity studies were also conducted in Quebec with samples of Anglophone and Francophone mother tongue college students, as well as Francophone and Anglophone first and second generation immigrants attending CEGEPS on Montreal Island. These survey studies, though not representative of the overall Quebec population, had the advantage of controlling somewhat for the socio-economic status and educational level of the students. The results presented herein are selected from more extensive questionnaires monitoring the acculturation orientations of host community and immigrant

students attending French and English language CEGEPS in Montreal (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil, Bourhis & Vanbeselaere, 2004). The students who took part in the studies were: 1) Francophones (N= 637) born in Quebec with French as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec also with French as a first language (L1); 2) Anglophones (N= 399) born in Quebec with English as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec with English as their L1; 3)firsts and second generation Francophone immigrants with French as a mother tongue (N=103); 4)first and second generation Anglophone immigrants with English as a mother tongue (N= 473). Using a seven point scale, students rated how much they identified (7 = very much, 1 = not at all) with each of a series of group identities including: Québécois, Canadian, Francophone, Anglophone, immigrant, sovereignist, federalist).

As can be seen in Figure 9, Québécois Francophones and Anglophones; Francophone and Anglophone immigrants show contrasting multiple identity profiles that have consequences for language group relations in Quebec. Francophones identify very strongly as Québécois and Francophone and strongly as sovereignist; but moderately as Canadian and only a little as federalist. Anglophones identify very strongly as Canadian, Anglophone and federalist, moderately as Québécois and not at all as sovereignists. Anglophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian, Anglophone, immigrant and federalist but very little as Québécois, Francophone and sovereignist. Francophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian, as Francophone, immigrants and federalists. However Francophone immigrants though attending French colleges identify little as Québécois and Anglophone and very little as sovereignist. Thus, Quebec Anglophones as well as immigrants of Anglophone and Francophone background share in common their identification as Canadian and federalist and their rejection of sovereignty.

Figure 10: Feeling threatened by presence of various groups in Quebec:
Montreal college students.
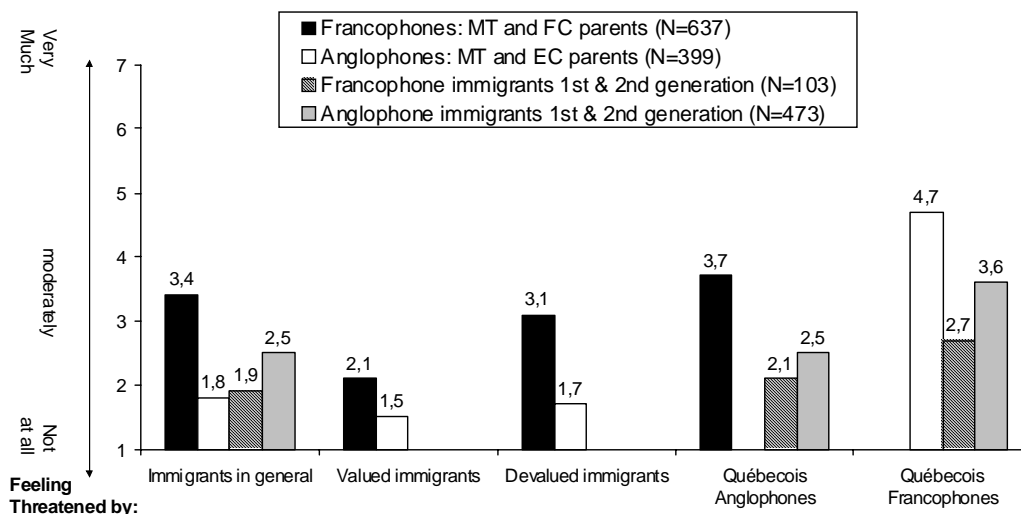
3.2 Feelings of threat from the presence of outgroups.

The same four groups of college students then rated how threatened they felt by the presence of various ethnic groups in Quebec including immigrants in general, 'valued' and 'devalued' immigrants, as well as host majority Québécois Francophones and host minority Québécois Anglophones. For Francophone students the 'valued' immigrants were those from France while 'devalued' immigrants were visible minority Haitians. Note that both these French-speaking immigrant target groups contribute to the French fact in Quebec. For Anglophone respondents the 'valued' immigrants were those from Britain while the 'devalued' ones were visible minority Sikhs from the Punjab in India.

