The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec:

From Community Decline to Revival

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Preface

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« La démocratie ce n'est pas la dictature de la majorité, c'est le respect des minorités »
Albert Camus

The goal of this book is to provide a current portrait of the group vitality of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec. The enduring stereotype about the Anglophones of Quebec is that it is a pampered minority whose economic clout is such that federal or provincial support for the maintenance and development of its institutions is hardly necessary. This view of the privileged status of Quebec Anglos is widely held not only by the Francophone majority of Quebec but also by many leaders of Francophone communities across Canada. On the few occasions that Anglophones in the rest of Canada (ROC) spare a thought to the Anglophones of Quebec, either this idealised view of the community prevails, or they are portrayed as residents of a linguistic gulag whose rights are trampled on a regular and ongoing basis.

We cannot blame Francophone minorities outside Quebec for envying the institutional support and demographic vitality of the Anglophone minority of Quebec. Why should Francophone minorities outside Quebec feel they have to share precious federal resources with Quebec Anglophones who are doing so much better than themselves on the institutional support front? The first obvious response is that government support for official language minorities is not a zero-sum game and that evidence based needs should be sufficient to justify the maintenance and development of both Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canada and Quebec. The second complementary response is that the institutional support achieved by the Anglophones of Quebec during the last two centuries can be used as a benchmark goal for the further development of Francophone minorities across Canada. The combined efforts to maintain and develop the vitality of the Francophone communities outside Quebec and of the Anglophone minority within Quebec, contribute to the linguistic and cultural diversity of Canadian and Québécois societies.

But what is the current vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec? Taken together, the chapters in this book tell a sobering story about the decline of this historical national minority in Quebec. On the status, demographic and institutional support fronts, Quebec Anglophones are declining, especially in the regions of the province but also in the greater Montreal region. Though much of the chapters are devoted to documenting the ups and down of this decline, some effort is made in each chapter to propose options and strategies to improve and revive the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. We hope this book, along with past and future ones, will be used by Quebec Anglophones as a tool to develop their community vitality in the present and for the sake of future generations. It is also hoped that this book will inspire Quebec decision makers to pay more attention to the vitality needs of Quebec Anglophones, a minority community who contributed so much to the social, cultural and economic development of Quebec society.

Finally, a word of thanks is owed to all those who made this book possible. The editor and chapter contributors wish to thank in particular the following: the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), the Quebec Community Group's Network (QCGN), the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the dedicated staff of the Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM) at the Université de Montréal.

GROUP VITALITY, CULTURAL AUTONOMY AND THE WELLNESS OF LANGUAGE MINORITIES

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The first part of this chapter offers an overview of the language group vitality framework as it developed in sociolinguistics during the last three decades. Features of the Linguistic Vitality Model will be illustrated with Canadian examples, with a focus on the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. This section will also provide a brief overview of some research contrasting objective vitality with subjective vitality perceptions. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the Community Autonomy Model developed to better account for how institutional completeness, social proximity and ideological legitimacy combine through collective identity to foster mobilization towards the maintenance and development of language minorities in majority environments. The third part of the chapter provides a tentative approach for roughly assessing the wellness of language minorities in Europe, Canada and Quebec using the vitality and cultural autonomy frameworks. It is hoped that this approach can help language minorities such as the Anglophones of Quebec and the Francophones in the rest of Canada better define the mobilization strategies they need to improve their respective vitalities in the Canadian setting.

1. The language group vitality perspective

History has shown that language groups expand or decrease and that their vitality is related to many historical and situational factors (Calvet, 1999; Crystal, 2000). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) coined the term "ethnolinguistic vitality" and developed a theoretical construct that provides a taxonomy of the structural variables that can determine the course that relations may take when language groups are in contact. The notion of group vitality provides a conceptual tool to analyze the sociostructural variables affecting the strength of language communities within multilingual settings. The vitality of a language community is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings" (Giles et al, 1977: 308). The more vitality a language community enjoys, the more likely it is that it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in the given intergroup context. Conversely, language communities that have little vitality are more likely to eventually cease to exist as distinctive language groups within the intergroup setting. As can be seen in Figure 1, three broad dimensions of socio-structural variables influence the vitality of language communities: demography, institutional support and status (Bourhis, 1979, Bourhis & Barrette, 2006).

Demographic variables are those related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the urban, regional or national territory. The number factors constituting a language group are usually based on one or a combination of the following linguistic indicators: L1 as the mother

Vitality of L_1 Language Community

Weak — Moderate — Strong

Demographic Factors

- Number of L_1 speakers
  - Absolute number
  - Fertility/mortality rate
  - Age pyramid
  - Endogamy/exogamy
  - L_1 intergenerational transmission
  - Emigration
  - Immigration

- Distribution of L_1 speakers
  - L_1 presence in historical ancestral territory
  - L_1 concentration in national/regional/urban territories
  - Proportion of ingroup (L_1) vs outgroup speakers (L_2, L_3) in territory

Institutional Support and Control Factors

- L_1 formal and informal institutional support:
  - Education (primary, secondary, university)
  - Government services (health, social services, transport, post office, judiciary)
  - Economy (commerce, industry, finance)
  - Media (radio, TV, newspapers, internet)
  - Police and military
  - Linguistic landscape: L_1 vs L_2, L_3
  - Cultural industries (music, literature, theatre, dance)
  - Political institutions
  - Sports and leisure
  - Religious institutions
  - Leadership and associative network

Status Factors

- Socio-historical prestige of L_1 community relative to L_2, L_3

- Current social status of L_1 community relative to L_2, L_3

- Status of L_1 language relative to L_2, L_3 (at municipal, regional, national, international levels)

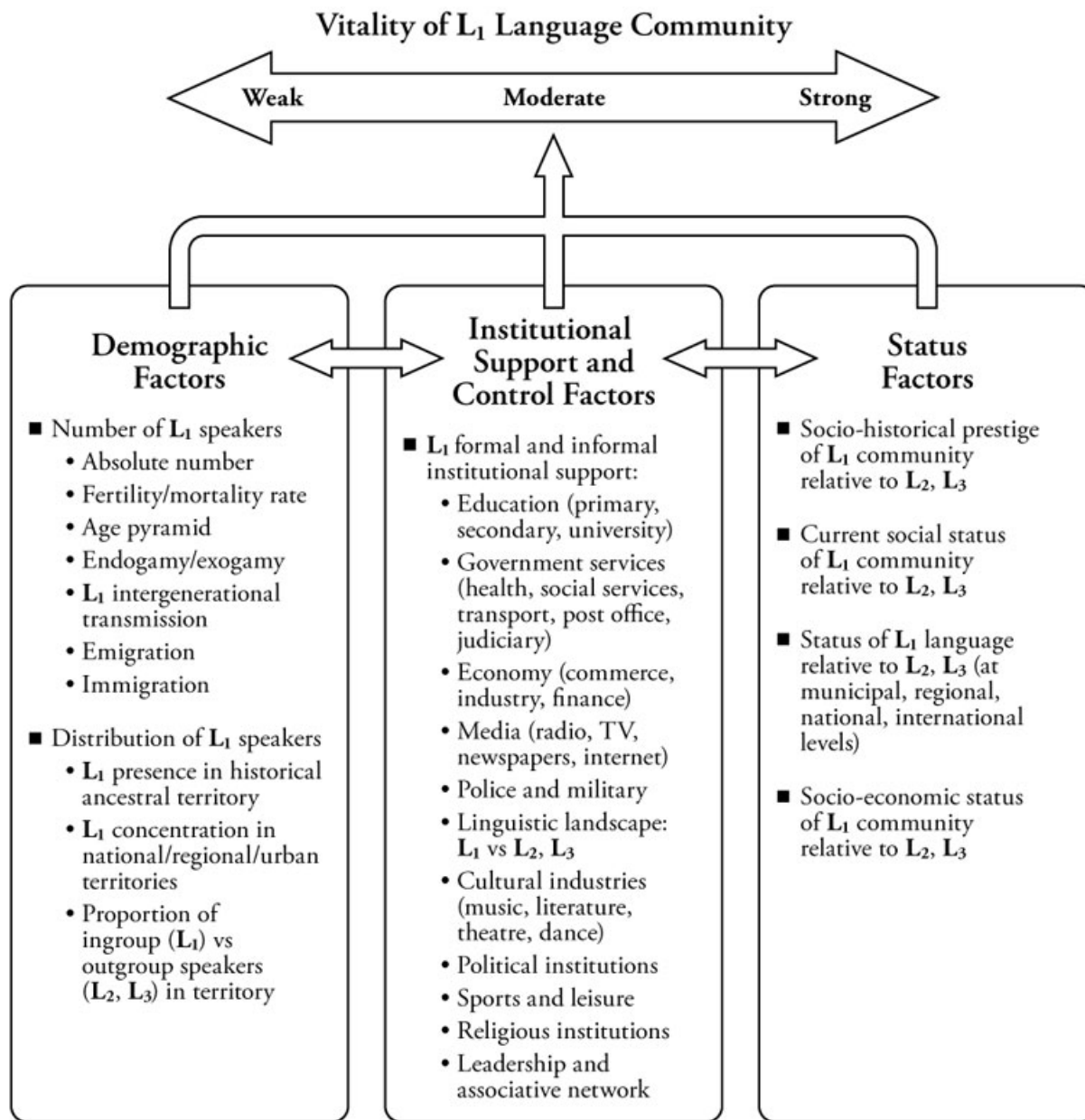- Socio-economic status of L_1 community relative to L_2, L_3

