LINGUISTIC IDENTITY, BOUNDARY WORK AND SOCIAL STATUS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF QUEBEC ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND FRANCO-ONTARIAN POSTSECONDARY STUDENTS' LINGUISTIC IDENTITY, BOUNDARY WORK AND SOCIAL STATUS

JOHANNE JEAN-PIERRE, B.SC., B.A., M.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

MCMASTER UNIVERSITY DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO (SOCIOLOGY)

TITLE: A comparative study of Quebec English-Speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students' linguistic identity, boundary work and social status

AUTHOR: Johanne Jonathas Jean-Pierre
B.Sc. (Université de Montréal),
B.A. (University of Alberta),
M.A. (Université d'Ottawa)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Scott Davies

NUMBER OF PAGES: 222 pages

LAY ABSTRACT: Francophones outside of Quebec and Quebec Anglophones are official language minorities with rights enshrined in the 1985 revised *Official Languages Act*. Their postsecondary experiences are less studied than their elementary and high school pathways. This dissertation summarizes the results of a study about the beliefs, attitudes and thoughts of Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students about their linguistic identity, culture, their education, and the role of bilingualism in their lives. In order to do so, interviews were completed in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto with CEGEP, college and university students or recent graduates between January and June 2014 with a total of 36 participants. The results indicate that historical linguistic conflicts and the contemporary political context influence the responses of each group. The interviews also reveal that Quebec English-speaking participants want to be fully accepted as Quebecers while Franco-Ontarian participants worry for the future of their communities.

ABSTRACT: Kymlicka (2007) identifies three diversity silos in Canada: Indigenous peoples, official bilingualism, and multiculturalism encompassing immigrants and ethnic groups. This dissertation falls within the official bilingualism silo and explores linguistic identity, boundary work and social status amongst Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students. Using a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto between January and June 2014 with 36 participants in English and French. First, this dissertation investigates how Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students choose to self-identify, define, and enact their linguistic identity. Second, many questions aim to gauge potential symbolic linguistic boundaries, their porosity, and the role of bilingualism. Third, this dissertation delves into participants' experiences of discrimination based on language or linguicism. Fourth, this inquiry examines if: a) the participants believe that bilingualism is highly esteemed and respected as a social status, b) if they believe that language is a commodity, c) and independently of their belief, if bilingualism results in a cosmopolitan lifestyle. Certain themes permeate all the chapters. Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students experience linguistic insecurity and express concerns for the future of French in their communities. While Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students do not voice fear for the future of the English language, they reveal a deep desire to be recognized as belonging in Quebec society. Some policy implications are discussed in the conclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to all of you for:
Hinting that I should pursue a Ph.D., Dr. Victor Da Rosa, my M.A. supervisor
Answering my questions about the program, Vicky Maldonado
Noting my potential, the *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*
Kindly designing the maps of appendices D and E, Mrs. Josée Guignard Noël.

Your optimism and encouragement, Dr. Jeffrey Reitz
Offering your support, Dr. Melanie Heath, Dr. Tina Fetner and Dr. Neil McLaughlin
Urging me to work and persevere, Rochelle Wijesingha and Dr. Fernando Nunes.

Making me dream and believe, Kaya Hamer-Small and Dr. Shiva Adel
Exchanging your ideas on my committee, Dr. Jeffrey Denis and Dr. Victor Satzewich
Responding with trust, respect and humour to my work, Dr. Scott Davies, my supervisor
Championing and cherishing knowledge, culture and education, the Jean-Pierre family
Imparting me opportunities with your conscious choices and vision, my parents.

Always present in solidarity, my accomplice, my brother Kenny.

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my late maternal grand-mother
One who gave a lot, Anne Rose Marguerite Jean-Baptiste.
Upon completion, I acknowledge and thank you all,
Sailing into the wind with faith, hope and love.

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2013-2014) and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program (2011-2012, 2014-2015).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Lay abstract	iii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Table of contents	vi
List of figures and tables	ix
Chapter 1: Literature review and theoretical framework	1
Literature review	5
Canadian higher education	6
Outcomes of postsecondary education	7
The environmental climate of postsecondary institutions	10
Higher education and official language minorities	12
Definitions of official language minorities	17
Community vitality and education	28
Quebec English-speakers and vitality	32
Franco-Ontarians and vitality	38
Linguistic insecurity	42
Theoretical framework	45
Linguistic self-identification and civic engagement	45
Linguistic symbolic boundaries	47
Social status, cosmopolitanism and commodification	50
Chapter 2: Methodology	58
Recruitment	58
Participants	67
Interviewing as a process	71
Limitations	74
Conclusion	80
Chapter 3: Linguistic identity	82
Self-identification	84
From Anglophone to bilingual: a continuum	84
From Francophone to bilingual: a continuum	87
Civic engagement	92
Quebec English-speakers' commitment to linguistic identity	92
Franco-Ontarians' commitment to linguistic identity	96
Conclusion	102
Chapter 4: Linguistic symbolic boundaries	108
Boundary work and the permeability of symbolic boundaries	111
Quebec English-speakers, boundary work and permeability	112
Franco-Ontarians, boundary work and permeability	114
Cultural Frames	117
Quebec English-speakers' cultural frames	117
Speaking the language	117
Culture or no culture	118
Politics of recognition	119
Franco-Ontarians' cultural frames	121

Politics of recognition	121
Francophonie or being Francophone as a global identity	123
Beyond speaking a language: territory, history and culture	123
Cultural repertoires	126
Quebec English-speakers' cultural repertoire	126
Code switching	126
Ambivalent attitude	127
Franco-Ontarians' cultural repertoire	128
Code-switching	128
Pride and attachment	128
Conclusion	129
Chapter 5: Discrimination based on language or linguicism	133
Quebec English-speakers and discrimination	137
Out-group related discrimination	138
Responses to stigma and discrimination	141
Avoiding discrimination: code-switching and fluency	141
Ambivalent attitude	144
Franco-Ontarians and discrimination	146
In-group related discrimination	148
Responses to stigma and discrimination	150
Affirmation and pride	151
Avoiding discrimination: code-switching and fluency	152
Conclusion	152
Chapter 6: Social status, cosmopolitanism, the commodification of language and postsecondary education experiences	155
Social status	158
Social status among Quebec English-speakers	158
Social status among Franco-Ontarians	162
Cosmopolitanism	164
Cosmopolitan Quebec English-speakers	164
Cosmopolitan Franco-Ontarians	167
The Nuanced commodification of language	169
Nuanced commodification and Quebec English-speakers	169
Nuanced commodification and Franco-Ontarians	170
Postsecondary education experiences	172
Postsecondary education experience of Quebec English-speakers	173
Postsecondary education experiences of Franco-Ontarians	174
Conclusion	178
Chapter 7: Conclusion	185
References	191
Appendix A: Interview questions	212
Appendix B: Thermometer	213
Appendix C: Colleges and universities serving official language minorities (table)	214
Appendix D: Colleges and universities available to official language minorities in Canada (map)	215
Appendix E: Colleges and universities available to official language minorities (Ontario	216

and Quebec)	
Appendix F: Statistics Canada map- Percentage of population reporting French as first official language spoken in 2011 by 2011 census division/Percentage of population reporting English as first official language spoken in 2011 by 2011 census division	217
Appendix G: List of national, provincial and territorial francophone advocacy associations for communities in a minority situation	218
Appendix H: List of francophone associations promoting educational and cultural development for communities in a minority situation	219
Appendix I: McMaster research ethics board approval form	220
Appendix J: Information letter and consent form	221

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Table 1.1	Percentage of francophone children right holders registered in French language school (F), in English language school (E) (regular program (R) and immersion (I)) in primary and secondary schools in provinces and territories, except for Quebec	41
Table 1.2	Francophones outside of Quebec who pursue their university studies according to the language of study and the province (in %)	43
Table 1.3	Anglophones in Quebec who pursue their university studies according to the language of study and the province (in %)	43
Table 2.1	Gender Breakdown of Participants in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews	70
Table 2.2	Number of participants in Quebec and in Ontario from exogamous families during 2014 interviews	70
Table 2.3	Highest Level of Education Completed by the Mother of each Participant in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews	70
Table 2.4	Highest Level of Education Completed by the Father of each Participant in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews	70
Figure 3.1	Language(s) used in past employment as reported by Franco-Ontarian participants	101
Figure 3.2	Language(s) used in past employment as reported by Quebec English-speaking participants	101
Figure 3.3	Language(s) used in current employment as reported by Franco-Ontarian participants	102
Figure 3.4	Language(s) used in current employment as reported by Quebec English-speaking participants	102

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Canada adopted in 1969 the *Official Languages Act*, enshrining official bilingualism. The 1985 version protects the rights of the official language minorities. Official bilingualism has had an impact on all Canadians from bilingual service delivery in public institutions to the expansion of secondary official language education. While several detractors criticize official bilingualism (Charbonneau 2015), many Canadian parents have voluntarily enrolled their children in French-immersion programs (Mady and Black 2012). Yet, Kymlicka (2012) suggests that Canada can do better to enhance the recognition, the collective rights and the political autonomy of official language minorities. Clearly, while official bilingualism policies and practices can be improved, societal attitudes are evolving positively as parents show great interest in second official language education. To assess the efficiency of official bilingualism practices, more empirical knowledge is needed on official language minorities. My dissertation seeks to contribute to our social and cultural understandings of official language minorities by focusing on postsecondary students, a strategic group since they are likely to occupy leadership roles in several institutions in the near future. This dissertation should be regarded as a qualitative exploratory study of official language minorities' postsecondary students' thoughts, perceptions, and rationalizations to better understand the mechanisms and processes involved in the construction of linguistic identity, linguistic symbolic boundaries and social status. The scope of this study does not encompass the

intersectionality of race, ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual orientation with both official languages. It does not analyse either the interaction or different group of migrants within linguistic minorities such as economic immigrants, family reunification immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, international students or temporary foreign workers. Rather, this dissertation proposes to study the linguistic identity, social, and cultural experiences of an understudied group in higher education: Canadian-born official language minorities' postsecondary students. This research project is at the crossroads of sociology of education, sociology of culture, the study of minority groups, and Canadian studies.

This dissertation is relevant to a wide audience for three different reasons. First, universities actively seek to implement programs and practices based on the principles of inclusion for the current diverse student-body of their campuses. Empirical research suggests that targeted programs can improve students' learning and social experiences (James and Taylor 2008; Rodger and Tremblay 2003). Studies examine the best practices for Aboriginal students (Hampton and Roy 2002; Pidgeon, Archibald and Hawkey 2014), for immigrant students (Murphy Kilbride and D'Archangelo 2002), for students with disabilities (Dwyer 2000), for international students (Kenyon, Frohart-Dourlent and Roth 2012), or for student parents who struggle to conciliate family obligations and education (Van Rhijn, Quosai and Lero 2011). There are few national comparative studies, including in the Canadian higher education literature, that emphasize official language minorities' linguistic and cultural needs. Second, this study affects all Canadians because "linguistic minorities depend on dominant language majorities to approve language laws

that in the long run help limit intergenerational loss of minorities" (Bourhis, El-Geledi and Sachdev 2007:22). All Canadians can learn why and how they can support official language minorities' initiatives with a better understanding of communities' social dynamics and their contribution to Canadian heritage. Third, beyond the legislative and administrative policies that should be improved, this study reveals less known aspects of Canadian society such as official language minorities' interpretation of bilingualism, the barriers to the sustainability of their communities, and their experiences of discrimination based on language or linguicism. In the same vein, few Canadians are aware of the interprovincial social-political differences that affect different communities. This dissertation provides an opportunity to explore how Quebec nationalism casts a long shadow on Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students, but on Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students linguistic and social status narratives as well.

The literature review will touch upon Canadian higher education, the definition of official language minorities, community vitality and education. The theoretical framework includes several concepts to scrutinize various social processes: linguistic identity as a continuum with self-identification and civic engagement, symbolic boundaries, linguicism or discrimination based on language, social status, commodification and cosmopolitanism. Several research questions are considered. First, this dissertation investigates how Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students choose to self-identify, define, and enact their linguistic identity. Second, many questions aim to gauge potential symbolic linguistic boundaries, their porosity, and the role of

bilingualism. Third, this dissertation delves into participants' experiences of discrimination based on language or linguicism. Fourth, this inquiry examines if: a) the participants believe that bilingualism is highly esteemed and respected as a social status, b) if they believe that language is a commodity, c) and independently of their belief, if bilingualism is associated with a cosmopolitan lifestyle. Using a qualitative approach, I recruited postsecondary students or individuals who had graduated within the past 12 months. I conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews with 18 Franco-Ontarian and 18 Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students in Ontario and Quebec in French and English between January and June 2014.

The results indicated that Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students identify themselves along a continuum. However, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students expressed less civic engagement and attachment to the English language in comparison to Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students to French. Both groups proposed a wide range of definitions, mostly inclusive, of who belongs to their linguistic groups. This means that linguistic symbolic boundaries can vary from rigid to fluid. Yet, Franco-Ontarian participants distinguish themselves with references to territory, history and culture. While both groups include in their repertoire code-switching, Quebec-English speaking postsecondary students have an ambivalent relationship with the Quebec social-political context while Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students seek to affirm their pride in their linguistic identity. Both groups of participants reported experiences of discrimination based on language or linguicism.

While Quebec-English speaking participants reported experiences of linguicism originating from the Francophone linguistic majority group, Franco-Ontarian participants reported experiences of discrimination from the linguistic majority group as well as from Francophones from majority linguistic contexts. According to them, Francophones from Quebec, France and other countries often question their belonging to «Francophonie» and do not acknowledge the existence of a Franco-Ontarian identity. Finally, with the study of social status, several processes are simultaneously at play. Bilingual skills are associated with: a) nuanced higher status, b) linguistic cosmopolitanism and c) can be used as a commodity in the labour market. Franco-Ontarians would like to have increased access to postsecondary programs in French, better quality of French from some instructors in bilingual institutions, and more opportunities to socialize in French on campus. In contrast, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students had no linguistic related complaints during the interviews. Instead, they wanted to highlight that they speak French, that they respect and value French culture, and that they love Quebec. This latter result reflects the contextual differences of official language minorities' experiences in higher education found in this dissertation. A common thread can be found in all the chapters. While Quebec English-speaking students express the hope to be recognized and fully accepted as Quebecers, Franco-Ontarian students express the desire that Francophone communities will survive in Ontario.