As seen in Table 10, feelings of threat were generally low on the seven point scale, though the following trends emerged. Compared to the three groups of minority students, Francophone host majority respondents felt more threatened by the

presence of all outgroups in the province. Notably, Québécois Francophones felt more threatened by the presence of Québécois Anglophones (X = 3.7) than by French immigrants from France (X = 2.1). Anglophone host minority students did not feel threatened by immigrants but felt most threatened by the presence of the Québécois Francophone majority (X= 4.7). Francophone and Anglophone immigrants did not feel threatened by immigrants or by the Québécois Anglophone host minority. However, Anglophone immigrants felt more threatened (X= 3.6) than Francophone immigrants (X= 2.7) by the presence of the Québécois Francophone host majority. Taken together, Québécois Anglophones and immigrants share in common their feeling of threat from the dominant majority in Quebec, namely Québécois Francophones. Why do host majority Francophone students feel more threatened by the presence of 'others' than language and immigrant minority students? It must be recalled that the Québécois nationalist movement has long nurtured feelings of insecurity as regards the position of French in Quebec, a security undermined by the presence of

linguistic outgroups such as the Quebec Anglophone minority and English-speaking immigrants. Nationalist movements have a vested interest in nurturing feelings of threat from the presence of 'exogenous' groups, as such sentiments reinforce feelings of ingroup solidarity, boost loyalty to the ingroup cause and mobilize action against perceived competitors or enemies . That Québécois Francophone students also felt threatened by the presence of Francophone immigrants from Haiti shows that feelings of threat can be generalized to any outgroup, even those contributing to the French cause in Quebec. Thus Québécois Francophones can feel threatened by the presence of Haitians because their 'devalued' position is related to another dimension of difference, namely their visible minority status. Previous studies have shown that as with other Canadians, Québécois Francophones tend to hold prejudicial attitudes towards visible minorities (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). This raises the final concern of this chapter. In Quebec as in the rest of Canada, who are the Canadians most likely to feel they are the victim of prejudice and discrimination?

3.3 Being victim of discrimination in Quebec and the ROC: Linguicism.

Whereas prejudice is a negative attitude towards outgroups, discrimination is an unjustified negative behaviour towards members of a target outgroup (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). Discriminatory behaviour can range from silent avoidance, depreciating humour, hate speech, harassment, differential allocation of valued resources (jobs, housing), attacks on property and persons (hate crimes), residential confinement, deportation and genocide. In Canada as elsewhere in the world, discrimination remains a pervasive phenomenon that is corrosive for its victims and ultimately dehumanizing for its perpetrators (Berry, 2006).

We will examine the feelings of inclusion and exclusion experienced by vulnerable minorities in Quebec and the rest of Canada (ROC) by using selected results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) conducted across Canada in 2002-2003. The EDS was designed by Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage and focussed on the social, cultural and economic diversity of not only first, second and third generation immigrants, but also that of Francophones and Anglophones across Canada. Respondents were 15 years or older and lived in private dwellings in the ten provinces of Canada. The EDS was designed to gain a better understanding of how ethnic minorities themselves perceive their own circumstances as Canadian citizens and interpret and report their ethnicity. The EDS used a computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) that lasted thirty-five minutes and was conducted in fifteen languages to suit the needs of respondent including English, French, Cantonese, Mandarin, Spanish, Punjabi, etc.. The respondents were selected from the 2001 Census and the interviews were conducted post 9/11. The sample was stratified by ethnic origin, place of birth, place of birth of parents, sex, age, generation, region, language, and with an over-representation of second generation immigrants (37% of sample). A total of 42,476 interviews were successfully conducted out of a targeted sample of 57,200, which resulted in an acceptable 76% response rate.

Many thematic and modules were covered in the EDS telephone interviews including self-definition, language competence and language use in the family, social networks, civic participation, attitudes and sense of belonging, socio-economic activities and interaction with society including being victim of discrimination. The telephone question on discrimination was formulated as follows:

"Discrimination may happen when people are treated unfairly because they are seen as being different from others. In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion?"