Figure 1 : Taxonomy of socio-structural factors affecting the vitality of language community L1 in contact with language communities L2 and L3. (Adapted from Bourhis, 2001a)

tongue of community speakers; knowledge of the first (L1) or second (L2) language; and L1 and/or L2 language use in private settings such as at home and with friends. Number factors refer to the language community's absolute group numbers, its birth rate, mortality rate, age pyramid, endogamy/exogamy, and its patterns of immigration and emigration in and out of the ancestral territory. For example, one major factor that has eroded the demographic strength of Anglophone minorities in Quebec is the high number of Anglophones that have emigrated outside the province to settle in the rest of Canada (ROC) (Dickinson, 2007; Jedwab, this volume; Floch & Pocock, this volume). Exogamy, or the rate of linguistically mixed marriages, affects the vitality of language minorities because such parents often use the dominant language of their immediate region to communicate with their children and choose this language to educate them in the school system (Landry, 2003). For instance, the high rate of Francophone/Anglophone mixed marriages (exogamy) in Ontario was found to be the major contributing factor to the anglicization of Franco-Ontarians in that province (Mougeon & Beniak, 1994).

Distribution factors refer to the numeric concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, their proportion relative to outgroup speakers, and whether or not the language community still occupies its ancestral territory. The distribution of L1 speakers in a given territory (urban or regional) is strongly related to the strength of the ingroup social network and hence, to the frequency of L1 language use in private and public settings (Landry & Allard, 1994a, 1992a). The higher the proportion of the group members in a given regional population, the stronger are the networks of linguistic contacts and the more likely the minority language will be used for intra-group communication in private and semi-public situations. Minority language groups whose numbers and network intensity are strong in a given region may even be in a position to use their minority language for public use such as in local

stores and business and obtain some government services in their minority language (Bourhis, 1979). The vitality of a language community can be influenced positively when the group achieves a majority position within a regional territory or political jurisdiction (e.g., province or municipality) and negatively when the group is spread too thinly across urban or regional territories. The fact that Francophone minorities in Canada are distributed in nine provinces and three federal territories is related to their relatively weaker demographic strength and political power in the ROC compared to the majority of Quebec Francophones concentrated in their ancestral national territory (Bourhis, 1984; Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

Taken together, these demographic indicators can be used to monitor demolinguistic trends such as language maintenance, language shift, language loss and inter-generational transmission of the L1 mother tongue (Bourhis, 2001a). Within democracies, demographic factors constitute a fundamental asset for language groups as "strength in numbers" can be used as a legitimizing tool to grant language communities with the institutional control they need to ensure their inter-generational continuity within multilingual societies (Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007).

Institutional support is defined as the degree of control one group has over its own fate and that of outgroups and can be seen as the degree of social power enjoyed by one language group relative to co-existing linguistic outgroups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Institutional control is the dimension of vitality *par excellence* needed by language groups to maintain and assert their presence within state and private institutions such as education, the mass media, local government, health care, the judicial system, commerce and business. It is proposed that language groups need to achieve and maintain a favourable position on the institutional control front if they wish to survive as distinctive collective entities within multilingual states (Bourhis, 1979, 2001a). Institutional support is related to the concept of 'institutional completeness' originally

developed by Raymond Breton (Breton, 1964, 2005). However, institutional support is not a static given, as it can weaken due to demographic decline or weak community leadership unable to stem the erosion of existing institutional support due to the action of dominant majorities unsympathetic to the existence of linguistic minorities.

The extent to which a language community has gained formal and informal representation in the institutions of a community, region, state or nation constitutes its 'institutional support'. Informal support refers to the degree to which a language community has organized itself as a pressure group or organization to represent and safeguard its own language interests in various state and private domains (Giles et al, 1977). Thus informal support represents the community organizations and their mobilization to achieve better institutional support for the minority language group in domains including: the development of minority cultural and artistic production and diffusion; more teaching of the minority language in primary and secondary schools; the provision of health care in the minority language; the hiring of minority speakers for the provision of government services in the minority language; and the inclusion of the minority language on road signs and commercial signs. Gains achieved through such informal community support can then be enshrined more formally as institutions controlled by the dominant majority begin incorporating minority group members within state and private organizations. Thus formal support refers to the degree to which members of a language group have gained positions of control at decision-making levels of the majority government apparatus in education, health care, the armed forces, as well as in business, industry, the media and within cultural, sport and religious institutions. Thus, informal control comes from within the minority language community and can develop into formal control to the degree that linguistic minorities are granted the right to occupy decision-making roles within the institutions of the dominant majority. Taken together, informal control at the minority community level and formal control

at the level of majority institutions can combine to provide increased institutional support for a given language minority within a majority environment.

Language communities that have gained representation and a degree of autonomous control in a broad range of private and state institutions enjoy a stronger institutional vitality than language minorities whose representation exists in only a few less critical institutional domains or is limited to informal domains of a tenuous nature. The cultural autonomy model presented in section 2 of the chapter provides a more detailed analysis of the type of informal community mobilization needed by language minorities to achieve better formal institutional support in key domains of vitality.

Language planning adopted by regional or national governments can also contribute to the institutional support of language communities. What is known as status language planning can be used by governments to legislate the use of competing languages in education, the public administration, health care, the mass media and the language of work (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), adopted by the separatist Parti Québécois in 1977, is a classic example of language planning designed to enhance the institutional support of one language group relative to a competing language group (Bourhis, 1984, 2001b). For instance, Bill 101 succeeded in limiting the access of immigrants to the English school system which, after three decades of application, contributed to a 60% decline in the number of students attending English schools in Quebec. The resulting closure of English primary and secondary schools has also contributed to the weakening of the English school boards in the province (Lamarre, 2007, and this volume).

The presence and quality of leaders who can head the formal and informal institutions representing language groups also contributes to the institutional support of language communities.

Gains in institutional support often depend on the emergence of activists and leaders who succeed in mobilizing language groups to struggle for greater institutional support within multilingual states. The absence of quality leadership can undermine gains achieved by previous generations of minority groups on the institutional support front and can mortgage future gains needed for the community survival of the next generation of group members. In the Quebec context, the demise of the 'Alliance Quebec' leadership which defended the judicial rights of the Anglophone minority in the province for over twenty years, contributed to a leadership deficit for the community at the provincial level (Jedwab, 2007; Jedwab & Maynard, this volume). A period of doubt about the type of leadership needed to best serve the interests of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is ongoing. Some Anglophones prefer a less publicly visible sectoral leadership specific to separate domains of institutional support such as health care, schooling and post-secondary education, social services, arts and culture. Others focus on the necessity of developing inter-sectoral leadership capable of mobilizing English–speaking communities not only across domains of institutional support but also across the west island of Montreal and the regional Anglophone communities of the province. Meanwhile, analysts such as Stevenson (1999, 2004) make the case that two complementary leadership organizations may be more effective in defending the institutional support of Anglophone minorities in Quebec: the more discrete conciliatory style of organizations such as the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN), and the more militant style publicly advocating and defending the constitutional and human rights of Quebec Anglophones as a legitimate national minority in Quebec and an official language minority in Canada. Leaders of 'besieged communities' such as the Anglophones of Quebec have an interest in developing organizations and leadership styles that promote coherent and consistent approaches to the defence and development of their institutional vitality. This is especially important in settings where the newly empowered majority controls all

the tools of the state but whose current leaders remain imbued with the psychology of a threatened linguistic minority in North America (Bourhis, 1994a; 2001b, Bourhis, this volume).

Taken together, we have seen that language groups who have gained strong institutional control within state and private institutions are in a better position to safeguard and enhance their collective language and cultural capital than language communities who lack institutional control in these domains of group vitality. However, in democratic states, the maintenance of institutional support for linguistic minorities must be legitimized by the presence of sufficient minority group speakers to warrant the expense of providing such minority language services and institutions. For instance, Francophone minorities in the ROC constituting just over 5% of the regional population can warrant the funding of French language services by the Canadian federal administration. However, in Quebec, the provincial government has used the same population threshold for the Anglophone minority as for the Francophone majority to limit the provision of government services such as health care and bilingual municipal services (Foucher, this volume). Thus, the demographic decline of Quebec Anglophones in the last thirty years resulted in the closure of a number of hospitals which offered services in English, thereby further eroding Anglophone institutional support (Carter, this volume). As is well known by Francophone communities in the ROC (via the Montfort Hospital case in Ottawa, for example), the loss of *any* minority institutional support is more keenly felt by linguistic minorities than by the majority group, who benefits from a greater pool of alternative institutions to compensate for local losses.