Literature review

The goal of this chapter is to present a substantive literature review as well as the theoretical framework of this dissertation. The literature review includes sections about Canadian higher education, the challenge of defining official language minorities, and the relationship between community vitality and education amongst official language minorities. The theoretical framework includes the exploration of theoretical concepts related to identity, symbolic boundaries, social status, and cosmopolitanism.

Canadian higher education

This brief Canadian higher education literature review seeks to explore critical topics in order to situate official language minorities' postsecondary education research. A few observations explain the importance of highlighting empirical studies related to access, outcomes and the study of different social groups in Canadian higher education. First, with the exception of quantitative studies using Statistics Canada data, many qualitative studies take place in a single province, do not investigate official language minorities specifically, and cannot be generalized to the rest of the country. The lack of comparative national qualitative studies can be understood by the fact that interprovincial comparisons can be costly, time consuming, and challenging. Second, while we are cultivating a rich peer-reviewed literature about the predictors of access, retention, and outcomes, we have less multi-cohorts' assessments of university programs that aim to assist specific categories of students, including official language minorities' students. There is a strong likelihood that many postsecondary institutions complete internal evaluations of their programs, but their results are not made available to a wide audience in peer-reviewed

journals. Third, very few of these studies address the specific academic, cultural, and linguistic needs of Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students or Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students. In this context, this dissertation attempts to enrich the Canadian higher education literature by engaging in an interprovincial qualitative comparison of students and by focusing on a specific subpopulation that usually passes under the radar: official language minorities postsecondary students. While academic peer-reviewed articles are scarce, several reports in the gray literature indicate that Francophones in Ontario are underrepresented in the postsecondary education system (Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson 2009). Meanwhile, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students complete university degrees at a higher rate than the French linguistic majority of Quebec (Pilote and Magnan 2014).

Outcomes of postsecondary education

We have an interest in higher education's outcomes because of its socialization effect including the political attitudes of university graduates (Mintz 1998). One of the most examined outcomes of postsecondary education is its association with higher levels of income. Using the *Canadian Mobility Study* and the *General Social Survey* data between 1920 and 1989, Wanner (2000) found that the value of a bachelor's degree in Canada has declined since peaking in the late 1950's, but rebounded a little during the 1980's (Wanner 2000: 339). Meanwhile, returns for a high school diploma or some post-secondary education have declined (Wanner 2000: 339). More recently, using the *National Graduates Survey*, Frank and Walters (2012) found that the level of education

alone does not predict earnings. The field of study has an influence on earnings (Frank and Walters 2012: 107) and continues to significantly influence postgraduates' income since in 2010, male and female bachelor's degree graduates from management sciences and quantitative methods were top earners (Frenette and Frank 2016). A decade earlier, Hunter and McKenzie Leiper (1993) reported similar findings when they used the *Quality of Life: Social Change Survey* and *Social Change in Canada Survey*. Graduates with educational diplomas and degrees and with more years of schooling had greater earnings, independently of their skills' level (Hunter and McKenzie Leiper 1993:35). If it is true that higher levels of education in certain fields of study yield higher earnings, other factors may mediate these outcomes such as immigration (Galabuzi 2006). Immigrants often experience the non-recognition of their foreign credentials and professional experiences in Canada. Using the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada*, Adamuti-Trache, Anisef and Sweet (2013) found that recent immigrants were occupying less prestigious occupations in comparison to their pre-immigration occupations and were not able to practice their first profession (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013: 197). Higher education impact on earnings matters because for instance, income affects the ability to repay student loans and the ability to start adult life. Using the *National Graduates Survey*, Wright, Walters and Zarifa (2013), found that a sizable minority of graduates have difficulty repaying student loans and that defaulting was strongly associated with the level and field of study. Females and technical or applied field's graduates are less likely to default within two years of graduation than males or liberal arts' graduates (Wright et al. 2013:108-109). Along with income, completing postsecondary education also has an

influence on the process of professionalization. For example, Beagan (2001) found that professional socialization takes place in medical schools where students learn a new language, new norms, a medical hierarchy, and a complete new worldview. Higher education completion also has an impact on one's personal life. Hou and Myles (2008) found that over the past thirty years, educational homogamy increased in Canada and the United States. However, using census data, Hamplová and Le Bourdais (2008) found that cohabiters show less educational homogamy than married couples in English and French Canada. Pertaining to Franco-Ontarians specifically, two studies can be mentioned about teachers' employment outcomes in 1991. Herry et al. (1995) found that although most graduates from French teachers' colleges had found a job within a year following graduation, the rate of full-time employment was lower in comparison to previous years due to the difficult economic context of 1991. Hughes and Lowe (1998) found that 1991 graduates from Ontario French-language teacher education programs experience different patterns in their initial careers as university graduates. They found that gender influenced earnings and promotion opportunities (Hughes and Lowe 1998:51). Most recently, attention has been paid to skills and their impact on the labour market. In a report produced by the *Centre for Human Capital Policy*, it was found that 30% of university graduates lack essential skills in Western Canada (Lane and Murray 2015). This has a negative impact on productivity and the economy. Higher education has such crucial long-term personal, social and economical impact that several scholars investigate the degree of access to higher education for individuals from different social groups.

Access to postsecondary education continues to be of great interest to several academics (Christofides, Hoy, Milla and Stengos 2015; Finnie, Wismer and Mueller 2015; Stelnicki, Nordstokke and Saklofske 2015; Vaccaro 2012; Wong 2015; Zarifa 2012). Over the past decades attention has been paid to several categories of students: women (Wanner 1999; Davies, Mosher and O'Grady 1996; Donaldson and Dixon 1995; Gadalla 2001), low-income students (Christofides, Cirello and Hoy 2001; Christofides, Hoy and Yang 2009; Frempong, Ma and Mensah 2012; Wanner 1999), immigrants, visible minorities and Aboriginal students (Abada, Hou and Ram 2009; Boyd 2009; Kanouté et al. 2014; Preston 2008; Thiessen 2009) and first generation students' (Kamanzi et al. 2010). To explain variation in access, several economic and non-economic factors are explored in various studies such as income (Christofides, Cirello and Hoy 2001; Wanner 1999), parental level of education (Abada, Hou and Ram 2009; Christofides, Cirello and Hoy 2001; Christofides, Hoy and Yang 2009; Kamanzi et al. 2010), urban or rural residency (Andres and Looker 2001; Christofides, Cirello and Hoy 2001), various cultural factors such as immigrant optimism, support and high aspiration (Boyd 2009; Christofides, Hoy and Yang 2009; Finnie, Wismer and Mueller 2015; Thiessen 2009), or family structure (Abada, Hou and Ram 2009). Meanwhile, very little is explored in the academic literature about the factors affecting specifically official language minorities.

The environmental climate of postsecondary institutions

The examination of several social groups' experiences in postsecondary institutions helps to contextualize the gap that this study attempts to fill. Many studies often provide

concrete recommendations for specific categories of students. According to Sales, Drolet and Bonneau (2001), because of the "massification" of higher education, university campuses are no longer homogenous with a young student body from higher social classes. Nowadays, Canadian campuses receive mature students (Keast 2000; Sales, Drolet and Bonneau 2001), parents (Van Rhijn, Quosai and Lero 2011), students who have English as a second language (Grayson 2008), international students (Kenyon, Frohard-Dourlent and Roth 2012; Robertson, Holleran and Samuels 2015), immigrants (Dinovitzer, Hagan and Parker 2003; Murphy Kilbride and D'Arcangelo 2002; Sinacore and Lerner 2013), racial minorities (Grayson 1995; James and Taylor 2008; Samuel and Burney 2003), students with disabilities (Duquette 2000; Dwyer 2000; Erten 2011; Rodger and Tremblay 2003), Indigenous students (Hampton and Roy 2002; Hare and Pidgeon 2011; Pidgeon, Archibald and Hawkey 2014; Robertson, Holleran and Samuels 2015), students who transfer from college to university (Carter, Coyle and Leslie 2011), student athletes (Dubuc-Charbonneau, Nurand-Bush and Forneris 2014), and women, who sometimes experience violence on campus (DeKeseredy and Kelly 1993; Simon et al. 2015; Tremblay et al. 2008). These studies about specific categories of students often encourage targeted initiatives related to school environment, pedagogical and curricular practices, and administrative strategies to foster their educational success.

Targeted initiatives can assist specific groups of students and can alleviate feelings of stigmatization (James and Taylor 2008; Rodger and Tremblay 2003). While Aboriginal students have the lowest participation rate in higher education (Nguyen 2011; Thiessen

2009), culturally appropriate practices result in positive outcomes for undergraduate and graduate Aboriginal students (Anuik and Gillies 2012; Hampton and Roy 2002; Hare and Pidgeon 2011; Pigdgeon, Archibald and Hawkey 2014; Rawan et al. 2015). Immigrant students can benefit from opportunities to develop language skills, awareness of program's characteristics, financial assistance, and social support (Murphy Kilbride and D'Arcangelo 2002). Increasing access to postsecondary education for students with disabilities requires among other factors: greater awareness of invisible disability, enhanced communication between faculty and students, and universal design for learning (Dwyer 2000; Kumar and Wideman 2014). To improve the integration of international students, universities are encouraged to organize specific activities and refine the vocabulary used to communicate information (Kenyon, Frohard-Dourlent and Roth 2012). For student parents, flexibility, bridging programs and better access to information are important to better conciliate education and familial obligations (Van Rhijn, Quosai and Lero 2011). Many obstacles may impact academic persistence such as: a lack of personal support, improper housing, multiple moves, or working several hours (Arcand and Leblanc 2012: 50). Therefore, these circumstances also ought to be taken into account to create educational environments that foster retention and completion. Several relevant observations about official language minorities' experiences, needs and challenges can be found in the gray literature.

Higher Education and Official Language Minorities

The level of education of both linguistic groups in Canada has increased between 1971 and 2001 (Corbeil 2003). Based on the 2006 Statistics Canada *Survey on the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, we know that 21% of Francophones outside of Quebec and 24.9% of Quebec English-speakers have completed an undergraduate degree (diploma or certificate) (Pilote and Magnan 2014:153).

Francophones' postsecondary attendance varies a lot across provinces with New-Brunswick Francophones (19%) and Ontario Francophones (20.3%) being less likely to complete an undergraduate degree than Francophones in other provinces and territories (28.4%) (Pilote and Magnan 2014:153). Francophones outside of Quebec who have completed their elementary and secondary education in French are more likely to pursue higher education than those who partially completed their studies in French (Pilote and Magnan 2014:167). The authors suggest that it might be because students who experience learning challenges transfer to the English school system and subsequently, they do not complete a postsecondary education (Pilote and Magnan 2014). Access to higher education for Franco-Ontarians is paramount to the leadership of their community.

Ontario has committed to improving postsecondary education access for several priority groups, which are currently underrepresented including: Aboriginal students, Francophone students, students with disabilities, and first generation students (Rae 2005). It is important to highlight that the federal government has an agreement with the province of Ontario called the *Canada-Ontario Agreement on Minority-Language*

Education and Second Official-Language Instruction 2013-2014-2017-2018. This agreement includes an action plan and multi-year funding for elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education to enhance Franco-Ontarians' community vitality (Government of Ontario 2014). As the 2011 *Politique d'aménagement linguistique: French-language policy framework for postsecondary education and training* illustrates, the Government of Ontario closely monitors access, instructional quality, and the performance of French-language postsecondary institutions. Yet, following several complaints and an investigation, *the Office of the French Language Services Commissioner* presented a report with several recommendations that seek to address access to postsecondary education in French in central South-Western Ontario (Commissariat aux Services en Français 2012). One recommendation of this report pertains to the creation of a Franco-Ontarian university governed by Franco-Ontarians to correct the lack of postsecondary programs in French in central South-Western Ontario (Commissariat aux Services en Français 2012). The question of access to postsecondary education in French has been at the forefront for decades. Twenty years ago, Frenette and Quazi (1996) found that the gap between Franco-Ontarians and Ontario Anglophones was starting to decrease. The authors of this report highlighted two main findings. Franco-Ontarians are more likely to pursue higher education when postsecondary programs in French are available and the outcomes of an initiative can be assessed only several years, if not decades later (Frenette and Quazi 1996:110-111). For example, the improvement seen in the attendance of Franco-Ontarians in postsecondary programs in the eighties were the result of careful strategic planning with specific goals prepared in the 1960s (Frenette and Quazi

1996:110-111). It is important to highlight here that even the *The Office of the French Language Services Commissioner* emphasizes that the normative model of supply and demand cannot be applied for Ontario's official language minority communities (Commissariat aux Services en Français 2012). It is important to offer programs by taking into account not only the number of local Franco-Ontarian students, but also potential French-immersion, out of province, and international students (Commissariat aux Services en Français 2012; Frenette and Quazi 1996). Otherwise, with a traditional supply and demand framework, the government may fail to implement initiatives that are crucial for Franco-Ontarian communities' linguistic vitality.

While some authors have explored the educational aspirations of grade 12 Franco-Ontarians (Allard, Landry and Deveau 2010), a report from the *Ontario Institute for Studies in Education* using data from the *Ontario College Application Service* and the *Ontario Universities' Application Centre* between 1998 and 2006 sheds light on actual choices (Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson 2009). Most young Franco-Ontarians choose to attend college rather than university even if their parents and their school counsellors, like the rest of society, have a positive bias towards university education (Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson 2009). College students (45%), more than university students (43%), choose to attend English-language institutions even if school counsellors and teachers promote primarily French-language and bilingual postsecondary institutions and do not provide critical information about English-language colleges and universities (Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson 2009). Proximity to the household was found to be more important than the

program or the language of study in the decision-making process of young Franco-Ontarians due to limited financial resources (Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson 2009). The authors conclude that young Franco-Ontarians' choices diverge from the preference of schools, parents, and the government for university studies in French regardless of location. Another interesting report published by the *Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario* explains the success of a University of Ottawa pilot course FRA 1705 that was created at the request of students from Francophone minority communities to bridge the gap between the French language skills required for university and the French language skills acquired in high school (Lamoureux et al. 2014). While this pilot course was successful for postsecondary students from Francophone minority communities who speak a wide variety of French (Boudreau 2014; Boudreau and Dubois 2001; Chevalier 2008; Leblanc 2010; Lozon 2002) and have different levels of college preparation, there is the possibility that native and non-native speakers of English experience similar challenges for different reasons when they attend university.