Figure 11: Experience of discrimination by visible minorities in Canada (EDS, 2002)
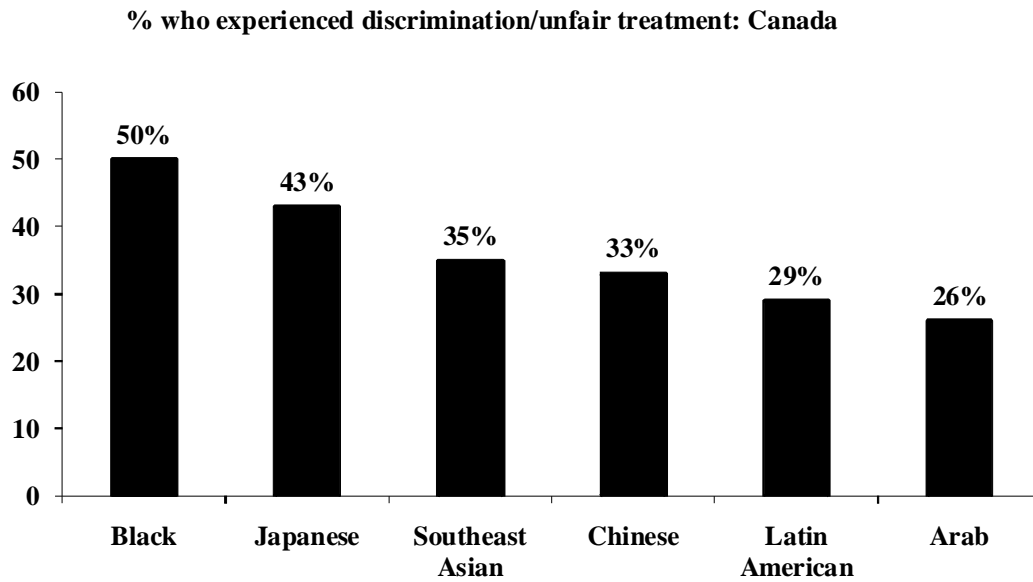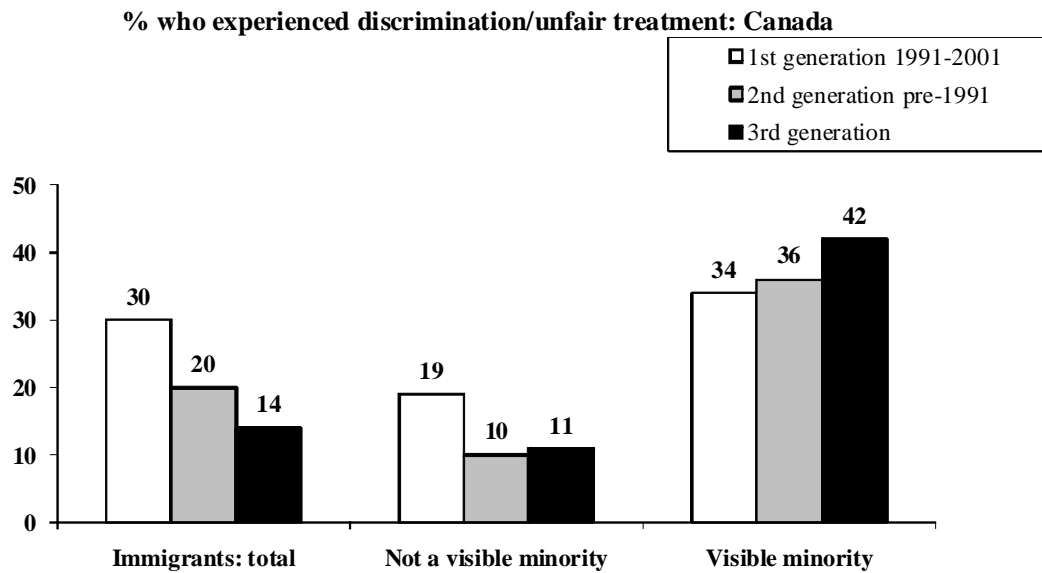
% who experienced discrimination/unfair treatment: Canada