Language communities that have gained ascendancy on institutional support factors are also likely to benefit from considerable social status relative to less dominant groups within multilingual states. The status variables are those related to a language community's socio-historical status within

the state (e.g., founding people), its current status as a dynamic culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of its language and culture locally, nationally and internationally. The social prestige of a language community is often related to the spread of the group's language and culture through military, colonial, economic or diplomatic activities (Giles et al, 1977). The status of a language is not readily measurable but can be inferred by the drawing power it has on both ingroup and outgroup speakers locally, nationally and worldwide. The social prestige of English in the world today is so strong for socioeconomic, scientific and cultural reasons that more and more states are promoting its teaching as a second language from primary school to university (Crystal, 2004). However, as the case of Quebec Anglophones clearly shows, a language community may speak a language that has much prestige and diffusion nationally and internationally, but may nevertheless be a community whose vitality at the regional level is declining demographically, institutionally and as regards its legal status (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004).

The more status a language community is ascribed to have, the more vitality it is likely to possess as a collectivity. Social psychological evidence shows that speakers of high-status groups enjoy a more positive social identity and can more readily mobilize to maintain or improve their vitality position within the state (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Conversely, being a member of a disparaged low-status linguistic group can sap the collective will of minorities to maintain themselves as a distinctive language community, leading to eventual linguistic assimilation. The experience of belonging to a low-status language community can foster a negative social identity to the degree that status differentials between language groups are perpetuated through language stereotypes and prejudices (Bourhis & Maass, 2005; Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982).

The prestige of language groups can also be affected favourably or unfavourably through the adoption of language laws that enshrine the relative status of language communities within multilingual states (Bourhis, 1984; Ricento & Burnaby, 1998). In 1969 the adoption of the Official Languages Act at the federal level and the Official Bilingualism Law in New Brunswick enshrined French/English bilingualism in Canada. These laws improved the status and institutional support for Francophone minorities after decades of provincial laws which often eroded the vitality of such communities across Canada (Fraser, 2006; Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis & Marshall, 1999). In Quebec, the adoption of Bill 101 enhanced the status of French relative to English by declaring French the only official language of the legislature, the courts, statutes and regulations (Corbeil, 2007). Francophones were granted the right to work in French and not be dismissed for the sole reason that they were unilingual French speakers. '*Francisation*' programs were established to prompt business firms and industries of more than fifty employees to adopt French as the language of work and to obtain *francisation* certificates. While guaranteeing English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone pupils and to all immigrant children already in English schools in 1977, Bill 101 stipulated that all future immigrants to Quebec must send their children to French schools while maintaining freedom of language choice for post-secondary education. Members of the Francophone majority were guaranteed the right to receive communications in French when dealing with the provincial administration, health and social services, business and in retail stores. Members of the Anglophone minority were granted the right to receive English services as individuals in the public administration and in selected health institutions and social services. Public signs and commercial advertising in retail stores could be in French only, though languages other than French were allowed on signs related to public safety and humanitarian services. Taken together, Bill 101 regulations enhanced the status and institutional support for the French majority while eroding the status and institutional support of the Anglophone minority in the province (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq,

2004). Faced with a declining demographic base and eroded status and institutional support, the judicial status of Quebec Anglophones remains tenuous thirty years after the adoption of Bill 101 (Foucher, this volume). However, with the adoption of the Constitution Act of 1982, which Quebec has not signed to this day, Section 23 of the constitution guaranteed to Francophones in the ROC and Anglophones in Quebec the right to primary and secondary education in their language, thus improving institutional support in education for official language minorities (Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Thus, while provincial language laws and regulations often eroded the vitality of Francophones in the ROC and Anglophones in Quebec, federal language laws in the last decades sought to equalize and protect the status of official language minorities as a way of maintaining Canadian unity (Fortier, 1994; Fraser, 2006; Schmidt, 1998; Williams, 1998).

The above three dimensions combine to affect in one direction or the other the overall strength or vitality of language communities (Giles et al, 1977). A language group may be weak on demographic variables but strong on institutional support and status factors resulting in a medium vitality position relative to a language minority weak on all three vitality dimensions. Language communities whose overall vitality is strong are more likely to survive as distinctive collective entities than groups whose vitality is weak. Demolinguistic and sociographic data based on the census and other sources such as post-census surveys are used to assess the relative vitality of language communities within particular multilingual settings (Bourhis, 2003a). Such objective assessments of vitality do serve the descriptive and analytic needs to more rigorously compare and contrast the language communities in contact. Given their often precarious position in majority settings, linguistic minorities are even more likely to need the evidence-based assessments of their demographic and institutional vitality than do dominant majorities.

The objective vitality framework was used to describe the relative position of language communities in numerous bilingual and multilingual settings such as: the Anglophones and Francophones of Quebec (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004; Hamers & Hummel, 1994); the Acadians of New Brunswick (Landry & Allard, 1994a, b); Francophone minorities in the ROC (O'Keefe, 2001; Johnson & Doucet, 2006; Landry & Allard, 1996); the Cajuns in Louisiana (Landry, Allard & Henry, 1996); Francophones in Maine's Saint-John Valley (Landry & Allard, 1992b); Hispanics in the USA (Barker et al, 2001); the Catalan in Spain (Atkinson, 2000; Ytsma, Viladot & Giles, 1994); and the Basque in Spain (Azurmendi, Bachoc & Zabaleta, 2001; Azurmendi & Martinez de Luna, 2005, 2006). An overview of conceptual and empirical issues related to the vitality framework was also presented in a number of analyses (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994; Landry & Allard, 1994c).

1.2 Subjective perceptions of group vitality.

How speakers perceive the vitality of their own language community may be as important as 'objective' assessments of group vitality based on census data and measurable institutional support. The subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) was designed to measure group members' assessments of their owngroup vitality and that of other language groups important in their immediate environment (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981). Using the SVQ questionnaire, respondents assess their owngroup vitality and that of other locally important groups on a number of items constituting the demographic, institutional support, and status dimensions of the objective vitality framework. A review of the vitality research using the SVQ showed that overall, group members are realistic in perceiving the vitality position of their own group along the lines suggested by 'objective' assessments of community vitality (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Allard and Landry (1986, 1992, 1994) have developed another approach to measuring vitality beliefs. These beliefs are

categorized as either "exocentric" (focused on the external vitality context) or "egocentric" (focused on the person's beliefs concerning oneself in the vitality situation) and are used to predict language behaviours.

A recent study with Francophone minorities in the ROC showed that perceptions of ingroup subjective vitality was related to the amount of contact with owngroup speakers in the public domains, whereas language contact in private settings such as the home was more strongly related to the strength of the identification to one's own language group (Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006a). This study also showed that subjective community vitality and language identification were related to the desire to be part of one's owngroup community. Another study conducted with Francophone minorities across the ROC showed that the sustained presence of commercial and public signs in French in the local region or neighbourhood (linguistic landscape) was related to Francophone perceptions that their language community had strong vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Studies have also shown that language group members can be biased in their assessments of their owngroup vitality and that of outgroup communities (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993). Such biases do not emerge on obvious differentials between ingroup/outgroup vitality, but are documented on objectively minor vitality differences between contrasting language communities. Three basic types of subjective vitality biases were identified based on our review of the literature (Harwood et al, 1994). Perceptual distortions in favour of ingroup vitality occur when language groups exaggerate the strength of their owngroup vitality while underestimating the vitality of the outgroup. It is usually comforting to believe that one's own language group is better off than the other language groups in one's immediate environment. Non-consensual vitality perceptions occur when contrasting language groups disagree not only on the degree of difference between

groups, but also on the direction of such difference. Perceptual distortions in favour of outgroup vitality involve language groups who underestimate the vitality of their owngroup while exaggerating the vitality of the outgroup. Both motivational (ingroup-favouring bias) and cognitive factors (availability and vividness heuristics) help account for these perceptual distortions of group vitality (Sachdev & Bourhis 1993).