In Ontario, the government created the *Office of Francophone Affairs* under the 1986 *French Language Services Act*. The *Office of the French Language Services Commissioner* was established in 2008. There is no equivalent governmental department or office in Quebec for Quebec English-speakers. When the *Institut de la Statistique du Québec* "*Quebec Statistics Institute*" conducts studies, they include systematically gender-based analysis, but only occasionally put an emphasis on Aboriginal, Quebec English-speakers, or racial and ethnic minorities. Sometimes, a report will mention

shortly a fact about Quebec English-speakers. For instance, *Institut de la Statistique du Québec* reported that Quebec English-speakers have stronger literacy (65% at level 3 literacy) and numeracy (57%) skills than Francophones (52% literacy at level 3, 46.9% numeracy) or Allophones (41 % literacy at level 3, 39.8% numeracy) (Nobert 2009:87). The report does not provide an in-depth analysis of factors that would explain this difference. A 2010 *Institut de la Statistique du Québec* report reveals that Quebec English-speakers volunteer more hours than Francophones (Dupont 2010: 291). In the same report, the education chapter provides a gender-based analysis and an interprovincial comparison of secondary and postsecondary students, but there is no analysis that pertains specifically to Quebec English-speaking students (Morel and N'Zué 2010:117-137). To understand this governmental oversight, one must take into account the political significance of nation building in French and the perception of English as a threat in the province (Bourhis 2012; Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Shragge, Robineau and Forgues 2012), even if Quebec English-speakers are no longer dominant socially or economically (Carter 2012). Meanwhile, from federal and academic sources, we know that Quebec English-speakers outperform Francophones in the province in education (Pilote and Magnan 2014). To contextualize Franco-Ontarian and Quebec-English speaking educational pathways, the following sections will present the challenge of circumscribing official language communities and the importance of linguistic vitality for every level of education.

Definitions of official language minorities

Official language minorities, or national linguistic minorities, refer to individuals who speak: "those languages that are accorded full legal status at the national level" (De Vries 1994: 37). The government of Canada designates Francophones outside of Quebec and Anglophones in Quebec as "official language communities in minority situation", (Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira 2010; Corbeil and Lafrenière 2010). I will use interchangeably Francophone for Franco-Ontarian and Anglophone or Quebec English-speaker for Anglo-Quebecer because these expressions are used in the literature (Breton 1994; Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira 2010; Corbeil and Lafrenière 2010; Juteau 1994; Landry, Deveau and Allard 2008). However, as the findings of this dissertation will illustrate, to be a Francophone, a Franco-Ontarian, a French Canadian, an Anglo-Quebecer, an Anglophone, a Quebec English-speaker, or an English Canadian carries different subjective meanings depending on the individual and the social context. It is important to ask participants how they define these terms and where they draw group boundaries. However, for the purpose of this study, a Franco-Ontarian is any Francophone living in Ontario, and an Anglo-Quebecer or Quebec English-speaker is any Anglophone living in Quebec. Yet, determining who is a Francophone in Ontario or who is an English-speaker in Quebec is far from simple quantitatively (Corbeil 2011; Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014: 10; Statistics Canada 2009), or qualitatively (Dallaire 2003; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a), and various definitions have repercussions for research, public policy, and service delivery. In Quebec, the government uses a definition based on mother tongue to assess the number of Quebec English-speakers, while in Ontario, the government has chosen to use a more inclusive definition (Government of

Ontario 2009; Jedwab 2012). As it will be explained in this section, these decisions carry great significance on both communities' development.

Quantitatively, it is possible to find more than a dozen different definitions or composite variables to assess the number of Francophones outside of Quebec or Quebec English-speakers (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014; Jedwab 2012). The range of definitions include but is not limited to: mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, language spoken at least regularly at home, language spoken at least regularly at work, language most often spoken at work, and first official language spoken (FOLS) (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014). Assessing the exact number of Franco-Ontarians or Quebec English-speakers during a specific time period depends on the definition selected and I intend to present the most important definitions that researchers, policy makers, Statistics Canada, the province of Quebec, and the province of Ontario favour quantitatively. The Canadian census questions evolved over time mirroring the social evolution of linguistic groups (Corbeil 2011).

Until the fifties, the two linguistic groups, French and English, also reflected and paralleled the existence of two ethnic groups within Canada, known as the founding peoples (Corbeil 2011: 32). As such, the first definition used for decades by Statistics Canada was the mother tongue defined as: the language first learned in childhood and still understood. In the census survey, participants are asked: *what is the first language spoken in childhood and that is still understood today*? (Corbeil 2011; Guignard Noël, Forgues

and Landry 2014). While the United Nations defines one's first language as "the first language learned in childhood in the family", Canada differs with its definition of mother tongue, which requires that this language should still be understood (Corbeil 2011:33). For many years, Statistics Canada used mother tongue to assess official language minorities' population size, but this definition has two limitations for Francophones outside of Quebec: a) it includes individuals who have French as a first language, but no longer speak it, and b) it excludes individuals who do not have French as a first language but speak French at home or use it as their main official language (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014: 13). Nationally, in every census, there is a sizable number of individuals who have English and French as their mother tongue simultaneously and they cannot be categorized solely as French or English. Statistics Canada usually splits and redistributes equally these individuals between the English and French linguistic populations (Corbeil 2011).

The second definition used is the language most often spoken at home. In 1971, following the recommendations of the *The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, a question about the language spoken most often at home was added to the census (Corbeil 2011:34). The benefit of such a definition is that it provides an indication of the strength of the language in a geographical area. However, for Francophones outside of Quebec, this definition excludes individuals who speak most often English or a third language at home, but still have French as a mother tongue (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry

2014:19). This can also be a limitation for assessing the number of Quebec English-speakers.

The third definition, most often used by researchers, is the first official language spoken, commonly called with its acronym (FOLS). Following the 1982 inclusion of the *Multiculturalism bill* in the *Canadian charter of rights and freedoms*, there was a growing interest to assess how many Canadians had neither French nor English as a first language (Corbeil 2011). This interest later led to the creation of a new variable by Statistics Canada in 1989: the first official language spoken (FOLS). The first official language spoken is a composite variable combining: 1) knowledge of official language(s), 2) mother tongue, and 3) the language spoken most often at home (Corbeil 2011; Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014). The benefits of such a definition are that: a) it includes Francophones who do not have French as a mother tongue and b) it enables the classification of Francophones based on the mother tongue and the language most often spoken at home (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014: 25). In Quebec, this definition significantly affects the population size of Quebec English-speakers in comparison to the mother tongue definition. Jedwab notes that with the first official language spoken (FOLS), Quebec English-speakers represent 13.4% of Quebec population, whereas with the narrower definition of mother tongue, Quebec English-speakers represent 8.2% of the province's population (Jedwab 2012: 104). Yet, there are limitations to the first official language spoken (FOLS) definition: a) for Francophones outside of Quebec, it excludes individuals who have English and French as mother

tongues, but speak most often English at home, especially in exogamous families and b) the name may suggest that this measure represents the language most often used when in fact, it measures the potential to speak a language (Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014: 26).

Overall, quantitatively, there are two types of definitions of linguistic groups: a) symmetrical, which implies that the categories are exclusive, and b) asymmetrical, which implies that members of different groups can overlap (Corbeil 2011). So far, the three definitions discussed that were designed by Statistics Canada are exclusive and symmetrical: the mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and the first official language spoken. However, recent inclusive definitions can be asymmetrical and include individuals who belong to more than one linguistic group. The government of Ontario has chosen to embrace an inclusive and asymmetrical definition to assess the population size of Franco-Ontarians (Corbeil 2011: 41).

In 2009, the Ontario government decided to choose an even more inclusive definition than Statistics Canada first official language spoken (FOLS) definition. In Ontario, a Francophone is someone: a) who has French as a mother tongue, b) or who does not have French or English as a mother tongue, c) but has a good command of French and uses French at home (Government of Ontario 2009). When we measure Francophones as those who have French as a mother tongue, they represent a total of 4.4% of the population, but the Ontario inclusive definition makes the population reach 580 000 individuals,

representing 4.8% of the population (Government of Ontario 2009). The Toronto population of Francophones increases by 42% and in Ottawa, by 10% with this inclusive asymmetrical definition. For the government of Ontario, this new definition essentially enables to reflect the demographic changes that have transformed the francophone population in Ontario with increasing immigration in urban regions such as Toronto and Ottawa (Government of Ontario 2009). Meanwhile, in Quebec, due to the political configuration, the mother tongue continues to be used with Quebec English speakers.

The mother tongue definition excludes one third of the English-speaking population in Quebec because it excludes systematically individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds or with a dual identity (French and English). Therefore, this definition underestimates the absolute number of English-speaking individuals, which result in the Quebec government underestimating service-delivery for the community (Jedwab 2012:103). Scowen (2007) explains that the Quebec government strategically prefers to use a narrow definition of mother tongue to underrepresent the English-speaking community. This strategy results in an increase of the number of Allophones, individuals who do not have French or English as a first language, even if in reality, they may have English as their first official language spoken (FOLS). The narrow definition also clearly underestimates the institutional needs of the English-speaking community as opposed to the first official language spoken (FOLS) definition used by the federal government for their own estimates of service-delivery (Jedwab 2012).

The numerous definitions to assess official language minorities' provincial and national populations change based on the preference of governments, public policy makers, and researchers. The consequences are tangible in daily life because the construction of new schools, the establishment of health services in French or in English, and the maintenance of a jurisdiction's bilingual status depend heavily on population size. Social scientists select carefully a definition according to the focus of their study. Indeed, for the study of intergenerational transmission of language, mother tongue is most often used as a variable, while for estimating required services, more inclusive definitions are often preferred (Corbeil 2011:39).

Qualitative studies have presented a nuanced and complex range of definitions of identity. "A unilingual identity is less and less common especially within minority groups" (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a: 170). In fact, many quantitative and qualitative studies have found that official language minorities do not always define themselves as belonging to only one linguistic group (Corbeil 2011; Dallaire 2003; Dallaire and Denis 2005; Dallaire 2008; Dalley 2006; Gérin-Lajoie 2003; Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Gérin-Lajoie 2011b; Landry, Deveau and Allard 2008; Pilote 2006). For some authors, the fact that so many Francophones outside of Quebec identify as bilingual, instead of solely Francophone, indicates an accelerated pathway or a transitory step towards assimilation to the linguistic majority group (Bernard 1996:81; Castonguay 2002: 378; Castonguay 2005:491). It is not the fact that official language minorities are able to speak English and French that troubles these scholars; it is their choice to assert a "bilingual

identity". It is noteworthy to mention that 25% of Quebec English-speakers living in linguistic exogamous families also identify as bilinguals (Jedwab 2012:114). However, Bernard (1996) and Castonguay's (2005) pessimistic conclusion of progressive assimilation is widely challenged because official language minorities' processes of identification have to be contextualized.

Gérin-Lajoie (2011b: 183) suggests that a bilingual identity among official language minorities can be understood as an "identity state" because they live in two worlds at once and identity is constantly shifting, «*en mouvance*». Dallaire (2003:164) suggests that a bilingual identity is a contemporary example of a hybrid identity with a sense of belonging to both communities. Challenging Gérin-Lajoie's proposal of an "identity state" with quantitative data, Landry, Allard and Deveau (2013) identified 3 types of bilingual identities: attraction bilingualism «*bilinguisme d'attraction*», mingling bilingualism «*bilinguisme de métissage*», and resistance bilingualism «*bilinguisme de résistance*». When community vitality is strong, the individual develops a strong Francophone identity and the Anglophone identity will be weak resulting in attraction bilingualism (Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013: 62). When community vitality is moderate and the individual has frequent social interactions in English, this context promotes mingling bilingualism (Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013: 62). When community vitality is weak, and the individual develops a strong sense of belonging to the Francophone community, this context fosters resistance bilingualism (Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013: 62). The authors suggest that bilingual identities are constructed with

internal factors, external factors, socialization experiences in English and in French, a strong sense of belonging to the linguistic community, and competency in French (Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013).

Using a qualitative approach, Magnan (2013) found that young Quebec English-speakers who transition from high school to postsecondary institutions multiply their social identities by cumulating or combining several identities; they can be at the same time Canadian, Quebecer, Francophone and Anglophone etc. Similarly, young Francophones in a minority situation define themselves in a plurality of ways (Pilote and Magnan 2012) even if they are conscious of their inter-group relations with the English-speaking majority and Quebec Francophones. This quote, taken from an observational study, examining language practices of young Quebec English-speakers in Montreal describes how living in two social worlds impacts daily language practices:

> Listening to them, it would appear that the traditional linguistic frontiers separating the "two solitudes" have become more porous, at least for some, thanks to the growing number of young Quebecers who have the language skills to cross the divide. But what this interaction also catches is the increasing difficulty of defining identity using traditional linguistically closed traits, such as Anglophone, Francophone, and Allophone. The blurring of these traits will have considerable repercussions for discussing and defining community identity and issues in the future, as well as on the rationales and agreements currently put forward within the politics of language in Quebec and Canada. (Lamarre 2007: 110)

It is clear that exogamous marriages have had an impact on the prevalence of official language minorities identifying themselves as bilinguals (Dalley 2006; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a: 169; Jedwab 2012: 114). To make matters even more complex, in urban settings, if we take into account how Quebec English-speakers and Francophones outside of

Quebec are racially, ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse, one has to admit that we are talking about many "communities" within each linguistic community: (Farmer, Chambon and Labrie 2003; Farmer and Labrie 2008; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002; Jedwab 2012; Lamarre 2007). Linguistic identity is not always the most salient social marker and many individuals have several layers of identities from which they draw to define themselves and act accordingly in different circumstances (race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, class/socioeconomic status) (Bernard 1996: 72; Dallaire and Denis 2005; Dalley and Campbell 2005; Labrie and Grimard 2004; Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013:60). Yet, it is relevant to investigate linguistic identity because: it is enacted on a daily basis through speech; it is enshrined in Canadian law, policy and institutionalized education; it speaks to the French-English divides which are salient throughout our history, and continue to be so, albeit in new forms; and it is understudied in Canadian sociology.

The recent inclusive quantitative definitions of Ontario and Statistics Canada seek to capture the diversity and complexity of official language communities' demographic evolution. As mentioned earlier, the definitions used by Statistics Canada evolved as demographic changes did, and one can no longer associate a linguistic identity with two well defined ethnic groups as it used to be the case before the fifties (Corbeil 2011).

The appropriate way to measure, to determine, or to identify who is Francophone or who is Anglophone is relevant because of its implications for research and public policy.

These definitions will be compared to the interviewee responses and contrasted to how they self-identify, how they define themselves, and what characteristics make someone French, English, or bilingual. Special attention will be paid to how they draw the lines between different categories in order to study cultural boundaries.