Figure 12: Experience of discrimination by 1st,2nd,3rd generation immigrants
in Canada (EDS, 2002)

% who experienced discrimination/unfair treatment: Canada

Respondents answered Yes or No to this question and results showed the following overall patterns. Across Canada, men (8%) as much as women (7%), declared having been victim of discrimination in the last five years. First generation immigrants were more likely to having been victims of discrimination (13%) than second (6%) and third generation immigrants (5%). The percentage of respondents declaring having been the victim of discrimination was similar in Toronto (11%), Vancouver (11%), and Montreal (9%).

While overall, 14% of immigrants reported having been victim of discrimination, results showed that visible minority immigrants experienced more discrimination (36%) than immigrants who were not visible minorities (10%). In the Canadian Census (2001) and the EDS (2002), visible minorities include Canadians of the following backgrounds: East Indian, Pakistani, Black, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g. Indonesian, Vietnamese), Arab, Afghan, Iranian, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese (Bourhis, 2003). The Canadian Census (2001) revealed that visible minorities made up 13% (3 million) of the total Canadian population (32 million). As seen in Figure 11, of the visible minority immigrants who declared having been victim of discrimination, Blacks (50%) and Japanese (43%) were more likely to report having been victim, while Latin Americans (29%) and Arabs (26%) were less likely to be victims of discrimination.

As seen in Figure 12, for immigrants in general, first generation immigrants were more likely to be the victim of discrimination, relative to second (20%) and third generation (14%) immigrants. This is the expected pattern, as second and third generation immigrants become more and more similar to host majority members educationally, culturally and socially. However, Figure 12 shows the inverse pattern for visible minorities: while many immigrants experience discrimination in the first (34%) and second generation (36%), even more experience discrimination in the third African,

generation (42%). Of the visible minorities who experience this type of inter-generational discrimination, it is Black immigrants who suffer the most: first generation: 45%, second generation: 48% and third generation: 61%. A possible explanation for this effect is that while White immigrants can seamlessly merge within the White Canadian mainstream across the generations as they acquire the linguistic and cultural codes of the host majority, visible minorities remain categorized as 'outsiders' by virtue of their skin colour, no matter how well they have integrated culturally and linguistically across the generations. By the third generation, visible minorities like Blacks and South Asians cannot attribute their differential treatment to other factors than discrimination, a feeling of exclusion from mainstream society which carries negative social and physical consequences for visible minorities themselves, and which mortgages the present and future climate of ethnic relations in Canada.

Based on the mother tongue of the respondents who took part in the EDS survey, what is the pattern of discrimination experienced by Francophones and Anglophones in the rest of Canada (ROC) compared to Quebec? As can be seen in Figure 13, Anglophones (25%) were more likely to report having been the victim of discrimination in Quebec (25%) than in the ROC (12%). Likewise, but to a lesser degree, Francophones were not more likely to report having been the victim of discrimination in the ROC (12%) than in Quebec (7%). We define *linguicism* as being the victim of discrimination because of one's mother tongue language or accent (Bourhis et al. 2007). Clearly, Anglophones as a minority in Quebec, and Francophones as a minority in the ROC are more likely to be the victim of linguicism than when such speakers reside in their respective majority group settings. Note that respondents who declared having both French and English as a mother tongue, as well as Allophones, reported being victim of linguicism as much in Quebec as in the ROC. We can surmise that French/English bilinguals and Allophones

Figure 13: Discrimination experienced by respondents in Quebec vs rest of Canada (ROC)
by mother tongue (EDS, 2002).