Why do some language groups underestimate the vitality of their owngroup while exaggerating the strength of competing outgroups? The Quebec case study offers some suggestions. In Quebec, there is a long tradition amongst Francophone sovereignty leaders to exaggerate the threat to the French language due to the presence of English-speaking minorities such as Anglophones (8%) and Allophones (12%) in the province. This feeling of linguistic threat is heightened when Francophone activists point out that French mother tongue speakers are likely to become a minority on the island of Montreal if present immigration trends prevail. It is pointed out that "*nous perdons Montréal*": we are losing Montreal. Thus Francophone activists focus on demographic trends on the island of Montreal, while underestimating the strong majority position of French mother tongue speakers in the greater Montreal region. Francophone activists also point out that, though Francophones are the majority in Quebec (80% French mother tongue), Quebec Francophones constitute less than 25% of the Canadian population, while in North America, Quebec Francophones are an endangered minority of just over 1% of the continental population. By shifting the territorial base of Francophones from the province of Quebec to Canada as a whole, and then to the North American continent, the endangered minority position of Quebec Francophones is highlighted, with the effect of minimizing the vitality position of the Francophone majority in Quebec. French language activists also tend to bemoan the fact that many Anglophones, Allophones and immigrants do not use French in private settings such as the home, asserting that Bill

101 has failed to assimilate minorities, thus further endangering the vitality position of French and the Francophone majority in Quebec. Least likely to be mentioned by French language activists is that, since the adoption of Bill 101, as much as 94% of the Quebec population declared they had a knowledge of French in the 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006 Canadian census. Basically, emphasizing the threatened vitality of the French language in Quebec and North America is seen as an effective lever for maintaining the mobilization of Francophone nationalists in the quest to separate Quebec from Canada. It is considered that only separation can protect the endangered position of French and guarantee its Francophone majority total institutional control in Quebec. Thus, ideological causes may be served not only by exaggerating the vitality of one's own language community, but may in other circumstances be better served by exaggerating the endangered or weakening vitality of the ingroup language and its community of speakers. Subjective perceptions of owngroup and outgroup vitality are therefore not static but rather are malleable social constructions which may shift depending on social group membership, perceived threats and fluctuating socio-political circumstances (Giles, 2001).

2. The cultural autonomy model

Fishman (1991, 2001) proposed that language groups that do not aspire to political independence may nevertheless aspire to different degrees of linguistic and cultural autonomy. In Fishman's model of reversing language shift (RLS), cultural autonomy is relatively well attained when one's language is well secured in a "home-family-neighbourhood-community" nexus and widely used in the public domains (e.g., media, education, business, government). Using both the group vitality framework and the reversing language shift model, Landry (in press a) proposes a three component model of cultural autonomy (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007a, b). This model encompasses the three categories of structural factors defining group vitality while also showing their dynamic

interactions in such a way that they can be related to the group's collective identity and active participation within the group's cultural and social institutions. The model can also be used in language planning activities in order to determine relevant interventions that would help language minorities reach higher levels of cultural autonomy and institutional support.

As seen in Figure 2, the cultural autonomy model can also be used by language minorities to define a socio-political project aimed at maintaining or increasing its institutional support within civil society. The model can be applied locally for a given linguistic community or more generally in a given multilingual state. This could depend, as discussed below, on the nature and type of governance structure in which the group operates. According to the model, this community project is largely influenced by the group's collective identity which becomes instrumental in mobilizing the group's collective action. The collective identity of the group is the basis for the nature and scope of community or group projects (Breton, 1983). Without a strong collective identity, projects may be limited in scope and lack linkage with other components of a more global mobilization plan. When the collective identity of the group is mobilized on legitimate needs through the media, education and community groups, action plans can be developed for improving formal institutional vitality. When collective identity is weak and lacks focus, collective action can be hampered. However, although collective identity is the foundation of group action, this identity can be strengthened by the results of various interventions and by the changing conditions in the various formal and informal components defining community vitality and cultural autonomy.

Cultural autonomy has three components and is defined in terms of the degree of control a language community has within cultural and social institutions related to its language and cultural vitality. Cultural autonomy also refers to the

Figure 2: A Cultural Autonomy Model for language minorities

degree of self-governance a community exercises in a socio-political context that includes social proximity within the group and the ideological legitimacy of the group. As seen in Figure 2, institutional control,[1] social proximity and ideological legitimacy interact with each other and with collective identity in ways that can reinforce or weaken overall cultural autonomy. In order to better understand these interactions we now describe each of these components.

Social proximity is closely related to the role of demographic factors in the community vitality framework (Giles et al, 1977) but it focuses on factors that define what Fishman (1990, 1991, 2001) has called the "home-family-neighbourhood-community" nexus. Fishman argued that this community life nexus is the most basic and necessary foundation for language and cultural survival. We agree with Fishman that L1 family language use and frequent L1 language contacts with neighbours and other community group members is the foundation of cultural autonomy and group vitality. We have called this component "social proximity" because it provides the primary socialization in the minority group language (L1) essential for intergenerational language and cultural transmission as well as language group identity development. The social proximity nexus also stresses the importance of optimal territorial concentration of group members which provides the intimate social networks that create 'ingroup solidarity' domains of language use. In a minority-majority context, the diglossic nature of intergroup communication is such that the minority language is often at best a 'language of solidarity' mostly restricted to private and informal use. In contrast, the language of the dominant group is a 'language of status': the language most often used in public and formal societal contexts (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2006, 2007a). Social proximity also connotes the need for minority language group members to

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[1] Institutional completeness (Breton, 1964) is the term used in Landry's cultural autonomy model (Landry in press a). The model was elaborated to discuss self-governance issues related to linguistic vitality. In this text (as well as in Figure 2), the term institutional control is used to reinforce the conceptual similarities between the cultural autonomy model and the group vitality framework and also to avoid confusion between concepts that are highly synonymous.

reside in close proximity to their cultural institutions such as the school, the church, the community and leisure centre. This social proximity hub provides access to viable social milieus that foster cultural and language contacts with other ingroup speakers (Gilbert, Langlois, Landry & Aunger, 2005; Gilbert & Langlois, 2006). All these different aspects of social proximity contribute to what Fishman (1989) has called the minority group's community life. In the proposed model, three important aspects of language socialization constitute the social proximity component and contribute to language use and language group identification: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization (Landry, Allard, Deveau & Bourgeois, 2005; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007a, in press).

In order to attain a higher degree of cultural autonomy, it is important that language use in "solidarity" domains be maintained but also that the group be able to experience and expand its language and culture in "status" domains (Bourhis, 1979). Consonant with the group vitality framework (Giles et al, 1977), the degree of institutional support achieved by a language minority can favour language use in both private (at home, among friends) and public settings such as education, health, media, the work world and in government administration. Social proximity is necessary for the language of the group to become a 'language of solidarity' while institutional support is necessary for the group's language to become a 'language of status' (Fishman, 1991, 2001). Institutional support provides the societal setting which allows minority group speakers to move beyond diglossia: that is, for such speakers to experience their language in important social domains that contribute to their upward mobility and group status (Landry, in press a), Indeed, research has shown that use of the language in public domains and the presence of the minority language in the linguistic landscape such as commercial signs, road signs and street names contribute to the perceived vitality of the minority

community and increased use of the ingroup language amongst friends and within social institutions (Bourhis & Landry, 2002; Landry & Allard, 1994b, 1996; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006a).

The third component of the cultural autonomy model is akin to the group status factor defined in the group vitality framework (Giles et al, 1977; Bourhis et al, 1981). This component, called 'ideological legitimacy' adds to the 'status vitality' of the group, the notion of the group's legitimacy in society (Bourdieu, 1982, 2001; Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001). Ideological legitimacy focuses on the degree to which the State and its citizens recognize the status and legitimacy of the language minority. A number of theorists have argued, on philosophical and ethical grounds, that liberal theory does recognize different linguistic and cultural rights for different types of minority groups (Kymlicka, 1995; Williams, 1998). National minorities which have a grounded history in society and important ties with a particular territory (e.g., Canada's Aboriginal groups and the two founding nations) would have more rights to self-government and hence to a higher degree of cultural autonomy and institutional support than other cultural groups based on more recent immigration. National minorities have rights to self-government whereas immigrant communities have rights to integration. Thériault (1994, 2007) describes the Francophones outside Quebec and the Anglophones in Quebec as different from national minorities but also different from ethnocultural minorities (as defined by Kymlicka, 1995). Yet, they are part of Canada's two 'founding nations' of French-Canadians and English-Canadians which were at the source of the Confederation agreement and now constitute 'official language' minorities enshrined in the Official Languages Act of 1969. However, the notion of 'two founding peoples' has been contested in Canada during the last two decades as the reality of immigration, multiculturalism and multilingualism has taken hold in Canada's large urban centres where no majorities exist and where cultural and

ethnic minorities co-exist and interact on a daily basis using English as a *lingua franca* (Fleras & Elliott, 1996).

The ideological legitimacy component combines the construct of ideology (Van Dijk, 1998) and that of legitimacy as formulated by Bourdieu (1982) and Tajfel (1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Fishman (1991, 2001) argued that all positions for or against the language and cultural vitality of different groups including neutral positions or positions of indifference are basically ideological. Within the RLS model, Fishman affirms that "ideological clarification" is of utmost importance when conducting language planning for the revival of language minorities. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) discussed how different societal ideologies related to language and culture have contributed in some cases to the enhancement of language and cultures and in others to linguistic and cultural genocide.