Community vitality and education

Community vitality is of particular interest to contextualize the variations in self-identification, civic engagement and educational pathways. In the academic and public policy literatures about linguistic minorities, the expression "vitality" is frequent and it characterizes a community in a designated geographical location rather than an individual. One definition of community vitality is: "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings" (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308). However, the definition of vitality can be ambiguous because it is sometimes defined as a state and sometimes defined as a process (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008). From a legal standpoint, Canada is obligated by the article 41 of the 1985 *Official Languages Act* to enhance the vitality of official language minority communities:

> (1) The Government of Canada is committed to (*a*) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and (*b*) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. (Article 41)

This federal commitment to community vitality is the reason why the *Canada-Ontario Agreement on Minority-Language Education and Second Official-Language Instruction 2013-2014-2017-2018* exists as well as other initiatives. Vitality influences the capacity

of a linguistic community to live and to thrive in a minority context. Otherwise, linguistic minority communities are more likely to disappear and to adopt another language. For the purpose of this dissertation, a minority group refers to a subordinate political group in a jurisdiction, not necessarily to a numerical group (Gérin-Lajoie 2014:470). For example, although Anglophones as a group were always numerically inferior in Quebec, Quebec English-speakers became a subordinate political group sociologically in the province only in the 1970s with the Quiet revolution and the election of Parti Québécois in 1976 (Gosselin and Pichette 2014; Lamarre 2007). In contrast, Francophones in Ontario have been a minority since the 18th century (Frenette 1998) in the province and nationally. Both groups are today facing challenges to maintain the vitality of their respective communities, but quite differently. Vitality in a linguistic community is affected by three sets of factors: demographic variables, institutional factors, and the overall status of the language (Bourhis and Landry 2012:25).

Demographic variables refer to the number of speakers (fertility rates, death rates, endogamy and exogamy rates, age pyramid, emigration, immigration), and their distribution within a national or regional territory (proportion of the total population and presence in historical ancestral territory) (Bourhis and Landry 2012:25). Breton's (1964) theoretical concept of institutional completeness, which is often applied to immigrants and ethno-cultural groups, is crucial for official language minorities. Accordingly, many ethnic groups: "have developed a more formal structure and contain organizations of various sorts: religious, educational, political, recreational, national and even

professional" (Breton 1964: 194). Some ethnic groups have organized welfare and mutual aid societies. The degree to which linguistic groups in a multilingual context can access public and private institutions in their language affects community vitality. According to Bourhis and Landry (2012):

> 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. (P.27)

Informal and formal representation of the members of the community in key regional and municipal leadership positions is also critical for institutional support. The strength of demographic variables and the leadership of the community affect the degree of formal and informal representation (Bourhis and Landry 2012:27). Representation ensures that the interests and the needs of the community are always at the forefront of the agenda of municipal, regional, and national initiatives. The capacity to have autonomy and power to self-govern key institutions serving the community also influence vitality. In order to exercise control and influence over public institutions, communities must have: a) population concentration in a circumscribed territory and b) a significant number of speakers. Francophones outside of Quebec and Quebec English-speakers outside of the greater Montreal area cannot cling to these components to foster vitality. Indeed, in many respects, English-speakers in isolated regions (outside of the greater Montreal area) and many Francophone communities outside of Quebec experience challenges associated to dispersion, lack of population concentration, and difficulties to obtain services in their

own language (Gosselin 2005; Jedwab 2012: 185; Lamarre 2007: 112). In order to visualize official language minorities across the country and understand the challenge of dispersion and population density, Appendix F presents a map created by Statistics Canada based on the 2011 census.

The status given to a language also has an impact on the vitality of a language. Whether status is based on the community socio-historical status (founding people), the current cultural and economic dynamics of the community, or the prestige of the language locally, nationally, or internationally, status can enhance vitality (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 30-31). For example, the social prestige of English due to its international prominence in the sciences, businesses, and entertainment encourages many individuals from different countries to learn English (Brumfit 2004). However, status alone cannot reverse the decline of Quebec English-speaking communities if demographic variables and institutional completeness are dwindling. Indeed, Quebec English-speaking communities across the province have been showing signs of decline for several years (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 31), and this has affected its school system significantly with school closures (Bourhis and Foucher 2012).

In lieu of measuring vitality as a state, Gilbert and Lefebvre (2008) suggest that vitality should be analyzed as a process. The interactions between the individual, the community, and the environment should be incorporated. Two axes should be explored: 1) individuals as actors with their sense of identity and civic engagement, 2) and institutions as actors,

with their capacity to mobilize individuals over time in a given territory (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008:28). While this proposal is valuable, it provides a challenge for operationalization. Assessing the frequency, the quality and the significance of interactions between individuals and institutions in a consistent fashion across several communities can be challenging.

Quebec English-speakers and vitality

Quebec English-speakers form a unique official language minority in Canada due to their paradoxical and ambivalent minority status. Quebec English-speakers: a) form a linguistic minority in Quebec (Gosselin and Pichette 2014), b) belong to the Canadian and North American English-speaking linguistic majority (Bourhis 2012), c) cohabit with the Quebec Francophone majority which is a linguistic minority in Canada and North America (Gérin-Lajoie 2014), d) and they speak a language which is internationally dominant (Brumfit 2004). McAndrew (2010) describes Quebec society as "a fragile majority" because among other factors, the ascension of the Francophone majority is recent. Francophone scholars have been reflecting on this ascension and its significance in the history of French Canada, including the relationship between Quebec and other Francophone minorities (Cardinal 2012; Melançon 2014). Since the seventies, federalist and sovereigntist political leaders have been engaged in conscious overt nation building with the clear goal to improve the status of French relative to English in the province (Bourhis 2012; Bourhis, Montaruli and Amiot 2007:191). Between 1890 and the 1950s, Anglo-conformity not only marginalized Indigenous and French Canadians across the

country, but also required that White non-British migrants assimilate into an Anglo-centric society (Mann 2014: 254). Before the Quiet Revolution, the Catholic Church and an Anglophone elite dominated respectively the social and economic realms of Quebec. The Quiet Revolution enabled: a) French to become the sole official language of the province (Bourhis 2012), b) the state to empower socially, politically, and economically Francophones (Bourhis 2012), c) the feminist movement to weigh in political debates (Ugland 2014: 19; Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014: 27), d) and the advancement of secularism or «laïcité» of public institutions to eliminate the influence of the Church in public affairs (Ugland 2014: 19; Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014: 27). The seventies also saw the rise of the sovereignist nationalist political party *Parti Québécois*. The minoritization of Quebec English-speakers is not only a recent development in comparison to Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada, it is constantly affected by the tangible nation building efforts of the Quebec Francophone majority through laws and public debates, while reaffirming that Quebec is a "société distincte" (Rocher 2015: 140).

Some laws that transformed the province are the 1977 *Bill 101: the Charter of the French Language* (Bourhis, Montaruli and Amiot 2007: 189) and the *1991 Canada-Quebec Accord* (Urtnowski et al. 2012). Some relevant social-political events include the 1980 and 1995 referendums (Rocher 2014), the 2007 *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences:Bouchard-Taylor Commission* (Rocher 2015: 147; Potvin 2014) or the 2013-2014 *Charter of Quebec Values* debate around *La Charte des Valeurs Québécoises* or *Bill 60: Charte affirmant les valeurs de*

laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État ainsi que d'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et encadrant les demandes d'accommodement (Potvin 2014; Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014).

Several sections of the Anglophone community reacted negatively to the *1977 Charter of Language*, and while some mobilized around *The Equality Party* and *Alliance Quebec* (Bourhis 2012: 33), the community has experienced a high rate of emigration since the seventies (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 24; Lamarre 2007:113). This social-political context, the confrontation that happened between some Anglophone militant social movements and the linguistic Francophone majority through discourse and lawsuits, shapes Quebec English-speaking participants' narratives in the subsequent chapters. Quebec English-speakers who remain in the province today want to be part of the province's life and this is reflected in the current rate of bilingualism. While in 1971, 37% of Quebec English-speakers spoke French, in 2006, 69.8% of Quebec English-speakers speak French (Heritage Canada 2011:5). It is important to highlight that English-speakers are not the only social group concerned with the Francophone majority nation building social-political discourses and debates in the multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural province of Quebec (Rocher 2015). While English is still perceived as a threat to the French language in Quebec (Bourhis 2012), ethnocultural and religious minorities can also be perceived as threats to the nation building efforts of the Francophone majority (Rocher 2015: 147) and their voices are ignored at times. For instance, during *Bouchard-Taylor Commission* and *Bill 60 Charter of Quebec Values* debates, the heterogeneity of

Muslim women's views were not represented (Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014). We can also highlight the absence of Quebec Indigenous perspectives during the *Bouchard-Taylor Commission* (Schaefli and Godlewska 2014), and the lack of attention to the experiences of Black youth struggling in the English and French school systems (Lafortune 2014; Livingstone, Celemencki and Calixte 2014; Thésée and Carr 2014).

In the seventies, Quebec English-speakers underwent a decline in their vitality because of emigration and low birthrate (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 24; Lamarre 2007:113). Several authors insist that Quebec English-speakers who live outside of the greater Montreal region have more in common with Francophones outside of Quebec than Montreal English-speakers because of: a) low population concentration, b) low institutional completeness, c) higher levels of exogamy, and d) fewer opportunities to speak English outside of their home (Bourhis and Landry 2012; Jedwab 2012: 185; Lamarre 2007:112). Moreover, while several Canadians perceive English-speaking Quebecers as a thriving official language minority, which benefit from institutional completeness and the international prestige of the English language, the contemporary reality tells another story. First, English-speaking communities in Quebec experienced the most important decline in numbers of all official language minority communities in Canada between 1996 and 2001 in fourteen of seventeen administrative regions in their province (Carter 2012: 222). Second, economically, Quebec English-speakers are no longer owners and investors controlling the province as it used to be (Carter 2012). In fact, today, there is a great reversal. Surprisingly, Quebec English-speakers are 26% more likely to earn an

income below Statistics Canada low-income cut-off than members of the Francophone majority in Quebec (Carter 2012:223). When we compare nationally the unemployment rate of official language minority communities contrasted to the majority group in each province, Quebec English-speakers have the second highest unemployment rate after Francophones in New-Brunswick (Carter 2012:224). Indeed, English-speaking Quebecers experienced a higher unemployment rate than the French majority with a gap of 17% (Carter 2012: 224). Quebec Black English-speakers, even when they have postsecondary credentials, are twice as likely to be unemployed than other English-speakers, which exemplifies the intersectionality of race and language (Heritage Canada 2011: 7). Third, besides poverty, the demographic decline of Quebec English-speakers has contributed to the closure of institutions providing vital services such as health care and community services, eroding further community vitality (Carter 2012). Fourth, there is a continuous high rate of young Quebec English-speakers migration to other provinces, linked to different challenges including social and professional integration (Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort 2010). Fifth, demographic losses along with the 1977 *Bill 101: the Charter of the French Language* that restrict access to English-language schools, have had an impact on the loss of English-language educational institutions (Bourhis and Foucher 2012). Yet, the Quebec English-speaking community is often described as a "community of communities" because of its heterogeneity (Heritage Canada 2011: 3). Most Canadians are unaware that the province of Quebec does not fund English-language immigration and settlement services since French is the only language of integration in the government's agenda.

While Francophone minority communities can receive federal, provincial and municipal funding to attract, recruit and promote Francophone immigration to compensate for demographic losses, the 1991 *Canada-Quebec Accord* makes this reality impossible for Quebec English-speakers (Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Shragge, Robineau and Forgues 2012). Indeed, the 1991 *Canada-Quebec Accord* gives the province of Quebec total control over recruitment and selection of immigrants and the Quebec government has made the choice to not fund English-language institutions that provide services to immigrants. The rationale being that French is the official language of Quebec; the province wants to see all immigrants learn French; and Quebec wants to integrate all immigrants to the French linguistic majority (Gosselin and Pichette 2014). The federal government, some municipal authorities, and private sources fund English-language immigration and settlement services (Gosselin and Pichette 2014). This absence of provincial funding stems from the belief that English is a threat to the French language in Quebec (Bourhis 2012; Urtnowski et al. 2012). Yet, many English-language not-for-profit organizations respond to the reality that many immigrants and refugees integrate Quebec society through English-language cultural and social institutions and often, they learn French in these institutions (Gosselin and Pichette 2014). This is similar to what happens in Francophone minority communities that also integrate immigrants, who eventually also learn English and can participate to activities in the linguistic minority and majority (Farmer, Chambon and Labrie 2003). The absence of funding for the integration of immigrants who have English as their first official language spoken (FOLS) is

compounded with the restriction of access to English-language elementary and secondary schools with *Bill 101: The Charter of the French Language*. All these factors explain why in the past decades, the Quebec English-speaking communities have experienced the most important community vitality decline among all official language minorities in the country. The international status of the English language alone has not fully compensated for demographic and institutional losses. Yet, the attraction pull of English due to its status results in many Allophones choosing to speak English at home and high levels of media consumption in English in the province of Quebec (Landry 2014: 12).

Franco-Ontarians and vitality

Except for New-Brunswick, where there is a high concentration of Francophones living in the northern rural areas, there are signs of vitality decline of Francophone communities outside of Quebec due to low fertility rates, exogamy, and low intergenerational language transmission (Castonguay 2002: 371; Landry 2014:5). Migration from rural areas with high concentrations of Francophones to urban areas with low concentration of Francophones contributes to a decline in vitality among Francophones outside of Quebec (Castonguay 2002: 373; Landry 2014:8). In general, Francophone minorities have less access to health care in their own language in comparison to the majority and members of the community actively persist to mobilize to rectify this situation (Traisnel and Forgues 2009:17). Two decades ago, it was suggested that the high rate of exogamous marriages was a major factor that explained the linguistic transfers to English among Franco-Ontarians (Mougeon and Beniak 1994: 123). Indeed, this observation seems correct when

we know that less than 20% of exogamous families speak French as their main language at home (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008: 45). Based on their analysis of several studies that establish a relationship between the individuals and institutions, Gilbert and Lefebvre (2008) make several observations about Francophone minority communities. First, although individuals express a strong attachment to their linguistic identity, it does not necessarily translate into practice in public life (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008: 61). Second, several opportunities of partnership or cooperation between organizations to solidify institutional networks have been neglected because of tensions, self-centeredness, and a lack of vision for big projects (Bélanger, Audet and Plante 2014; Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008:62). In addition to the previous elements, vitality is affected by an ambiguous relationship with the majority and the challenge of mobilizing a dispersed community (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008:63). Despite several challenges, the authors highlight that Francophones involved in their community are optimistic about their future (Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008). Family and school socialization are critical for the transmission of the French language for Francophone minorities, the survival of the French language is at stake (Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort 2010). Indeed, principals and teachers in French-language schools take very seriously their role in promoting a cultural and linguistic heritage (IsaBelle 2013; Leurebourg 2013; Leurebourg and IsaBelle 2014; Richard and Gaudet 2014).