Linguicism: Being victim of discrimination because of one 's mother tongue language or accent. (Bourhis et al., 2006)
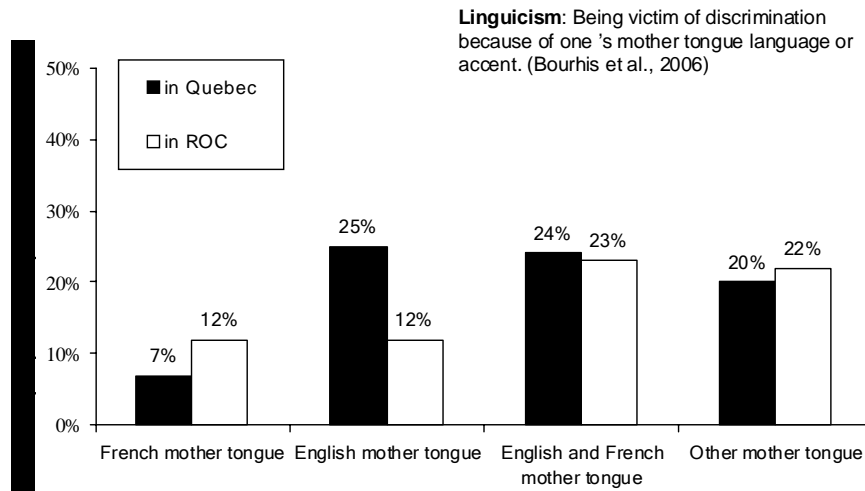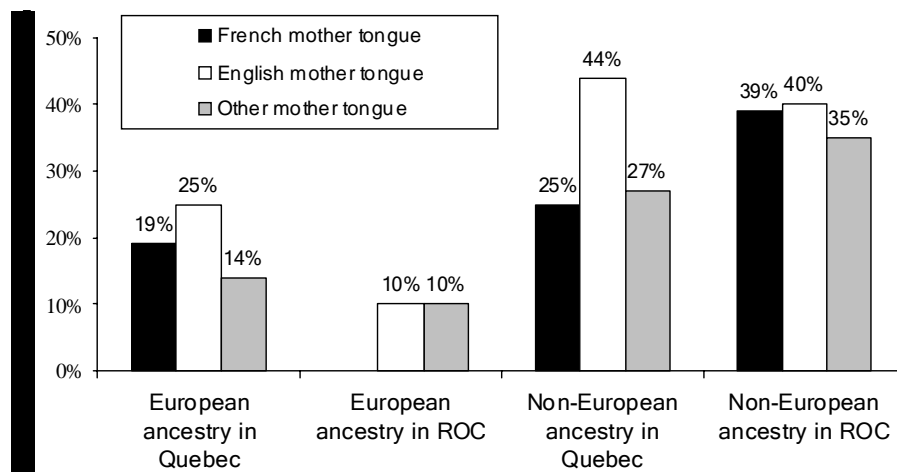
Figure 14: Of the respondents who reported being victim of discrimination: percentage by ethnic ancestry (single only) and mother tongue for Quebec and ROC (EDS, 2002)

European ancestry: Origins may include Italian, German, Portuguese, Polish, Dutch, Ukrainian, Greek.
Non-European ancestry: Origins may include Asian (Chinese, Vietnamese), South Asian (Indian, Pakistani), Arab, African Central/South American. Caribbean

experience greater intercultural contacts with outgroup language speakers, a probability risk factor that results in greater likelihood for such minorities to experience linguicism and unfair treatment.

To better understand the background factors associated with being the victim of linguicism, Figure 14 crosses language group membership based on mother tongue, with the ethnic ancestry of respondents in Quebec and the ROC. Note that based on the Canadian census, European ancestry include mainly White European Union background individuals, while Non-European ancestry denotes mainly visible minority backgrounds including African, South Asian (Indian) , Asian (Chinese), Arab and Central/South American origins. Results presented in Figure 14 show that in Quebec amongst White Europeans, it is English mother tongue Europeans who most likely report having been the victim of discrimination (25%) compared to French (19%) and Allophone (14%) respondents. Amongst non-European ancestry respondents, it is also English mother tongue individuals who are most likely to have experienced discrimination (44%) compared to Allophones (27%) and Francophones (25%). Clearly in Quebec, it is Anglophones of non-European background who are most likely to be the victim of linguicism and unfair treatment. In the ROC all non-European background individuals, regardless of their mother tongue, are vulnerable to discrimination (35%-40%) as shown in Figure 14.