As seen in Figure 3, Bourhis (2001a) proposed a continuum of ideological orientations that states or regions can adopt in their language policies toward minority language groups. These range from pluralism at one end of the ideological continuum to the 'ethnist' ideology at the opposite pole of the continuum (Bourhis et al, 2007). The pluralism ideology implies that the dominant majority values the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of its minorities and is ready to modify or even transform some of its state institutions and practices for the sake of accommodating the needs of its linguistic minorities (e.g., Canadian Official Languages Act, 1969). The civic ideology is characterized by an official state policy of non-intervention and non-

support of minority languages and cultures, though this ideology does respect the right of linguistic minorities to organize collectively using their own private means in order to maintain or develop their respective linguistic and cultural distinctiveness as minorities. In effect, the civic ideology promotes the development of the dominant language and culture financially and institutionally, while denying linguistic minorities access to such institutional support by the State. The assimilation ideology expects linguistic minorities to abandon their distinctive language for the sake of adopting the language and culture of the dominant majority constituting the historical core of the State. While some states expect this linguistic and cultural assimilation to occur voluntarily and gradually across the generations, other states impose assimilation through specific laws and regulations that limit or repress public manifestations of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Usually it is the economically and politically dominant majority that is most successful in imposing its own language and culture as the valued 'founding myth' of the assimilationist state. While the ethnist ideology encourages or forces linguistic minorities to give up their own language and culture, this ideology makes it difficult for minorities to ever be accepted legally or socially as authentic members of the dominant majority no matter how much such minorities have assimilated linguistically and culturally to the dominant group. The ethnist ideology usually defines 'who can be' and 'who should be' citizens of the state in ethnically-exclusive terms based on ancestral and linguistic heritage. In extreme cases, the ethnist ideology upholds that linguistic minorities are so distant culturally and linguistically that they
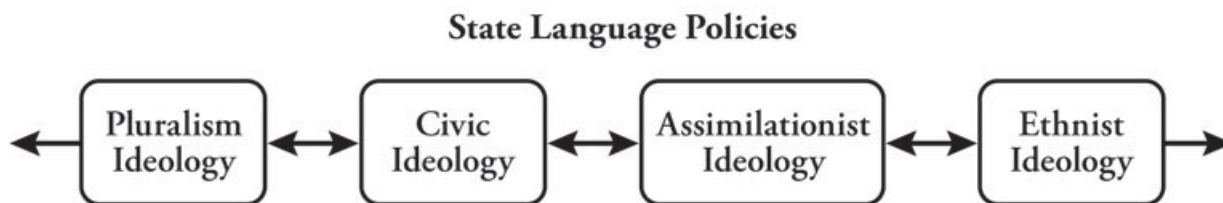
State Language Policies

Figure 3: Continuum of language planning ideologies towards linguistic minorities

represent a threat to the authenticity and purity of the dominant majority and that such minorities should be segregated in special enclaves (apartheid, reserves), expelled from the national territory (ethnic cleansing) or physically eliminated (genocide).

Depending on economic, political and demographic trends, government decision-makers can shift language policies from one ideological orientation to the other within the continuum depicted in Figure 3. Language policies can be more progressive or less tolerant than the views held by the dominant majority and its linguistic minorities. Through its institutional control of education and media, the State can influence public attitudes concerning the legitimacy of the ideological position it has adopted and can foster harmonious, problematic or hostile climates of relations between the dominant majority and its linguistic minorities (Bourhis, 2001a). Ultimately, language policies can have a substantial impact on the language use, language maintenance and language loss of linguistic minorities as they adapt within accepting or intolerant majority group environments.

However, ideological legitimacy may involve more than ideological orientations, linguistic rights, language policies and political support. Bourdieu (1982, 2001) proposed that languages compete in a "linguistic market" and that linguistic minorities may perceive their language to have more or less legitimacy in society according to the symbolic value of their language in this market. Minority speakers who do not perceive their language to have high value in this market may even disparage their own language and strive to learn and use society's more "legitimate" language or languages (Bourhis, 1994b). Ideological legitimacy is, therefore, not only related to government institutional support, but also to support by outgroup and ingroup citizens who endorse positive attitudes toward minority languages by learning and using them (O'Keefe, 2001). In civil society, corporate groups and private businesses may also support

minority languages by promoting their use in the workplace and in industrial and commercial establishments. Use of the minority group's language in public domains including the linguistic landscape, as already noted, can be strongly related to group members' subjective vitality. This has been a contentious issue in Quebec, especially in relation to the question of the linguistic landscape of Montreal (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). The subjective vitality construct could indeed be extended to designate not only the group's perceived status but also the perceived legitimacy of the group's language in society. Although having access to one's minority language in the cultural and the social institutions that are governed by one's own group (e.g., schools) can certainly contribute to group members' subjective vitality, perceiving that one's language is legitimate in society as a whole is certainly related to a sense of valued citizenship and societal value for linguistic minorities.

The three components of the cultural autonomy model, as already mentioned, interact and reinforce each other in the cultural autonomy process. Each component contributes to a stronger collective group identity. As shown in Figure 2, a strong social proximity component will reinforce community participation in the group's cultural and social institutions. For example, although section 23 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the right to schools in the minority language for Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec, children raised in families that do not speak the minority language at home (even though their parents are right holders) often do not attend the group's educational institutions. A recent Statistics Canada study (Corbeil et al, 2007) shows that only 49 % of the children of Francophone right holders attend minority schools. These same families whose children do not attend the minority language schools will also tend not to participate in other local Francophone institutions. Nonetheless, interaction between social proximity and institutional control is a two-way process. Strong leadership among community leaders within civil

society may increase community participation in the formal and informal institutions of the linguistic minority (Wardhaugh, 1987). For example, minority group leaders in education, in the media, and in the business world may exert strong influences on the participation of linguistic minorities in their own community activities and institutions. This leadership may indeed lead to the creation of other institutional support (e.g., health services, media) that will, in turn, promote more community participation. This two way interdependence between the social proximity component (i.e., the "home-family-neighbourhood-community" nexus) and the institutional control component may also impinge on the group's collective identity and foster more synergy in collective action.

Schools have been described as the most fundamental institution in the cultural autonomy process (Landry, in press a; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007b). On the one hand, from a socialization perspective, it is strongly connected to the social proximity process. For instance, minority language schooling has been shown to be as strongly related in ingroup identity development as the family and social network (Landry & Allard, 1996). On the other hand, it is from participation within the linguistic minority educational institutions that most of the group's human capital will emerge, which will, in turn, nourish and empower all of the group's institutional leadership.

As can be seen in Figure 2, the interactions between institutional control and ideological legitimacy are also of interest. Civil society leaders and community architects involved in community institutional development may influence government decision-makers to improve the minority group governance structure and increase government funding for the institutional support of the linguistic minority (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001; Forgues, 2007). As proposed within the ideological continuum analysis, minority group leaders may be more effective in swaying government decision-makers in favour of broadening institutional support in states that have already adopted

language policies reflecting the pluralism ideology (Figure 3). By improving community representation in the governance structure of the state and through effective leadership and communication (via the media) with community members, linguistic minorities may become more conscious and mobilized relative to relevant community needs. Collective action may then improve the group's ideological legitimacy by broadening linguistic rights and improving minority government services. However, community architects may have little influence on government decision-makers in settings where the state has adopted language policies reflecting the assimilationist or ethnist ideology towards linguistic minorities. In such states, minority group activists who advocate improved institutional support for their linguistic minority group may be repressed (house arrest, jail) by the state security apparatus, and may cause a backlash from the dominant majority through government cancellation of already weak minority institutional support, thus mortgaging present and future prospects for the survival of language minorities. The governance structure that regulates the relationship between the community and the state and how the minority participates in the decision-making concerning its own destiny are also important outcome and mobilization factors in the developmental process of cultural autonomy (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001; Cardinal & Juillet, 2005).

As seen in Figure 2, the ideological legitimacy component and the social proximity component also interact. For example, when community members reside in close physical proximity with their institutions and are actively involved in the group's community life, they can more easily justify their need for government programs and services. In turn, linguistic rights and active support by the State influence the group members' perceptions of their legitimacy in society, which may also influence collective identity. For example, when the group language is visible in the public linguistic landscape, linguistic minorities tend to have more positive beliefs concerning their group vitality (Landry &

Bourhis, 1997). Community members may also influence the linguistic attitudes and behaviours of private institutions when they demand services in the minority language. The provision of these services reinforces subjective vitality and positively contributes to the group's collective identity.