Although this dissertation focuses on higher education among official language minorities, it seems relevant to discuss briefly their pathways in elementary and

secondary schools. Minority education rights are protected in the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*:

> (1) Citizens of Canada (a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or (b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province, (2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language. (3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province (a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and (b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds. (Article 23)

Article 23 of the Charter is applicable in all provinces and territories. In Quebec, *Bill 101: The Charter of the French language* impacts the rights of Anglophones as well. This bill introduced additional requirements for permission to access school in English. For this reason, while in this research project I can refer to Francophone students as "right holders" or «ayants droit» to attend school in French, it is a challenge to categorize who in Quebec is a recognized "right holder" to attend elementary and secondary school in English (Landry 2014:127). In order to estimate how many children could possibly attend school in English in Quebec, Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) based their statistical analysis on the fact that one of the two parents had English as a mother tongue. However, these criteria exclude international immigrant parents whose first official language spoken (FOLS) is English, who would prefer that their children attend English-language schools,

but are ineligible for a Quebec certificate of eligibility (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Bourhis and Landry 2012:32; Jedwab 2012; Lamarre et al. 2002; Lamarre 2007).

As Table 1 shows, in all provinces, the population of students in French language schools decreases as students transition from elementary to high school in francophone communities outside of Quebec (Landry 2014:139). In contrast, amongst Quebec English-speakers, the number of students attending English-language schools increases as students transition from elementary to high school (Landry 2014:139). Among Francophone parents who have the right «ayant droits» to send their children to French-language schools outside of Quebec, 66% of these children live in exogamous families (Landry 2014: 126). One can understand why exogamy has a tremendous influence on community vitality. There is evidence showing that only 52.19% of Franco-Ontarian children and teenagers entitled to go to school in French actually attend these schools (Landry 2014: 129).

Table 1.1: Percentage of francophone children right holders registered in French language school (F), in English language school (E) (regular program (R) and immersion (I)) in primary and secondary schools in provinces and territories, except for Quebec (based on Corbeil and al. 2007)

Provinces and Territories	Elementary (%)				Secondary (%)			
	F	E	(R	I)	F	E	(R	I)
Newfoundland and Labrador	18[E]	81	35	47	n.d.	90	61	29
Prince Edward Island	45	54	32[E]	22[E]	36	63	41	23[E]
Nova Scotia	47	52	37	15[E]	42	58	36[E]	22[E]
New Brunswick	82	17	7	10	79	20	8[E]	11[E]
Ontario	58	41	28	14	48	50	36	13[E]
Manitoba	49	49	32	17[E]	35[E]	64	46	18[E]
Saskatchewan	30	69	55	14	17[E]	80	60	20[E]
Alberta	28	70	48	22	12[E]	81	70	11[E]
British Columbia	27[E]	73	50	23[E]	n.d.	88	62	26[E]

Territories	45[E]	50[E]	44[E]	n.d.	n.d.	83	76	n.d.
Canada less Quebec	56	44	29	15	47	51	37	14

The percentages associated to the symbol [E] may not be reliable due to the small size of the sample. The total of percentages may not always be equal 100% due to attendance in other types of programs, or the unreliability of data.
Source: La vie dans une langue officielle minoritaire au Canada, 2014, page 125.

New Brunswick, the only constitutionally bilingual province since 1969 (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 54), has a high francophone territorial population concentration in northern areas (Castonguay 2002; Landry 2014). It is also the province with the largest proportion of Francophones (33%) (Mougeon and Beniak 1994) and as a result, this community shows exceptional vitality signs (Castonguay 2005; Landry 2014). This is why the 80% rate of attendance in French-language schools in New Brunswick is by far the highest among francophone communities in a minority situation in Canada (Landry 2014). Therefore, there is an established relationship between community vitality and attendance to elementary and secondary schools in the minority language. While laws, such as *Bill 101*, have a distinctive impact on Quebec-English speakers, linguistic insecurity influences the likelihood to pursue postsecondary education in French among Franco-Ontarians. Linguistic insecurity is a recurrent theme in the interviews conducted with Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students.

Linguistic Insecurity

Quebec English-speakers are more likely to pursue higher education in English than Francophones outside of Quebec are likely to pursue higher education in French as Table 2 and Table 3 illustrate (Pilote and Magnan 2014). Quebec English-speakers who complete only partially their elementary and secondary education in English, are more likely to pursue higher education in English (Pilote and Magnan 2014: 167). Two factors

may explain this observation. First, international immigrants and refugees cannot send their children to Quebec English-language schools because *Bill 101* restricts access to English-language education to Canadian born children with at least one parent who studied in English in Canada (Bourhis and Foucher 2012). Second, there is an overrepresentation of Allophones among Quebec English-speakers. Allophones are in fact immigrants who do not have French or English as a first language (Mady and Turnbull 2012; Statistics Canada 2009) and they tend to pursue higher education at a higher rate than the general population (Pilote and Magnan 2014: 167). Approximately one third of the English-speaking community of Quebec is composed of immigrants (Jedwab 2012). In light of the findings of this dissertation, I would add a third reason for this high rate of participation in postsecondary education in the English-language on the part of Quebec English-speakers. Quebec English-speakers do not experience linguistic insecurity in contrast to Franco-Ontarians (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014; Larouche and Hinch 2012; Leblanc 2010; Sioufi, Bourhis and Allard 2015).

Table 1.2 Francophones outside of Quebec who pursue their university studies according to the language of study and the province (in %)

Provinces	Language		
	French only	Partially in French	Other language
Ontario	43.0	30.8	26.2
New-Brunswick	80.2	11.3	8.5
Other provinces and territories	30.7	40.2	29.2
Total	51.8	26.8	21.4

Source: Survey on the Vitality of Official Language Minorities, 2006 Statistics Canada

Table 1.3 Anglophones in Quebec who pursue their university studies according to the language of study and the province (in %)

Province	Language		
	English only	Partially in English	Other language
Quebec	88.5	6.5	5

Source: Survey on the Vitality of Official Language Minorities, 2006 Statistics Canada

There is great interprovincial variation among Francophones outside of Quebec. Once again, New Brunswick has by far the largest proportion of Francophones who pursue their higher education in French (80.2%), followed by Ontario with 43% (Pilote and Magnan 2014). The language of schooling and the language(s) spoken at home can influence whether or not a young adult will pursue higher education in the language of the majority or not (Pilote and Magnan 2014). In fact, high school graduates from linguistic endogamous families are more likely to study in their own minority language in all provinces (Pilote and Magnan 2014: 158). Yet, Francophones and Acadians outside of Quebec experience an additional social process.

Twenty years ago, it was found that when Franco-Ontarians believed that English was the dominant language, that French was unimportant, and that their own French was inadequate, they pursued their postsecondary studies in English (Wilkinson 1994: 44). The latter factor, to consider one's French inappropriate, reflects linguistic insecurity (Gaudet and Clément 2009). A recent report from *Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne* indicates that young Franco-Ontarians are less likely to make efforts to live in French and attend postsecondary institutions in French if they are insecure linguistically (2014). Linguistic intimidation is defined as an action, an intervention or a comment that threatens, hurts or humiliates an individual because of the way they speak or the lexicon used (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014: 3). The results of this dissertation resonate with the findings of previous studies that show the existence of linguistic

insecurity in French and the negative consequences of linguistic intimidation (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014; Gaudet and Clément 2009; Larouche and Hinch 2012). Closely associated to linguistic insecurity and linguistic intimidation, there is a lack of recognition of the wide variety of regional French spoken in Canada (Boudreau 2014; Boudreau and Dubois 2001; Chevalier 2008; Leblanc 2010; Lozon 2002). Both social processes are present in the narratives of the participants of my study and will be discussed in the empirical chapters.

Theoretical Framework

Linguistic self-identification and civic engagement

Language is an important basis of affiliation to a community or a social group. Linguistic identities can have implications for the choices and behaviours of individuals. For example, it has been found that linguistic identity affects residential clustering/segregation in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal because it enables certain ethnic groups to have access to community resources in their own language (Mok 2010). Some Indigenous communities are also involved in revitalizing their language(s) (Usborne, Peck and Smith 2011). Yet, the relationship between self-identification and behaviour is not always clear. Several individuals can identify as Francophone, Anglophone or bilingual, and experience a wide range of involvement in French or English, from no involvement at all, to a complete immersion in the community.

As found by previous researchers who studied high school official language minorities, bilingual self-identification has been increasing over the years (Dalley 2006; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a: 169; Jedwab 2012: 114). It is often found that individuals from Francophone minority communities and Quebec English-speakers tend to self-identify along a continuum, from Francophone to bilingual, to Anglophone (Jedwab 2012: Landry, Deveau and Allard 2008). A line of inquiry is to explore if it is the same at the postsecondary level, or if those who attend postsecondary institutions identify themselves more as bilinguals or the language of the minority. This is why the questionnaire includes questions about self-identification and self-characterization. There are also several questions about behaviours such as civic engagement and leisure activities.

As Breton (1994) describes in his typology, there is a difference between self-identification and involvement in the community. While two individuals may identify with the same social group, ideological differences, and other factors, will lead to different patterns of behaviours (Breton 1994; Carter 2005, 2006). Students may identify as Francophones, Anglophones or bilingual, but the level of civic engagement, leisure, and recreational activities in their respective linguistic communities may differ greatly. Gans (2009) describes the theoretical concept of symbolic ethnicity within the context of ongoing processes of assimilation and acculturation. Visible symbols or manifestations of ethnicity are often equivalent to symbolic ethnicity which: “is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday

behavior" (Gans 1979:9). Gans' original focus was on Jews, Irish, Italians and other European ethnic minorities who were experiencing a process of assimilation and acculturation without the total disappearance of ethnicity in the United States (Gans 1994). Breton (1994) also shares the idea that social belonging can be maintained without significant social and cultural participation. Landry, Deveau and Allard (2008) as well understand self-identification and identity-commitment, "*engagement identitaire*", as two components of a social identity and both components should be distinguished when we study official language minorities. Breton (1994), in his analysis of French-Canadian communities outside of Quebec, proposes a typology of three different modalities of social belonging that can be associated to identity-commitment.

The first modality is pragmatism/utilitarianism and refers to the individual who is mostly interested in the political and financial opportunities associated with a social identity. The second modality is interdependence, which describes the individual who identifies strongly to the social group and believes that he/she must help the collectivity in order to further his or her own well-being (Breton 1994). The third modality, the attachment to a distinct cultural heritage, refers to the individual who wishes to share a cultural heritage based on a common philosophy, history and set of cultural practices (Breton 1994).

Gans (1979) and Breton (1994) invite us to reflect on the daily life implications of a social identity in terms of concrete practices. This is why in the context of this study, I will examine the extent to which Breton's typology can be applied to official language

minorities. While they attend a French, English or bilingual postsecondary institution, does the language of civic engagement remain the same or change? In the context of this study, Breton's typology will be used to categorize civic engagement: pragmatism/utilitarianism, interdependence and attachment to a distinct cultural heritage.

Linguistic symbolic boundaries

Symbolic boundaries refer to how official language minorities: "draw the line that delimits an imagined community of "people like me" who share the same sacred values and with whom they are ready to share resources. These communities may overlap with, or cut across, class and racial lines" (Lamont 2000: 3). The study of symbolic boundaries for the analysis of the construction of us and them or in-group/out-group categorization, is relevant in many fields of study. Sociologists work on the process of differentiation, the permeability of boundaries, the dialectical construction of identity based on internal and external realities, the bases of collective mobilization and the cultural repertoires available in boundary work (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 170). The way minority groups categorize and define a collective identity to seek social recognition also involves boundary work (Lamont and Bail: 2005). This boundary work can be highlighted to uncover on behalf of whom claims are made and how these claims are produced (Lamont and Bail: 2005).

Through this research, I wish to investigate how official language minorities perform what Lamont (2000) defines as boundary work by constructing similarities and

differences. Therefore, symbolic boundaries do not refer solely to a predefined legal, political or historical conception of a community, but to what the members of this community itself consider the attributes of what characterizes their identities and what differentiates them from others. Some strategies can be used for bridging boundaries with different arguments from available cultural repertoires such as market-based arguments or conceptions of egalitarianism (Lamont and Aksartova 2002: 17).

Today, there are fewer stigmas attached to a bilingual identity, whereas there are several attached to other kinds of mixed identities, such as a bisexual identity (Brewster and Moradi 2010) or a biracial identity (Cheng and Klugman 2010). In fact, in Canada, some studies indicate that a significant number of young Francophones and Anglophones in a minority situation identify themselves as bilingual (Gérin-Lajoie 2014; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Landry, Deveau and Allard 2008; Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort 2010). Linguistic symbolic boundaries can be more fluid and permeable than are other kinds of social boundaries. However, some social and political contexts do not enable individuals to escape clearly defined boundaries.

Linguistic symbolic boundaries are produced sometimes with good intentions; for example, when native speakers want to accommodate or be polite with outsiders. In public spaces, Welsh speakers tend to speak Welsh only to Welsh born speakers and to switch to English with those who learned Welsh as a second language (Mann 2007). Yet, linguistic symbolic boundaries can also be reinforced in contexts where there are political

tensions between "us and them". Magnan (2010a) finds in her study that linguistic school segregation contributes to the maintenance of boundaries between Quebec English-speakers and Francophones in Quebec City. In fact, even when students are raised in bilingual families, they are forced to choose within the dichotomy of "us versus them", Francophones versus Anglophones (Magnan 2010a). Inevitably, going to an English-language high school becomes a marker of identity in Quebec City, a marker that signifies being the "other." Today, language remains a source of contention in Quebec political debates and English is still considered as a threat to nation building (Bourhis 2012). Still, a minority of Quebec English-speakers decide to study in French for postsecondary education in Quebec City, which indicates that sometimes, individuals cross boundaries (Magnan 2010b). In Belgium, territorial divisions mirroring linguistic divisions and asymmetrical economic growth, contribute to the maintenance of linguistic, economic and social boundaries between the Flemish and the Walloons (Mnookin and Verbeke 2009). In comparison to Belgium, the political context in Canada is less divisive and official language minorities can in some instances blur the line when they attend French, English or bilingual postsecondary institutions.