The EDS also explored the reasons invoked for having been the victim of discrimination. Amongst respondents who declared having being victims of discrimination the following question was asked in the interview:

> *"In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, for which reason or reasons do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in Canada? Was it or is it because of: your ethnicity or culture? Your race or skin colour? Your language or accent? Your religion?"*

Respondents who had been the victims of discrimination could list one or more of these reasons as the cause of discrimination.

The patterns shown in Figure 15 show the perceived reasons for discrimination listed by respondents who experienced discrimination, broken down by the mother tongue of respondents residing in Quebec and the ROC. In Quebec, individuals who reported having being the victim of discrimination singled out 'language and accent' as the major reason for being the victim of discrimination, and this whether the mother tongue of respondents was English (67%), French (61%) or Allophone (52%). Clearly, language and accent, more than ethnicity, race or religion accounts for most of the reported discrimination in the province. That linguicism emerges as the most frequent cause of unfair treatment for Quebec respondents reflects the last four decades of linguistic tensions surrounding the adoption and application of language laws in the province. In the ROC it is race and skin colour (53%-56%) which are seen by victims of discrimination as the more likely cause of unfair treatment, followed to a much lesser degree by language and ethnicity, but this pattern obtains only for English mother tongue and Allophone respondents. As seen in Figure 15, Francophones in the ROC who experienced discrimination are most likely to invoke language and accent (68%) as the main reason for the unfair treatment they experienced, a result which reflects the legacy of language tensions that prevails to this day in many English-speaking provinces of the country.

Discrimination does not occur in a situational vacuum. The EDS also explored in which situation and places victims of discrimination experienced unfair treatment. Respondents who declared they were victims of discrimination were asked the following additional question:

Figure 15: Of the respondents who reported being victim of discrimination: percentage by perceived reasons of discrimination and by mother tongue for the rest of Canada (ROC) and Quebec (EDS, 2002).
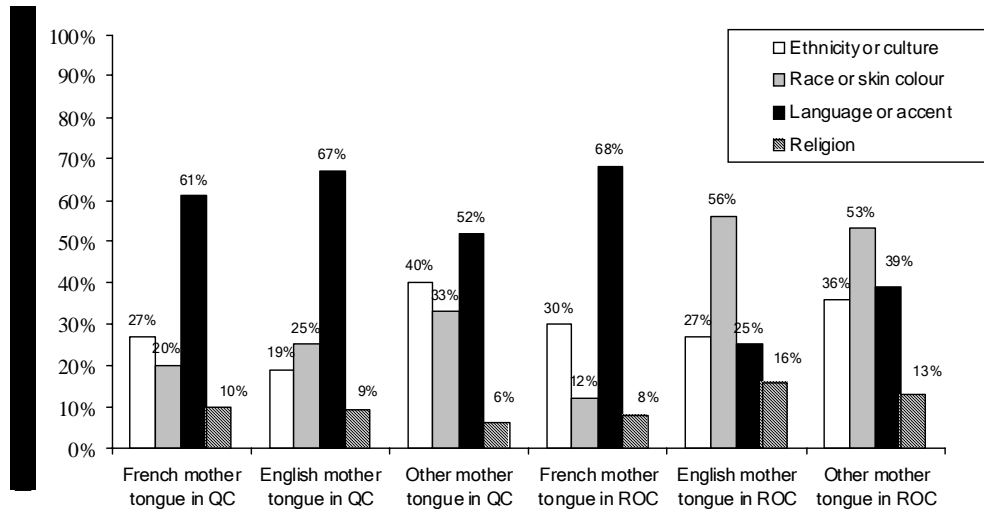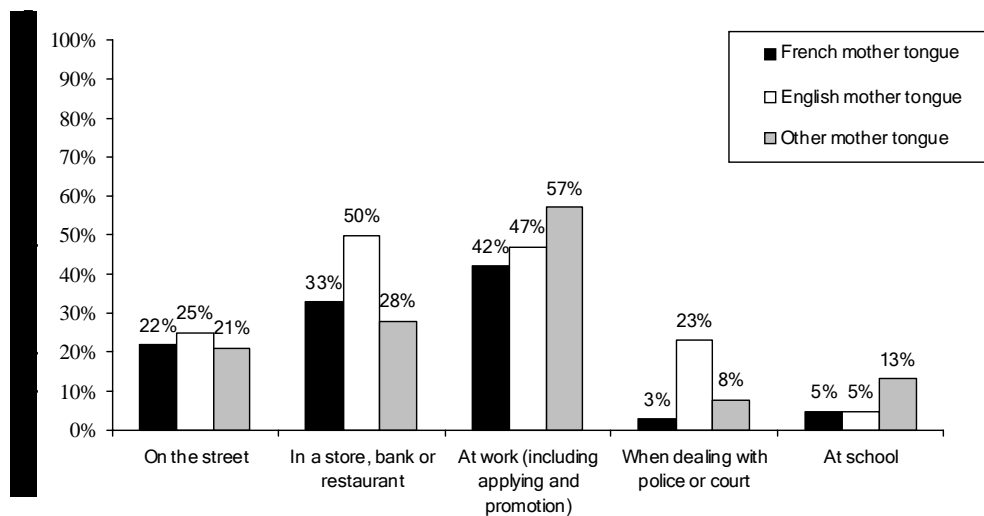