In conclusion, one may ask which components of the cultural autonomy model contribute most to the group's vitality. An initial answer is that the cultural autonomy approach views all three components as essential. Put simply, they act as the three legs of a tripod. When one of the legs is weakened, the whole tripod structure is weakened. Collective identification is an additional support to the tripod, connecting each of the legs, holding them together and solidifying the structure. In other words, institutional support alone cannot foster collective identification and intergenerational language transmission. Institutions cannot survive without active community participation and, unless the linguistic minority has ample human and financial resources and no constraints on its societal legitimacy, it cannot attain a high degree of institutional control without acquiring State support and group rights. Social proximity, although the basis for intergenerational language transmission and identity development, could support "community life" if the group were socially isolated but, in a minority intergroup context, community members will tend to disparage their language and culture when it is not recognized by society (ideological legitimacy) and will tend not to develop a strong collective identity without some degree of institutional control over their collective goals. Government and other societal leaders will tend to be passive in promoting minority group cultural autonomy when groups feel disempowered and when community leadership is weak (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006).

Although all three cultural autonomy components are essential, it is useful to stress the basic importance of social proximity as the basis of cultural autonomy. The greater Moncton area in New Brunswick provides a concrete example. New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province in Canada and both Francophones and Anglophones have constitutionally recognized collective rights to control schools and other cultural institutions (section 16.1 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms). Indeed, in the Moncton region, Francophones have access to several primary schools and two secondary schools, a community college and a university, all under Francophone self-governance. They can tune in to several French-language radio and television programs and have access to one daily newspaper and several weekly papers in French. They have relatively easy access to health services in French and have a French-language hospital. A rich cultural life is readily available in the area (theatre, music, art and literature); a French-language film festival is held annually. Movie theatres tend to show English-only cinema, with few exceptions. The linguistic landscape tends to be English-dominant. Services in the private institutions tend to be bilingual in certain establishments but French services are not always guaranteed. Three municipalities which are in very close proximity constitute the greater Moncton area: Moncton, 63,000 residents, 30% French; Dieppe, 18,000 residents, 75% French and Riverview, 17,500 residents, 7.5% French. Francophones in all three municipalities have good access to most Francophone institutions. However, only Dieppe offers strong demographic concentration; transfer of mother tongue by Francophone parents in this city in 2001 was 92%. Moncton, although 30% French-speaking, has few neighbourhoods that are French-dominant; transfer of French mother tongue by Francophone parents was 56%. Riverview's Francophone population is small and weakly concentrated; French mother tongue transfer was only 11% (Statistics Canada 2001 census data calculated by Landry, 2003 and made available on the *Commission national des parents francophones* website: CNPS.ca). Although the actual trends are surely more complex, one cannot help but notice that strong community concentration of the Francophone population seems to provide the strong social proximity

Figure 4a

**A Provisional Wellness-Illness Assessment of Language Communities
in Western Europe and North America**

(Adapted from Bourhis, 1999)

High
Demographic
Vitality

Quadrant 4

Stable but
Problematic Illness

Inuktitut
in Arctic Québec

Navajo in South-West U.S.

Quadrant 1

Recovering to
Full Wellness

Catalan in Spain

Low
Institutional
Support

High
Institutional
Support

Alsatian in France

Basque in Spain

Basque in France

Gælic in Scotland

Welsh in Wales

Stable but
Problematic Illness

Critical Illness Condition

Quadrant 3
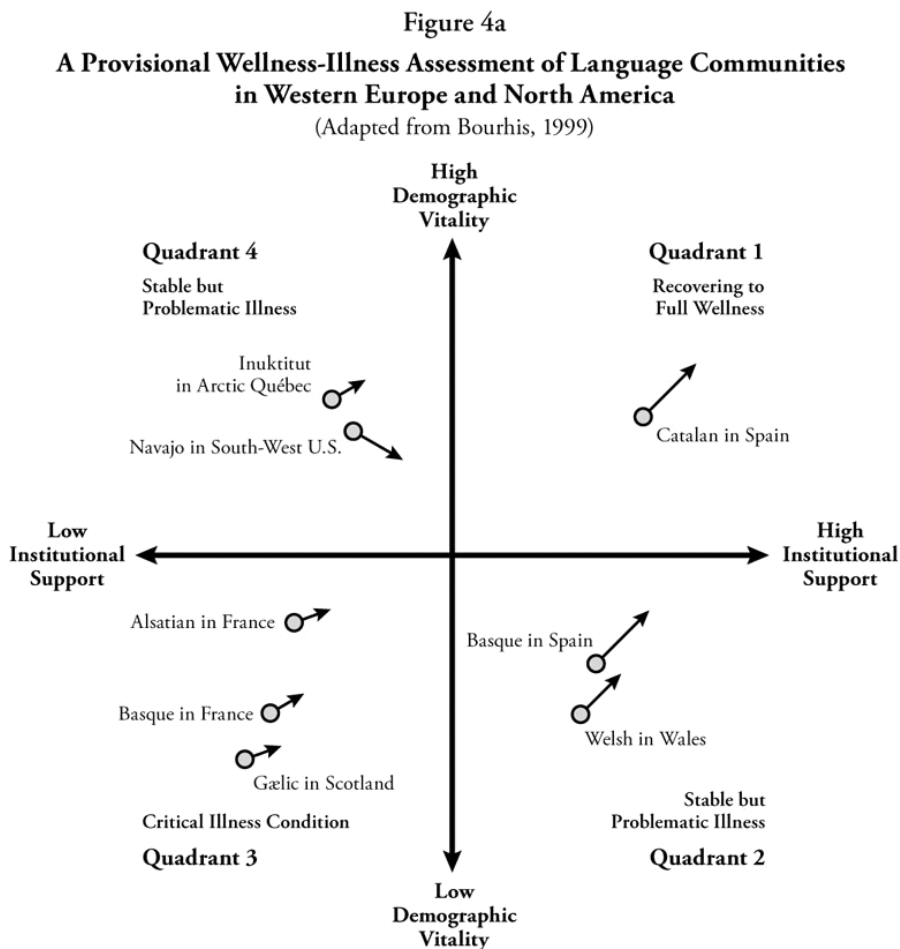
Quadrant 2

Low
Demographic
Vitality

Figure 4a: The wellness of selected linguistic minorities in Europe (adapted from Bourhis, 1999)

needed to foster a high rate of language and cultural transmission to the next generation.

3. The wellness of selected linguistic minorities in Europe and Canada

We now move to a more tenuous section of this chapter and seek to consider the development prospects of selected language minorities by taking into consideration three elements: a) their respective group vitality as discussed in section one of the chapter; b) the ideological premises of the language laws which govern their relations with dominant language majorities in their respective settings; and c) their cultural autonomy community mobilization situation as discussed in section 2 of the chapter. In Figure 4a we will briefly position the

linguistic minorities which were represented during a 1999 conference on minority languages held in Bilbao, Basque Country (Bourhis, 1999). In Figure 4b we will situate selected official language communities in Canada, namely: selected Francophone communities in the rest of Canada (ROC) and selected Anglophone communities situated in different regions of Quebec. The following analysis is illustrative and not meant to be definitive or prescriptive as regards the fate of the selected linguistic minorities included in this section.

As can be seen in Figure 4a, we have organized a two-dimensional space consisting of a vertical axis made up of demographic vitality which is very high at the top of the axis, medium in the middle and

very low at the bottom of the continuum. Perpendicular to this vertical axis, Figure 4a shows a horizontal axis consisting of the institutional support achieved by language minorities, with very low institutional support depicted at the left of the axis, medium institutional support in the middle and very high institutional support situated at the right of the continuum. Using the wellness-illness metaphor used at the Bilbao conference, the four quadrants of the two-dimensional space can be labelled as follows:

Quadrant 1, recovering to full wellness: in this space we situate language communities that enjoy medium to high demographic vitality and also have achieved medium to strong institutional support in many domains of vitality.

Quadrant 2, stable but problematic illness: in this quadrant we situate language minorities that remain below medium to very low demographic vitality but who are recovering with medium to high institutional support.

Quadrant 3, critical illness condition: in this quadrant we situate language minorities that are not only weak in demographic vitality but who also suffer from low medium to very low institutional support.

Quadrant 4, stable but problematic illness: in this space we situate language minorities who have maintained medium to high demographic vitality but who suffer from less than medium to very low institutional support.