Participants shared experiences of discrimination during interviews which consisted in the main research instrument for this study. Discrimination is defined as a process by which members of a social group are treated unfairly because of their membership to that group (Krieger 2001: 693). Discrimination can be influenced by prejudice (Bourhis et al. 2007)

and by power struggle dynamics (Krieger 2001). When discrimination is based on language, it is called linguicism (Bourhis et al. 2007).

Social status, cosmopolitanism and commodification

In the sociological literature, a bilingual identity has been described as a slippery slope towards assimilation for official language minorities (Bernard 1996:81; Castonguay 2002: 378; Castonguay 2005:491), as an identity state associated with living in two social worlds (Gérin-Lajoie 2011b), and as a hybrid identity (Dallaire 2003). Previous studies report that official language minorities consider bilingualism as having an added value on the labour market (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a). This is not unique to Canada since in Wales, the increasing interest of Welsh youth to pursue higher education in Welsh is also partially motivated by the economic gains made possible with a bilingual status (Davies and Trystan 2012). Although Breton (1994) mentions in his model about identity that belonging to a linguistic minority can have a strictly utilitarian nature for the sake of benefits, Heller (2010) furthers that thought and suggests that language, including bilingualism, is considered a commodity in a neoliberal economic context because of late capitalism changes. Whereas language used to be associated with a nationalist discourse embedded in historical and political claims, nowadays we have a market driven discourse in French Ontario (Budach, Roy and Heller 2003). For example, since the shift from a political to an economic ideology, some Francophones in northern Ontario maintain two discourses about French literacy: one which emphasizes identity, community, and cultural reproduction and the other which equates French literacy to an economic resource for

regional development (Budach, Roy and Heller 2003:610). This commodification of language uncouples language and community and forces a shift from language as a "right" to language as an "added value" and many francophone national or regional organizations seem to embrace this change (Heller 2011: 15). Although this neo-Marxist analysis of the evolution of discourse about bilingualism is promising, I explore bilingualism as a social status as well because it has not been investigated explicitly in previous studies. I pay particular attention to participants' interpretation of the meaning(s) of bilingualism. Theoretically, bilingualism can be interpreted as a status-enhancer in social settings, as a commodity on the labour market in a globalized economy, and still be associated with a hybrid identity shifting between two worlds. These social processes do not exclude one another.

Weber defines status as: "an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges" (Weber 1978: 305). Weber's definition provides a framework to assess if and how prestige is attributed to bilingualism in comparison to unilingualism. For Weber, there is a distinction between class and status: social classes produce and own goods (Weber 1978). Social class impacts the probability of obtaining a position and goods (Weber 1978: 302). According to Weber (1978), status is based on lifestyle, formal education and hereditary or occupational prestige. Status groups are defined as: "a plurality of persons who, within a larger group successfully claim a) a special social esteem, and possibly also b) status monopolies" (Weber 1978: 306). Status groups can emerge as a result of their lifestyles, hereditary charisma or their appropriation of political

or hierocratic powers (Weber 1978). The first component of Weber's definition that will be examined is the special social esteem, honour or prestige attributed to status. Bilingualism can potentially bring status in ways that other mixed identities do not because of more permeable boundaries for language compared to sexuality or race.

The difference between class and status is not always understood this way. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu contends that status is a symbolic artifact of class (Bourdieu 1984). He sees a relationship between academic (or other forms of capital) capital and what is considered tasteful. In other words, class translates into lifestyle, tastes, competitions for honour and distinction and not just economic resources. Education not only ennobles students with credentials, but also introduces students to what is considered legitimate culture. Therefore, academic institutions reinforce the capital acquired in the bourgeois family. Taste, cultural nobility and distinction reflect social class (Bourdieu 1984: 173). Weber points out that educational credentials have replaced hereditary nobility to acquire social prestige in bureaucracies (Weber 1978: 1000). However, as Weber suggested, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) found empirical evidence to support the relevance of distinguishing class from status.

Chan and Goldthorpe (2007b) like Weber, associate class with "life chances", such as employment security and prospect, and status to "life choices", such as cultural consumption. In their study, they examined the effect of class and status on security, prospects, and cultural consumption. The findings indicate that on the one hand, class has

an impact on unemployment risks and earnings (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007b: 522). On another hand, status influences cultural consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007b:522). The crucial result of their study is that cultural omnivores are found across all social classes, they have in common high levels of education, and they are not concentrated in one social class. This contradicts Bourdieu's proposal that lifestyle associated to status, reflects class. Class and status influence different areas of social life with different social processes and mechanisms (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007b: 529). Chan and Goldthorpe (2007b) find that omnivores tend to be highly educated, which confirms one of Weber's assumptions that education is intimately related to status. In another study, their findings indicated that newspaper readership is more influenced by status than class, confirming once again that status influences cultural consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a). There are other reasons that justify the study of status as an independent distinctive force from class and power (Ridgeway 2014).

For the study of inequality, material processes are insufficient for understanding everything. Status, inequality based on valuation, social worth and recognition, has an impact on cultural processes of inequality at the micro and macro levels (Ridgeway 2014:2). Cultural beliefs or status cultural beliefs shape our expectations for ourselves and others, and influence our actions and as such, status influences the social relational aspects of life (Ridgeway 2014:3). Status cultural beliefs inform our assumptions about "who is better" and influence the distribution of power and resources in organizations at the social relational level (Ridgeway 2014:12). Ridgeway (2014) identifies three

justifications for the relevance of status. First, status consolidates inequality based on power and resources, by shifting attention to status differences rather than on the situation of control of a group over the other, and by doing so, it contributes to the durability of inequality (Ridgeway 2014:3). Second, cultural status beliefs reinforce and essentialize differences between different types of people, which in turn consolidate the assumptions that some are superior to others (Ridgeway 2014:4). Finally, these beliefs about essential differences generate inequality independently as an autonomous factor and this explains why there may still be inequality between women and men occupying the same powerful and resourceful positions for example (Ridgeway 2014:4). Status biases and hierarchies of esteem affect organizational processes at the social relation level, which in turn contribute to the reproduction of inequalities.

The second part of the analysis of status will examine an outcome or a manifestation of status: cosmopolitan "omnivorousness" or claims to be open to appreciating everything (Peterson 1997; Peterson and Kern 1996). Peterson (1997) argued that highbrow snobbery no longer provides status and honour in the American context. Rather, cosmopolitan omnivorousness, being eclectic, is what provides higher status in the United States (Peterson 1997). Peterson and Kern (1996) explain that being an omnivore signifies openness to appreciating everything. Bryson (1996) brings some nuances to this analysis. While highly educated individuals show cultural tolerance to a large range of music types, the music genres they dislike the most are those embraced by the least educated individuals (Bryson 1996: 895). "Cultural breadth has become a high-status signal that

excludes low-status cultural cues and is unevenly distributed by education in the United States" (Bryson 1996: 895). Bryson (1996) suggests that instead of characterizing openness by cosmopolitan omnivorousness, we call this phenomenon multicultural capital, which reflects the American social prestige attached to breadth and tolerance. While in the United States, there might be a multicultural capital that provides social prestige; do official language minorities pursuing postsecondary studies believe that they have a "bilingual capital" in Canada? This research verifies if Peterson and Bryson's conceptions of omnivorousness and openness can apply to official language minorities. Essentially, I inquire if students associate bilingualism to a form of openness to two cultures, which does not necessarily involve "liking" everything in both cultures (Peterson and Kern 1996). Is it possible that bilinguals engage civically in both languages, consume media artefacts in both languages and belong to social networks in both languages?

On an individual level, bilingualism may represent the reality of linguistic minorities who have to be competent in English and French to function and survive, while at the same time they navigate between both linguistic cultural repertoires. This is why questions about identity and symbolic boundaries are relevant. It is possible that official language minorities attribute to themselves positive characteristics because they are bilingual, which could infer that they would consider bilingualism as a social status. The way bilingualism is rationalized may confirm or not a hierarchy or the existence of status cultural beliefs. Like omnivores enacting status, being bilingual can also imply that, on an

individual level, one can draw from two linguistic repertoires to express ideas and enjoy different cultural artefacts such as plays, music, cinema, or books. It can also imply that on an interpersonal level, enacting openness, individuals navigate in unilingual and bilingual social networks. At the same time, at a macro or structural level, bilingualism can have a market added value and be treated as a commodity in different social contexts (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Heller: 2010). Although linguistic identity, symbolic boundaries and status may appear to be three unrelated topics, they are interconnected because they shed light on the complexity of the individual, interpersonal, and structural processes through which official language minorities envision themselves and their experiences as they pursue higher education.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This study contrasts identity, linguistic symbolic boundaries, experiences of linguicism, social status, and postsecondary experiences among Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students. A qualitative research design is appropriate to explore the mechanisms and processes related to identity, symbolic boundaries, experiences of discrimination and social status. In-depth interviewing is also an appropriate technique for comparisons across contexts (Lamont and Swiindler 2014: 158). Using focus groups or participant-observation techniques may not have yielded similar responses when participants discussed openly about linguicism. In fact, in-depth interviewing is also recommended to explore emotions associated to social experiences (Pugh 2013:65). This comparative analysis used sequential semi-structured interviews in English and in French in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. Between January and June 2014, eighteen young Franco-Ontarians and eighteen young Quebec English-speakers were interviewed forming a total sample of thirty-six participants. This chapter summarizes the recruitment process, the participants' characteristics, the interviewing experience, as well as the limitations of this inquiry.

Recruitment

Recruitment was completed with two sampling techniques described by Small (2009). The first technique is sampling for range; I initially looked for participants who study in

English-language and French-language postsecondary institutions in both provinces because I had hoped to compare four groups. I also used snow-ball sampling or convenience sampling as a second technique, meaning some interviewees referred other potential participants for subsequent interviews. As a method of inquiry, I performed sequential interviewing (Small 2009:24). Each interview was treated as a case study and a subsequent interview or case study was a tentative replica of the previous one. As a result, each interview was adapted to each participant until I reached saturation, which means until the last case revealed nothing new (Small 2009:25). In fact, after approximately a dozen interviews in each group, participants discussed similar themes in similar terms about identity, boundaries, discrimination, and social status. Since the answers were redundant, I stopped interviewing after recruiting18 participants. Below, I explain further saturation and the sample of participants.

Originally, I intended to recruit participants via Facebook, Twitter, and postsecondary institutions' communication channels. I was able to recruit participants effectively with snowballing through members of different associations and students' association mailing lists. Especially in Ontario, students and cultural associations have been of valuable assistance to promote this research project and to assist me in contacting potential participants. While I did use online social networks, I convinced most interviewees to participate through personal contact: by speaking to them over the phone or e-mailing them personally. My participants came from several postsecondary institutions in Ontario and Quebec: Vanier College, Dawson's College, Marianopolis College, la Cité

Collégiale, Université St-Paul, University of Ottawa, OCAD University, Concordia University, McGill University, and Université Laval. To better visualize postsecondary institutions attended by official language minorities, Appendix D presents a map of all the postsecondary institutions, colleges, CEGEPS, and universities available to official language minorities across Canada. Appendix C provides a list of all the institutions' names along with their founding year. To highlight the focus of this study, Appendix E shows a map with all the Ontario and Quebec postsecondary institutions in Ontario, which offer programs and courses in the language of the provincial linguistic minority.

As suggested by Duneier (2011), it is important that I mention my fieldwork entry points in a transparent fashion. It was relatively easier to recruit Franco-Ontarians compared to Quebec English-speakers for three reasons. First, I was able to contact Francophones in positions of leadership in different mainstream Francophone associations (students' associations, students' newspapers, and students' clubs) and Francophone advocacy organizations. Second, a factor that hindered Quebec-English speaking participants recruitment was that in Quebec, several English-speakers in a leadership position that I contacted on campus, especially at the university level, were from out of province or were international students with no ties with the Quebec English-speaking community. In contrast to the number of Franco-Ontarian associations, there is no English-speaking youth advocacy organization. Indeed, Quebec English-speaking youth are not as organized as Francophone and Acadian youth across the country to uphold their linguistic rights as official language minorities. The third factor that halted Quebec English-

speaking participants' recruitment was that few English-speakers pursue college or university education in French and I was only able to find one participant who did. This is not surprising since 95% of Quebec English-speakers choose to pursue higher education in English partially or completely (Pilote and Magnan 2014:156). In the following paragraphs, I explore in detail how these three factors impacted the recruitment process.

The first interviewees that I contacted were Francophones involved in a students' association, club or students' newspapers and many recommended other participants who did not necessarily share the same level of civic engagement. Thus, I was able to recruit a wide range of participants with some who volunteer in several organizations and others who do not volunteer at all. I was also able to contact interviewees through different associations invested in the promotion of access to cultural and educational resources for Franco-Ontarian youth. As Appendix G indicates, many associations and networks exist with the purpose of defending the interests of Francophone minorities outside of Quebec and they are all interconnected. Among these associations are *Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario* (AFO), *Fédération de la Jeunesse Franco-Ontarienne* (FESFO) and the *Regroupement Étudiant Franco-Ontarien* (RÉFO). AFO used to be called *Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario (ACFEO)* and was founded in 1910, then it became *Association canadienne- française de l'Ontario (ACFO)* in 1969, then the name changed to *Association des communautés franco-ontariennes de l'Ontario (ACFO)* in 2004 and finally, *Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario (AFO)* in 2006. AFO's mandate is to advocate for the rights of all Francophones in Ontario and

there is an equivalent "sister" association with similar goals and activities in every other province except Quebec. This strong association relies on individual, institutional, and associative members across the province, including the different regional ACFO chapters across the province (eg. ACFO of Windsor, ACFO of Prescott-Russell). The FESFO focuses on organizing structuring activities and promoting French education in all the high schools across the province and has its equivalent "sister" association with similar goals and activities in every single province in Canada except Quebec as indicated in Appendix H. The *Regroupement Étudiant Franco-Ontarien*'s mandate is to defend Ontario Francophones' access to higher education in French. The RÉFO is unique since there is no other similar "sister" organization in other provinces to defend postsecondary education access for Francophones outside of Quebec.