Figure 16: Of the respondents who reported being victim of discrimination: percentage by situations where discrimination occurred and by Mother tongue for Quebec (EDS, 2002)

"In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, in which places or situations do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in Canada? Was it on the street? In a store, bank or restaurant? At work or when applying for a job or promotion? When dealing with the police or courts?"

Results presented in Figure 16 are those obtained in Quebec for respondents who experienced discrimination broken down by mother tongue. Clearly, discrimination occurred mostly at work when applying for a job or a promotion. Allophones experienced the most discrimination at work (57%) followed by Anglophones (47%) and Francophones (42%). Work opportunity being the pillar of economic and social integration for immigrants, it is telling that Quebec Allophones single out the work world as their most problematic setting of unfair treatment. Recall the labour income disadvantage experienced in Quebec, not only by French-speaking (-33.9%) and English-speaking (-30.1%) Allophones but also by bilingual ones (-11.8%). Figure 16 also shows that of respondents who reported being the victim of discrimination, Anglophones (50%) more than Francophones (33%) and Allophones (28%) reported discrimination in stores, banks and restaurants. These are public settings of unfair treatment contributing to a feeling that one is not welcomed in civil society.

In summary, results of the EDS show that it is visible minority immigrants who experience the most discrimination in Canada and this is the case for first, second and third generation visible minorities. Overall, it is visible minorities who are Black who experience the most discrimination relative to all other visible minorities in Canada. For Quebec Allophones, discrimination is much more likely to be experienced at work than in stores, restaurants, on the street or at school. Inclusion in the workforce remains the key for the integration for Allophones and immigrants in the province. In Quebec, it is visible minorities who have a mother tongue other than French who experience the most discrimination. Racism and linguicism packs a double punch to Black Anglophone minorities who suffer the highest unemployment rate and lowest salaries in the province, other than First Nations.

Concluding Notes

Language planning in favour of French (Bill 101) succeeded: in having 94% of the Quebec population maintain or gain a knowledge of the French language; in keeping 82% of its citizens as users of French at home; and in increasing Anglophone bilingualism to 69% by 2006. In the Quebec labour market, the economic returns to knowing French increased between 1970 and 2000, while returns to knowing English decreased. The healthy state of the French language is also evident in the growth of ownership of Quebec's economy by Francophone firms, from 47% in the 1960s to 67% today. Yet, survey results show that Francophone college students still feel somewhat threatened and ambivalent about the presence of 'others' in the province.

The demographic decline of the Anglophone population undermines the institutional vitality of the English speaking communities of Quebec. Maintaining and developing the institutional vitality of Quebec Anglophones may reduce youth outmigration, thus improving future overall vitality on the demographic and institutional support fronts. Developing better prospects for Quebec Anglophone vitality provides a positive benchmark for improving the vitality of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada. Despite the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity of Canadian society, especially in Ontario and westward, the future of Canadian unity still rests on the vitality developments of its two national minorities: the Anglophone communities in Quebec and the Francophone communities established in the rest of Canada.

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