As seen in Figure 4a, we begin clockwise in Quadrant 1 with the case of the Catalan language minority in Spain, whose strong demographic vitality and high institutional support within Catalonia is well known. Overall, policies adopted by the Language Policy Directorate of the Government of Catalonia have been quite successful in reversing language shift, though room for improvement remains (Strubell, 2001). The Spanish constitution obliges all citizens of Spain to know and use the Spanish language in public, including communications with the national administration. However, the creation of Bilingual Autonomous Communities in 1978 allowed citizens in Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Galicia and the Basque Country to also learn and speak their ancestral regional languages in some public settings including education and the public administration. Thus, unlike the Canadian situation where official language minorities are allowed to remain unilingual in French or English, the Spanish constitution requires knowledge of Castilian Spanish as the national language and offers bilingualism as a regional option. Recall that during the Franco regime regional languages such as Catalan, Euskara (Basque) and Galician were banned from public use including schooling, the workplace and the public administration. Note that the length and direction of the arrows depicted in Figure 4a are meant to convey our estimate of the degree of collective mobilization effort (political, financial and institutional) exerted by language communities for increasing their institutional support and demographic vitality in the given bilingual or multilingual setting. As illustrated in the first quadrant of Figure 4a, such efforts have been quite substantial in Catalonia.

Threatened language communities whose demographic vitality is somewhat low but nevertheless has achieved a good measure of institutional support can be situated in Quadrant 2 of Figure 4a. By the end of the Franco regime, which applied a strong policy of linguistic assimilation, the Basque community had suffered considerable loss in inter-generational transmission of Euskara in their ancestral territory (Azurmendi et al, 2001). However, following the adoption of the new Spanish constitution in 1978, the Basque mobilized collectively to gain much institutional support for their language, especially in education, the mass media, and as the language of the public administration (Azurmendi & Martinez de Luna, 2005, 2006). Recent sociolinguistic surveys suggest that language loss may be reversing or at least stabilizing (Bourhis, 2003b), while the sociolinguistic situation must still be depicted as being one of 'problematic illness'.

Though the Welsh language minority suffered from assimilationist language policies adopted by the British government in the last two centuries, British constitutional developments in the 1990s granting regional autonomy for Wales offered new opportunities for language revival. The mobilization of Welsh language activists and the application of language policies in favour of Welsh institutional support by the Welsh Office now situates this minority in the 'stable but problematic illness' quadrant of our diagnostic model presented in Figure 4a.

Another sociolinguistic context leading to the diagnostic of 'stable but problematic illness' is that depicted in Quadrant 4 of Figure 4a. Geographically isolated language communities may have medium demographic vitality by virtue of the concentration of its speakers in a specific regional enclave or territory. Here, demographic concentration within a given territory under the control of the language community (e.g., reserves) can compensate for low demographic numbers in absolute terms. However, lack of formal and informal institutional support would situate such linguistic minorities in the 'stable but problematic illness' quadrant of Figure 4a. Though no obvious examples of such cases were presented at the Bilbao congress, examples of language minorities in such a position could be those of Aboriginal groups in the 'New World'. However, Aboriginal groups even within their reserve or isolated territory, but who lack institutional support, are subjected to increasing pressure to assimilate linguistically and culturally as they come in contact with the modernizing influence of economically and demographically dominant language groups. The Navajo in reserves of the Southwest United States (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001) and Inuktitut in isolated extreme climatic environments of Arctic Quebec (Louis & Taylor, 2001) could be situated in this quadrant of the model. However, sustained contact and linguistic assimilation to the White-dominant language majority may shift such threatened language minorities to the third quadrant of the model: the 'critical illness' condition.

As can be seen in Quadrant 3, threatened language groups whose demographic vitality is low often have difficulty convincing the dominant language majority that institutional support should be provided for such language minorities. Thus, despite considerable minority group mobilization to influence dominant group decision-makers in favour of even modest gains in institutional support, entrenched assimilationist language policies may easily obviate such efforts and may even result in the police repression of such minority language activism. In addition, as in the case of France, a dominant language majority can create founding myths legitimizing the linguistic assimilation of its regional language minorities by invoking that only the genius of the French language and culture can carry the values of equality, liberty and modernity (Citron, 1987). Two centuries of officially enforcing the assimilationist policy of French unilingualism in the education system, the public administration, the army and mass media contributed to the inter-generational dislocation of regional languages such as Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, and Occitan in France (Lodge, 1993; Bourhis, 1997). Though some teaching of regional languages was achieved through the sustained mobilization of regional language minorities, the current French government policy of slowly but surely eroding the vitality of regional linguistic minorities has the intended effect of keeping such communities in the 'critical illness condition'. To this day, France stands alone in Europe in its refusal to ratify the 'European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages', a situation that does not bode well for the revival of regional languages in France (Plasseraud, 2005).

The Gaelic language minority suffered as the Welsh from assimilationist language policies adopted by the British government in the last two centuries, but also suffered historically from the Highland Clearing Act which dispersed Gaelic speakers from Scotland. The British constitutional developments in the 1990s granting regional autonomy for Scotland may be too late to compensate for the substantial erosion of Gaelic in

Figure 4b

A Provisional Wellness-Illness Assessment of Francophone and Anglophone Communities in Canada
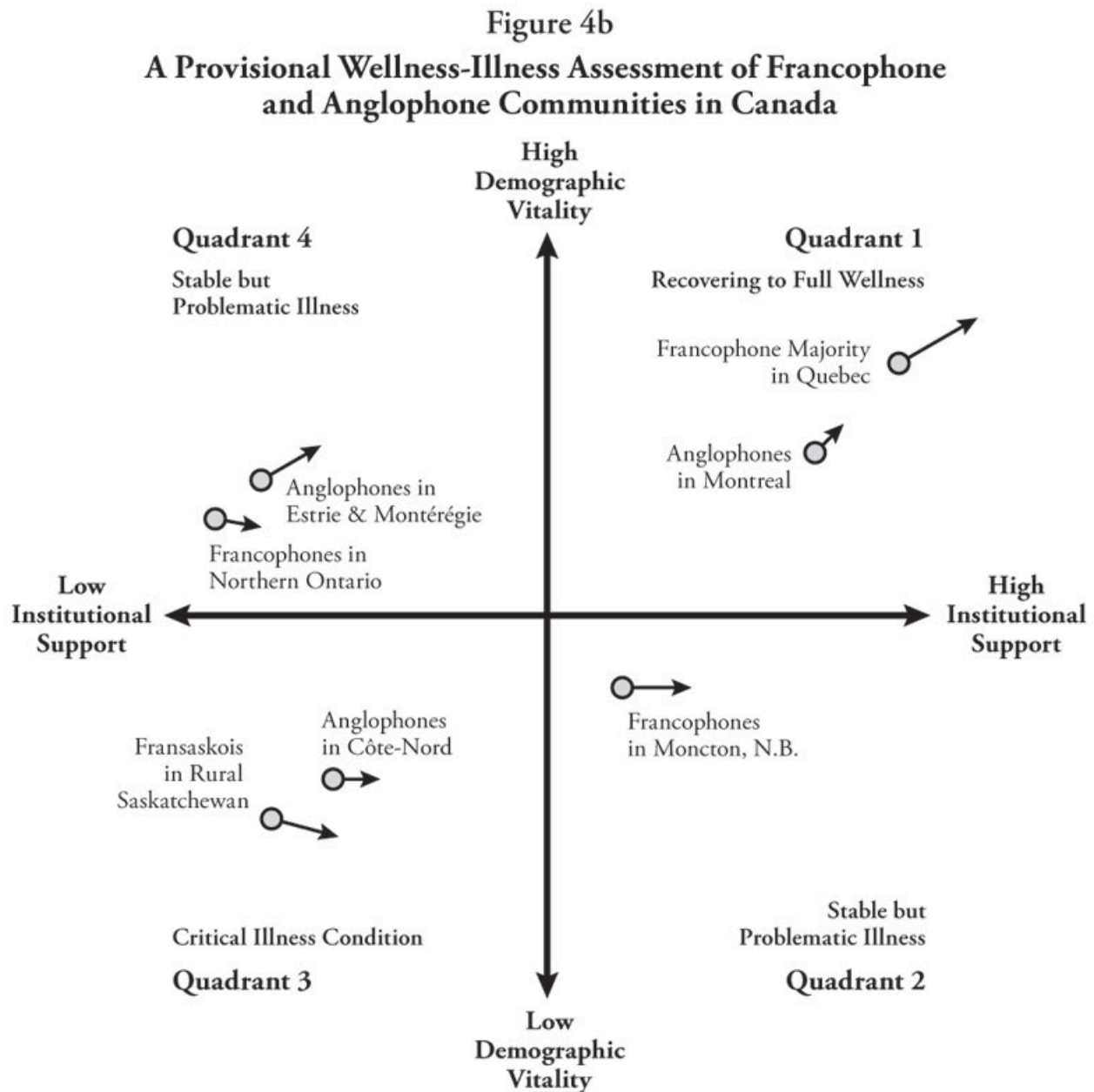

Figure 4b: The wellness of selected Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canada

Scotland, which may have already reached a 'point of no return'.