Why do we see such a difference in the number of associations and organizations between Quebec and Ontario? First, Quebec English-speakers, especially in Montreal, benefit from better institutional completeness with public and private institutions providing services in their language (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a: 191). As a result, there are fewer associations or organizations centered on defending youth and young adults' educational or cultural rights based on their status as official language minorities. One could argue that the lack of institutions and services that Francophones outside of Quebec experience fosters the desire to lobby and implement activities at the provincial and national levels. Another potential avenue of explanation is that Francophones outside of Quebec have been a minority for much longer compared to Quebec English-speakers. Indeed, before

the sixties, Quebec English-speakers did not perceive themselves as a minority and many contemporary institutions that contribute to institutional completeness in Montreal were founded decades ago. Appendix C provides the foundation dates and locations of universities located on the map of Appendix D. McGill University and Bishop University, English-language universities in Quebec, were founded in the 19th century. McGill University, as a world-renowned university, has a great range of programs and significant financial resources, which are incomparable to French-language universities outside of Quebec such as Université Sainte-Anne, Université de Moncton, or Université de St-Boniface. Some Francophones in a minority situation are sometimes unable to complete a university program in French in their own jurisdiction. Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince-Edward-Island and all three territories provide no university program in French (see Appendix D). While Ontario may appear to provide several opportunities for postsecondary education in French, several bilingual institutions or French-language postsecondary institutions only offer a small number of programs in French or in English and French. Not surprisingly, several Franco-Ontarian participants expressed some degree of disappointment about access to courses and programs in French as will be shown in the following empirical chapters. Overall, Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians are experiencing different processes of minoritization (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a) due to different historical, social and political contexts. However, Quebec English-speakers who live outside of the greater Montreal area have limited access to institutions like Franco-Ontarians while Montreal Quebec English-speakers benefit from relatively strong institutional infrastructure (Gérin-Lajoie 2011a: 193).

It is worth mentioning that Francophone associations outside of Quebec do not necessarily reach out to the vast majority of the group that they represent (Frenette 1998). Some authors suggest that while this list of organizations and associations may be impressive, these institutional networks are often elitist and separated from the community for which they lobby (Frenette 1998: 170). Institutional completeness varies regionally because even if the federal government funds equally communities across the country, provincial governments do not (Dallaire and Denis 2005). As a result, the degree of activity, lobbying or effectiveness of any provincial or national association varies from one province to another.

The second factor making it difficult to recruit Quebec English-speakers was that English-language universities in Quebec are attended in great proportion by out of province and international students. Even if French-language universities outside of Quebec also have international students, it was more difficult to identify and recruit Quebec English-speakers than Franco-Ontarians. The third factor that made recruitment more difficult was that I intended to recruit Quebec English-speakers who attend French-language postsecondary institutions. In fact, initially, I wanted to compare four groups: Quebec English-speakers who study in English, Quebec English-speakers who study in French, Franco-Ontarians who study in English, and Franco-Ontarians who study in French. However, as mentioned in the literature review, 95% of Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students choose to pursue higher education completely (88.5%) or partially

(6.5%) in English (Pilote and Magnan 2014:156). This fact made the recruitment of Quebec English-speakers pursuing college or university studies in French extremely challenging. Eventually, I only recruited one Quebec English-speaker who was attending postsecondary education in French while I recruited four Franco-Ontarians who were attending postsecondary education in English. For this reason, I focused the comparison on two groups instead of four: Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students as one group and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students as the other group. Despite the reduced number of groups compared from four to two, the responses' analysis remained relevant and rich.

Regarding saturation and the sample of this study: two explanations regarding the exclusion of Franco-Ontarian immigrants and the range of views expressed by the participants are required. It is important to highlight that I did not recruit immigrants and refugees to minimize variation because the focus of this inquiry is linguistic identity. Although one Quebec English-speaking participant is an immigrant, all the other participants are Canadian born. The unique identity processes and experiences of Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking immigrants can be explored in several other articles and public reports (Farmer, Chambon and Labrie 2003; Farmer and Labrie 2008; Gérin-Lajoie 2011b; Gérin-Lajoie 2014; Gosselin and Pichette 2014; Jean-Pierre 2015; Jedwab 2012; Lamarre 2007; Urtnowski et al. 2012). A survey with a large sample would be more appropriate to study the intersectionality of linguistic identity, race, ethnicity, religion, and immigration status among Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-

speaking postsecondary students. This qualitative study is exploratory and fills a gap in the literature because Canadian born official language minorities' linguistic and cultural processes are seldom studied at the postsecondary education level.

Another important point is that there is a generational shift in the way young official language minorities describe their linguistic identity because they increasingly identify as bilinguals (Jedwab 2012; Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013) and they adopt a very inclusive approach to belonging. Young Francophones outside of Quebec increasingly identify as bilinguals but also embrace diversity and an inclusive definition of who belongs to their communities rather than a strictly genealogical one (Dallaire 2003; Dallaire 2008). Therefore, while participants can refer to some older generations' genealogical understanding of linguistic identity that they have heard, there are no postsecondary students who believe in a strictly genealogical (Catholic French-Canadian descent) definition of belonging in my sample. This is why this sample does not include participants with a strictly genealogical perspective, which is mostly associated with some older Franco-Ontarians. Similarly, young Quebec English-speaking youth in Quebec are inclusive when it comes to who belongs (Gérin-Lajoie 2014) and self-identify linguistically in multiple ways (Magnan 2013). Emigration to other provinces has affected deeply Quebec English-speaking communities' linguistic vitality in the last decades. For the most part, militant Anglophones who decades ago mobilized with *The Equality Party* and *Alliance Quebec* (Bourhis 2012: 33), which no longer exist, left the province. There is evidence that English speakers who choose to stay in Quebec strongly identify with the

province (Magnan 2008). This explains why there is no militant "anti-Bill 101" or "anti French" Quebec English-speaking participant in the sample even though participants are aware of older Quebec Anglophone militant claims and assertions. The participants are Bill 101's children and they have no nostalgia of a past Quebec English-speaking dominance in the province. Moreover, with vocal nationalist and sovereignist movements in Quebec, any English-speaking militant movement could potentially be perceived as a threat and could result in a serious backlash by the Francophone linguistic majority. In sum, I did reach saturation in both provinces because the range of participants' responses reflect the different contemporary views among young Canadian born Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking perspectives on linguistic identity.

Participants

Since all the participants of this study are adults, each participant read the letter of information and signed the consent forms voluntarily. Originally, in order to minimize internal variations, I wanted to recruit Francophones in Ontario who were: 1) born in Ontario, 2) who attended elementary school and high school in French, 3) who spoke French frequently at home and 4) who self-identified as Francophone in Ontario. I wanted to recruit Quebec English-speakers who were: 1) born in Quebec, 2) who attended elementary school and high school in English, 3) who spoke English frequently at home and 4) who self-identified as Quebec English-speakers. I also intended to exclude Quebec English-speakers who attended French-language schools or Franco-Ontarian students who

attended English-language schools. In the field, my understanding of these two linguistic groups changed and I modified the recruitment criteria.

While all Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students recruited in this study were born in Canada, one Quebec English-speaking postsecondary student was born outside of Canada and had immigrated at the age of five. Second, some Francophone participants in Ontario were born in another Canadian province, but had been active members in the Franco-Ontarian community for several years; therefore I decided that they should be included. It is the same in Quebec where some English-speaking participants, born in another province, had also been actively involved in the community for several years. Third, while all the participants self-identified as Francophones or Anglophones, the proportion that spoke frequently French or English at home varied. Indeed, some participants were from exogamous families where English and French are spoken; some have roommates who do not speak their mother tongue; and others live in dwellings where languages other than French or English are spoken.

Eighteen Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students aged between 19 and 26 years old were recruited while eighteen Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students aged between 18 and 39 years old were recruited. The sample in Ontario was half men, half women and in Quebec, the sample included 10 men and 8 women, as detailed in Table 4. As mentioned in the previous chapter, exogamy has had great impact on official language communities (Dalley 2006; Landry 2014: 126) and Table 5 provides a breakdown of the

participants who came from linguistic exogamous families: 4 participants amongst Quebec-English speakers and 7 participants amongst Franco-Ontarians. While there was no specific question about the occupation or the income of participants' parents, many participants specified the level of education of their parents when they explained why they chose to pursue higher education. Table 6 and Table 7 present the breakdown of their answers. Nine Franco-Ontarian participants and 10 Quebec-English-speakers reported that their mother had attended a university institution and 9 Franco-Ontarian participants and 13 English-speaking participants reported that their father had completed a university degree. As explained in the previous chapter, both communities are today "community of communities" due to racial, ethnic, and religious diversity (Farmer, Chambon and Labrie 2003; Farmer and Labrie 2008; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002; Heritage Canada 2011; Jedwab 2012; Lamarre 2007). Therefore, participants in each group mentioned non-linguistic identity markers. During the interviews, 3 Quebec English-speaking participants self-identified as Jewish, 2 participants self-identified as Italian, 1 participant self-identified as Polish, 1 participant self-identified as "part Hungarian", and 1 participant self-identified as Filipina. During the interviews with Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students, 2 participants reported to be "partially Latino", many discussed the provinces and the regions where they came from (Quebec, Northern Ontario, Southern Ontario), but none of the participants mentioned their religious affiliation.

Amongst Quebec English-speakers, all were full-time university, college or *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel* (CEGEP) students or had graduated within the last year. CEGEPS are Quebec postsecondary institutions that offer 3-year occupational training programs and 2-year pre-university academic programs. In Quebec, high school ends after secondary 5, the equivalent of grade 11 in other provinces. Participants who had graduated were all going back to school the next year, taking only one sabbatical year to work or reflect upon their career goals.

Table 2.1 Gender Breakdown of Participants in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews

	Men	Women
Franco-Ontarians	9	9
Quebec English-Speakers	10	8

Table 2.2. Number of participants in Quebec and in Ontario from exogamous families during 2014 interviews

	Linguistic Endogamous	Linguistic Exogamous
Franco-Ontarians	11	7
Quebec English-Speakers	14	4

Table 2.3 Highest Level of Education Completed by the Mother of each Participant in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews

	High school diploma or less	College diploma or some college	Some university, bachelor and higher	Not available
Franco-Ontarians	4	4	9	1
Quebec English-speakers	2	3	10	3

Table 2.4 Highest Level of Education Completed by the Father of each Participant in Quebec and Ontario during 2014 interviews

	High school diploma or less	College diploma or some college	Some university, bachelor and higher	Not available
Franco-Ontarians	5	4	9	2
Quebec English-speakers	5	0	13	3

Interviewing as a process

The expected duration of the interview was sixty minutes, but in the field, interviews' duration varied between thirty-seven minutes and ninety minutes. In fact, on average, most participants took approximately fifty minutes to complete the interview. Since my goal was to explore social processes and mechanisms associated to identity, culture and social status, I was not seeking a representative sample or the ability to generalize the results in Montreal or Ottawa. Rather, fieldwork locations were selected to facilitate recruitment due to the high concentration of potential participants in these cities. The interviews with Quebec English-speakers took place for the most part in Montreal, where the largest proportion of Quebec English-speakers live (Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira 2010). The interviews with Franco-Ontarians took place for the most part in Ottawa where Franco-Ontarians live in significant numbers (Government of Ontario 2012). Eventually, fieldwork took place in several locations including Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto between January 2014 and June 2014. I was able to complete the interviews on or nearby university, college or CEGEP campuses in places such as: coffee shops, libraries, lounges, cafeterias, classrooms and students' organizations' offices.

First, each participant answered questions from the interview guideline found in Appendix A. Following the interview, the participant responded orally to questions on a feelings thermometer, which was a prestige scale to assess how bilingualism is perceived (see Appendix B). Coding and analysis were completed with the qualitative software package MAXQDA. I used the services of two different transcribers to analyse

participants' scripts: one in English and one in French. In order to facilitate dissemination, I translated with the best of my abilities Franco-Ontarians' quotations relevant for analysis in the following empirical chapters. When words in Franco-Ontarians' quotations are written in *italic*, it means that the participants originally used that expression in English during the interview.

Although all the questions planned in the guideline were asked to every participant, the semi-structured nature of the interviews enabled the spontaneous inclusion of other relevant questions. Indeed, by its very nature, interviewing is an inductive process. Therefore, I was able to clarify, prompt, or add questions to an interview according to my discretionary judgement. Some questions were rephrased, paraphrased for clarifications, and some comments were added. There are five main modifications that I would like to underscore.

First, while Franco-Ontarians provided detailed responses to question 9: "how would you describe your attachment to your linguistic identity and how do you believe you enact it?", Quebec English-speakers had very little to say about their attachment. In order to encourage participants to explore this issue, I proposed a fictional situation where they would be forced into exile in France, and coerced to think, to speak, to read, to live and to consume everything only in French with no right to even access their memories in English. Prompting was not done to lead the interviewer towards a specific answer, rather it was to explore if when faced with an extreme situation, the emotional and verbal

responses remained the same. Since English is an international language, I thought that a fictional scenario could elicit deeper reflection. In fact, this extreme example helped participants to reconsider their first indifferent or negative responses. This phenomenon is further analysed in the following chapter.

Second, for question 10: "Who do you believe belongs in this linguistic group? What characteristics make someone French, English, or bilingual?" and question 11: "What are the benefits and disadvantages of speaking both official languages? Does speaking both official languages make you any different from other Canadians? If so, how?", some participants did not have much to say. Therefore, I did prompt participants to see if they would add other characteristics or benefits and disadvantages. Perhaps the participants of my study do not reflect regularly on the advantages and disadvantages of their competency in English and in French and needed some additional time to think about how they differ from other multilingual Canadians.

Third, for question 14, many participants experienced difficulties in naming who they considered to be a friend in their close circle after citing two or three friends. Therefore, I added a probe with a fictional situation: "If you were in a hospital, other than members of your family, is there a friend that you would call that you haven't mentioned yet?" Following this probe, a third or fourth friend would come to the mind of the interviewees. Fourth, after all the questions were asked, I did encourage participants to express themselves about their overall degree of satisfaction in their program and institution. This

question became relevant since the first interviewee expressed the desire to comment upon personal experiences and his contribution was relevant to the issues of language and education. This added question enabled me to explore how students in both communities differ when it comes to their satisfaction in postsecondary institutions. The contributions to this question are explored in Chapter 5.

Finally, with the use of a feelings thermometer, I hoped to measure the level of prestige attributed to different social groups in order to assess if being bilingual is perceived as honourable. After the first interviews conducted, I realized that many participants tended to respond 5 *strongly positive feelings* to all social groups and I suspected that desirability could be interfering with the interviewees' responses. Therefore, after reading the paragraph preceding the thermometer, I started to say: "This is not a tool to measure discrimination, hatred or resentment." This added comment helped to put participants at ease, and I started to get a more diverse range of responses.