The tentative assessment of community mobilization and language planning efforts to bolster the demographic and institutional support of official language minorities in Canada is presented in Figure 4b. Clearly, one can situate the Francophone majority of Quebec in Quadrant 1 of our framework: recovering to full wellness. According to the 2006 census, Quebec Francophone demography is substantial, with 5.9 million French mother tongue speakers representing close to 80% of the population, and over 6 million speakers using French at home, representing close to 82% of the provincial population (2006 census). As the dominant majority of Quebec, more than 50% of Quebec citizens can afford to stay unilingual French in the province, with French-English bilingualism slowly rising from 26% in 1971 to 36% in 2006. Language laws such as Bill 101 enshrined the institutional control of the

French majority, thus guaranteeing a virtually total institutional support for the Francophone majority in the public administration, education, health and social services, the judiciary and most of the business and commercial activity of the province (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004). The success of Bill 101 is embodied by the fact that knowledge of French in the provincial population was 93.6% in the 1991 Census and rose to 95.5% in the 2006 census. By worldwide language planning standards, this is a victory for the French fact in Quebec.

Amongst the Francophone minority communities in the rest of Canada, we find almost the full spectrum of vitality on the wellness-illness continuum. For example, the Acadian community of New Brunswick is in itself a microcosm of the Canadian context (Allard & Landry, 1998; Landry & Allard, 1994a, 1994b). Several communities are almost 100% French (e.g., Caraquet and St-Quentin), a large portion of the population is unilingual, community and public activities are in French and linguistic assimilation is absent. At the other end of the continuum, we find small Francophone populations where the amount of language transfer is very high despite considerable institutional support. In cities such as Saint John and Fredericton, the population size is greater but demographic concentration is weak and institutional support is weak. However, school community centres provide community activities for Francophones that identify positively with the Francophone community (Harrison, 2007). Outside of New Brunswick, vitality ranges from moderately high to very weak.

Quadrant 2, a situation of stable but problematic illness due to moderately low demographic vitality and moderate to high institutional support, adequately defines the situation of the Francophones in the city of Moncton. As mentioned in the previous section, the Moncton area is well endowed with many Francophone institutions. Moncton is often described as the urban cultural capital of Acadia.

Yet, only 30% of the population is French, exogamy is relatively high and the assimilation rate of Francophones is approximately 20%. Moncton is indeed a good example of a context where a population could be overly confident about its vitality and not be sufficiently aware of its social proximity needs in the demographic domain.

Francophones in Northern Ontario can be situated in Quadrant 4 of our wellness-illness framework: stable but problematic illness. Many Francophones in this area live in predominantly French-speaking communities. They have access to French schools, a French community college, a bilingual university (Laurentian University in Sudbury), some health services in French, French-language television and radio and several other cultural activities. Yet, for example, media contacts among its Francophone youth remain very predominantly English, and many students attending the Francophone schools do not speak French at home; Francophone identity is moderately high, but their desire to integrate into the Anglophone community is as strong as their desire to integrate the Francophone community (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007c).

Francophones in Maine's Saint John Valley and in Southwestern Louisiana are examples of communities that had moderate to high demographic vitality in the past, but due to sustained U.S. assimilation policies have suffered a chronic lack of institutional support and must be considered prototypical examples of Quadrant 3: critical illness condition (Landry & Allard, 1992b; Landry, Allard & Henry, 1996). In Canada, mainly in the Western and Atlantic provinces, there are many small Francophone communities that survived due to geographical isolation but which now are either almost completely assimilated or struggling to survive, schools being the only institutions under Francophone control (Landry & Magord, 1992; Magord, 1995; Magord, Landry & Allard, 2002) With many of their youth migrating to urban centres, the assimilation rate is high and increasing in these Francophone communities (Beaudin &

Landry, 2003; Forgues, Bérubé & Cyr, 2007). For example, in Saskatchewan, the ratio of persons 65 years and older to persons 15 years and younger is 0.50 for Anglophones, but 4.14 for Francophones (Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). In other words, on average, in the Francophone communities of Saskatchewan there are more than four times the number of people 65 years and older than there are of youths 15 years and under, a very problematic situation indeed.

Where can we situate the various English-speaking communities of Quebec in our wellness-illness framework presented in Figure 4b? Based on first official language spoken, Quebec Anglophones constituted in 2001 about 1 million speakers of various ethnic backgrounds, thus constituting 14% of the Quebec population. However, based on English mother tongue census data, Anglophones numbered 591,380 individuals in Quebec, thus constituting only 8.3% of the provincial population (Jedwab, this volume). By international standards, one would be tempted to situate all Quebec Anglophone communities in the bottom half of Figure 4b, simply because this minority constitutes much less than half the overall population of Quebec. However, for our tentative analysis we will consider the vitality of Quebec Anglophone communities relative to each other rather than relative to the overwhelming Francophone mother tongue majority in the province.

With this approach in mind, we can situate Anglophones living on the island of Montreal within Quadrant 1 of our model: recovering to full wellness, but obviously with less wellness than the Quebec Francophone majority also situated in this quadrant. In Montreal, Anglophones with English as first official language spoken numbered close to 600,000 individuals in 2001, and benefited from the greatest concentration of institutional support in the province. However, we know that institutional support for Anglophones in Montreal is declining (school and hospital closures), while community mobilization is recovering following the demise of Alliance Quebec. The Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative (GMCDI) represents a new impetus for community mobilization which reinforces existing sectoral Anglophone mobilization in education, business, health and social services (see Jedwab & Maynard, this volume).

Anglophone communities in the 'historical Eastern townships' made up of the Montérégie and Estrie regions can be situated in Quadrant 4 of our model: 'stable but problematic illness'. Anglophones in the Eastern townships constitute the second largest English-speaking population base in the province. Though it is home to over 150,000 individuals with English as first official language spoken, the region lost 8000 Anglophones between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. With Bishop's University, Champlain College, three English-language high schools and vocational schooling, educational support remains stable, though a fourth high school would shorten bussing time for many Anglophone students. Two bilingual-status hospitals remain open in this large territory after the closure of Sherbrooke hospital in 1996. English services in major French hospitals of the region remain available, though voluntary. Thus, despite community mobilization on the part of numerous Anglophone community groups including the Townshipper's Association, institutional support is weaker than in Montreal and declining. We leave it to our zealous readers to identify Quebec Anglophone communities also situated in the 'stable but problematic illness' condition but found in Quadrant 2 of our framework.

Anglophones living in the Côte-Nord region of Quebec can be situated in Quadrant 3 of our model by virtue of their weak demographic and institutional support circumstances. Only 5750 Anglophones with English as a first official language inhabited the region in the 2001 census, and the region lost 355 Anglophones in the 1996 to 2001 census period. Anglophones in the region are isolated geographically and only 38% were bilingual according to the 2001 census, compared to the

66% rate of bilingualism amongst Anglophones across the province. With a frail and struggling community mobilization structure, institutional support for English speakers in the region is weak, This community is faced with costly and difficult travel links, though efforts are being made to improve communication networks with Anglophones in other parts of the province. With one of the highest Anglophone unemployment rates (31%) and poverty rates in the province, the community can be situated in the critical illness condition within our model.

As shown in this section, the vitality framework can be used to adequately assess the degree to which minority linguistic groups are likely to remain distinct and active groups in various intergroup contexts. In complementary fashion, the cultural autonomy model may be used to guide language planning activities whose goal is language revitalization (Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006b). As shown in Figure 2, many variables need to be considered to foster the cultural autonomy process. It is not enough to obtain linguistic rights (Bourhis, 2003b). The group needs a minimum level of collective identity to implement collective action (Breton, 1983) and this action has to be strategically planned and focused on the most crucial elements of vitality (Fishman, 1991, 2001). The group may need to plan community mobilization and to devise a governance structure that optimizes the full collaboration of all relevant partners. A global collaborative partnership is especially warranted in a federal state involving several government levels (Landry, in press b). As proposed in our cultural autonomy model, the challenges call into action civil society leadership, governmental support and services and a community that is aware of its needs, goals and challenges (Bourhis, 2003b).

Concluding Note

Many more years of sociolinguistic and language policy application will be necessary to identify the best ways of improving the health and vitality of language minorities across the world. Research and language policies developed in Canada to improve the status, demographic and institutional vitality of Francophones minorities outside Quebec and of the Anglophone minority in Quebec contribute to this quest for the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world. The 'science and the art' of the task is to find the best way to shift threatened language minorities from the 'critical illness' condition to the 'stable but problematic illness' condition. The ultimate goal is to help endangered language communities attain the 'recovering and full wellness' condition already reached by at least some of the language groups mentioned in this chapter. Will the fundamental and applied research needed to achieve these goals be accomplished in time to save at least some of the many language communities in danger of disappearing in this 21st century? In an age of economic globalization, it is inevitable that all language communities regardless of their vitality must accept to live dangerously if they are to partake in the riches of linguistic and cultural diversity across the internet planet. The quest for total linguistic and cultural security is an illusion today as it always has been throughout history.

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