Once the interview and the thermometer were completed, interviewees were invited to ask questions, to provide further comments, or other thoughts. During the interview, when a participant offered a long response, I summarized the key elements highlighted to give the participant the opportunity to agree, to clarify, or to add other elements to the response.

Limitations

There are perspectives and realities that my study cannot convey. Both communities are heterogeneous ethnically and religiously, this sample does not present an in-depth exploration of the negotiation of linguistic identity with other social markers. However, in order to highlight linguistic identity contemporary dynamics among official language minorities' postsecondary students, and due to time restriction, it seemed reasonable to limit the scope of this study.

Interviewing as a technique has its limitations. Like many other qualitative endeavours with the exception of ethnography, only the perceptions, beliefs, interpretations and rationalizations can be captured. There might be discrepancies between what the participants say about identity and what they actually do. Nevertheless, as suggested by Lamont and Swidler (2014), every technique has its strengths and weaknesses and none is good or bad. A few advantages of interviewing are that it involves: quick data gathering, it is relatively inexpensive, it encourages reflection on research design, and it can reveal emotional dimensions of social experiences (Lamont and Swidler 2014:158-159). The data collected, can inspire future observational or experimental studies.

I acknowledge that social desirability bias, which refers to the tendency to respond in a socially acceptable way, may have influenced participants' responses. In order to alleviate this bias, the questions were organized chronologically from more value-neutral to less value-neutral questions. For example, questions about civic engagement were

asked before questions about self-identification. In addition, as mentioned earlier, prompts were used before the thermometer to encourage honest responses with the prestige scale. I should also add that as a Black Montreal born French speaker, some Quebec English-speakers in Montreal may have hesitated to speak candidly. However, I believe that I was able to gain every participant's trust because I speak English, and I have personal ties to the English-speaking community in Montreal. When asked about myself, I did reveal that: a) I attended *Marianopolis College (*an English-language CEGEP), b) that many of my friends attended *McGill University*, *Bishop University*, or *Concordia University*, c) that I worked in the West-end with English-speakers, d) and that I now live in Ontario. I believe that my participants felt safe to speak their mind since they realized that I had extensive knowledge of English-speaking Montreal neighbourhoods and institutions. In addition, since I am Black, I do not completely fit the normative image of who is considered a typical "Québécois" since my parents are Haitian immigrants. Therefore, as the chapter about discrimination details, I am not completely part of "us", I am another type of "other" in Quebec. In fact, several studies explore how race matters in Quebec, for example, the case of Black youth difficulties in the school system (Lafortune 2014; Livingstone, Celemencki and Calixte 2014; Thésée and Carr 2014). Franco-Ontarian participants felt at ease to speak with me. Participants who have few opportunities to speak in French publicly were more than happy to complete the interview with me and to talk about their linguistic identity. Beyond desirability bias with the questions, the prestige-scale or the fact that I am a French-speaking interviewer, the

social-political context of the time period during which the interviews took place is significant because it may have affected the responses.

The interviews were conducted between January 2014 and June 2014. This means that a majority of the interviews were completed before the general election in Quebec held on Monday April 7th 2014, while there was a heated debate surrounding *La Charte des Valeurs Québécoises* or *Bill 60: Charte affirmant les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État ainsi que d'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et encadrant les demandes d'accommodement* introduced by the Parti Québécois on November 7th 2013 (Ugland 2014; Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014:24). This *Charter of Quebec Values* proposed to reinforce secularism or «laïcité », the religious neutrality of the state, equality between men and women, and to restrict reasonable accommodations (Rocher 2005: 152). While polls indicated that the linguistic majority in Quebec, Francophones, supported the charter, the majority of Quebec English-speakers were opposed because article 5 of the bill proposed to ban ostentatious religious garment with the exception of small discrete crosses or small «crucifix» (Leduc 2014).

After the reasonable accommodation crisis in the mid 2000s which revolved mainly around the limits of accommodation for Orthodox Jews and Muslims (Gagnon 2011), followed by the release of the 2008 *Bourchard-Taylor Report* (Ugland 2014), how can we explain the elaboration of the Parti Québécois *Bill 60* and the diverging responses to one of its main contentious component: article 5? Article 5 refers to the ban of religious

garments: “In the exercise of their functions, personnel members of public bodies must not wear objects such as headgear, clothing, jewelry or other adornments which, by their conspicuous nature, overtly indicate a religious affiliation” (Gouvernement du Québec 2013: 6).

Several explanations can be provided. Gagnon (2011) suggests that we should look at Quebec’s relationship with the federal government as a centre (federal)-periphery (Quebec) relationship. In fact, Quebec has rejected federal multiculturalism in favour of interculturalism (Ugland 2014). Quebec interculturalism requires that in the public sphere, inter-communal exchange, dialogue and negotiation take place in French for cultural, social, political and legal developments (Gagnon 2011: 44). In that context, the *Charter of Quebec Values* can be understood as a response, if not a ‘total retreat from Canadian multiculturalism’ (Ugland 2014: 17) to reaffirm that Quebec is a «société distincte», distinctive society within the Confederation. For Quebec, nation building involves the idea of «vivre ensemble» or “to live together” which implies that individualism alone cannot determine all decisions and some degree of collectivism should be valued (Gagnon 2011: 43). The Parti Québécois saw in the *Charter of Quebec Values* a legislative tool to circumscribe the Quebec collective “We”, regardless of individual rights. Beyond the relationship that Quebec has with Canadian multiculturalism and its aspirations to “live together” around common values, some religious minorities’ requests are perceived as direct threats to two fundamental elements of the Quiet Revolution: gender equality and secularism (Bouchard and Taylor 2008: 18; Ugland 2014: 19; Vatz-Laaroussi and Laaroussi 2014: 24). While *Bill 60* ignited debates

about identity, it did awake discussions about *us and them* in the province. Heated confrontations about what it means to represent the neutral-secular state of Quebec as a public servant, what it means to be an uncompromising authentic feminist, and what values a Quebecer should hold dear, were on the minds of all Quebecers: Francophones, English-speakers, Aboriginals, immigrants and refugees, as well as racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. In March 2014, a majority of Francophones (68%) supported *Bill 60* including article 5, while a majority of Quebec English-speakers (79%) did not support *Bill 60* because of article 5 or the ban of religious garments for public servants (Leduc 2014). *Bill 60* was a wedge issue and for many critics, the *Charter of Quebec Values* was: "an electoral ploy by the government to win back voters on the right who had switched to Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ), the former Action Démocratique du Québec (ADQ)" (Potvin 2014: 138).

It is important that the reader realizes that I conducted my interviews between January and June 2014, at the height of the *Charter of Values* debate and during an electoral campaign where sovereignty, *Bill 60*, and Quebec's national identity were at the forefront of political turmoil. It seems relevant to mention the context because the *Charter of Quebec Values* highlighted the divide that can be found circumstantially between Quebec English-speakers and the linguistic French-speaking majority in Quebec. As a result, the reader should keep in mind the context of the narratives about identity, linguistic symbolic boundaries and social status of both Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers. Indeed, Franco-Ontarians, as well as members of other Francophone minorities,

are knowledgeable and very much aware of Quebec political debates and sometimes develop their own perspectives in response to Quebec's discussions (Cardinal 2012:56).

Conclusion

A total of thirty-six participants were interviewed to explore linguistic identity, linguistic symbolic boundaries, discrimination, social status, and postsecondary experiences. I used sampling for range, because I hoped to compare four groups, and snow-ball sampling for recruitment. Recruiting Quebec English-speaking participants was more challenging than recruiting Franco-Ontarian participants because of the existence of several Franco-Ontarian associations, the difficulty to find Quebec English-speakers on English-language university campuses in Montreal and the small proportion of Quebec English-speakers who attend French-language postsecondary institutions. As a result, my analysis emphasizes boundary work between Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians without focusing on the language of the postsecondary institution attended. The vast majority of participants were born in Canada, were aged between 18 and 39 years old and were attending on a full-time basis college, CEGEP or university or they had graduated within the past twelve months. In order to elicit some responses from interviewees, some questions were added and prompts were used based on my judgement. Finally, I acknowledge that the participants' responses should be interpreted with caution because of desirability bias, because French is my first language and most importantly, because of the Quebec social-political context during the 2014 pre-election campaign and heated debate surrounding the *Charter of Values*. Nevertheless, I contend that the interviews

revealed how context, specific needs, and diverging aspirations shape differently official language minorities' postsecondary students in Ontario and Quebec through their linguistic identity processes, boundary work, and the social status of bilingualism.

CHAPTER 3

LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

This chapter compares processes of linguistic self-identification and attachment amongst Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students. Several questions were included in the interview to explore linguistic identity. Breton (1994) suggests that there are two components to identity: self-identification and civic engagement. Several individuals can identify to the same group while they experience different dynamics in the community. I applied Breton's typology to my participants' responses: pragmatism, interdependence, and attachment to a distinct identity. To better understand self-identification and how participants define their linguistic characteristics, I asked the interviewees: *How would you name and describe your linguistic identity?* To explore civic engagement, and more specifically, attachment, I asked the interviewees: *How would you describe your attachment to your linguistic identity and how do you believe you enact it?*

How would you name and describe your linguistic identity? In terms of self-identification, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students identified themselves along a continuum with nuances: 1) Anglophone, 2) Anglophone with fluency in French, and 3) bilingual. Participants' narratives suggested that the prominent language(s) of socialization and social interactions, self-assessment of fluency in French, and attachment to French and/or English culture influenced self-identification. Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students identified themselves along a continuum as well: 1) Francophone,

2) Francophone bilingual and 3) bilingual. Participants' narratives indicated that the prominent language of socialization and social interactions, the degree of self-assessed fluency in French, attachment to French culture, recognition by others of one's distinct identity (by Franco-Ontarians from various regions, by Quebecers, or by Anglophones), and the political challenges of the Franco-Ontarian community influenced self-identification.

How would you describe your attachment to your linguistic identity and how do you believe you enact it? In terms of civic engagement, Quebec English-speaking participants provided three categories of responses for their attachment to their linguistic identity: 1) those who are attached with an interdependent modality, 2) those who are attached with a pragmatist modality, and 3) those who are not attached, unless they are prompted. The responses were influenced by past and current socialization experiences, Quebec linguistic conflicts, and the salience of language in one's identity. In contrast, the three modalities identified by Breton can be found among Franco-Ontarian participants: 1) strong attachment with a commitment to a social identity, 2) strong attachment with interdependence, 3) and attachment or no attachment as a pragmatist. Participants' attachment was influenced by: the language of socialization and social interactions, the different contexts in which they can speak French (private/public), their self-assessment of their efforts to maintain the French language in their lives and in their communities, and the salience of language in their lives.

Self-Identification

While the literature review introduced the difficulty of identifying and measuring official language minorities' communities for public institutions as well as researchers (Corbeil 2011; Guignard Noël, Forgues and Landry 2014: 10; Statistics Canada 2009), this thesis proposes to investigate how members of these communities self-identify and define their identities in their own words. The two questions used to explore self-identification were: *how would you name your linguistic identity?* and *how would you describe your linguistic identity?* While both Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians identify themselves along a continuum, they used different rationales to explain their self-identification and describe their identities. Some characterizations are found in both groups such as: the significance of social interactions and socialization experiences in one or both language(s), and the self-assessment of one's fluency in French.

From Anglophone to bilingual: a continuum

Among Quebec English-speaking participants, there were 3 categories of responses that emerged from the question about self-identification: 1) Anglophone, 2) Anglophone with fluency and/or an interest in French, and 3) bilingual. The first set of responses includes participants who identified only as Anglophone when they were asked to name their identity. In the following quotations, some participants explain that it is because most or all of their immediate social interactions are in English. Therefore, some participants used their most important language of socialization to characterize their linguistic identity.

After he self-identifies as Anglophone, Edgar elaborates on speaking English at home, at school and with his family, which refers to socialization and social interactions.

> Edgar: Anglophone, primarily an English speaker… I only speak English at home with my Mom and with most of the rest of my family as well. So my uncles, my aunts, all of us, we speak English. I speak English in school as well as at [university name]. So yeah, definitely Anglophone.

The second category of participants also identified as Anglophone, with a reference to their level of fluency in French. They characterized their fluency of French or bilingualism in various ways such as: functionally bilingual, passably bilingual, or basic French. Here are two examples of this kind of response, which illustrate that the level of fluency in French impacts self-identification among Quebec English-speakers. Victoria identifies as Anglophone because she believes that she is not sufficiently fluent in French to claim that she is bilingual.

> Victoria: English… I guess I wouldn't quite consider myself bilingual. I definitely have a preference for English and I attempt to speak French when I can…Definitely an Anglophone yes.

On the other hand, Elizabeth asserts that her fluency of French is "enough to get by".

> Elizabeth: Anglophone, but speaks French enough to get by, I guess. So, English with some basic French[…] struggling Anglophone.

Several participants elaborated that being Anglophone does not encompass the complexity of their linguistic identity. Edmund insists that being an Anglophone does not reflect his advanced proficiency in French. On the other hand, Harold highlights that being an Anglophone does not reflect adequately how much he appreciates the French culture. These results reflect previous studies' findings indicating that official language

minorities less and less define themselves as belonging solely to one linguistic group (Corbeil 2011; Dallaire 2003; Dallaire and Denis 2005; Dallaire 2008; Dalley 2006; Gérin-Lajoie 2003; Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002; Gérin-Lajoie 2011a; Gérin-Lajoie 2011b; Landry, Deveau and Allard 2008; Pilote 2006).

> Edmund: I'd say Anglophone, because that's the term that is used in Quebec. But at the same time, even fluent is not strong enough a word. I think I am almost perfectly bilingual; I'm just slightly weaker in French. […]
>
> Harold: I'm an Anglophone. I really try hard to have an involvement in French language, in French culture and I really do enjoy and appreciate the French culture and language we have here. I would really like to improve my French. […]

One participant asserted strongly that she is «Québécois» rather than Quebecer, conscious of how some members of the Francophone majority may be sensitive to an Anglicized version of the expression «Québécois» because French is the sole official language of Quebec. Yet, Matilda's linguistic identity can be circumstantial, depending on the interlocutor present.

> Matilda: It depends on who I am talking to. To me it's Québécois because I want to feel included in that society. And I think saying Quebecer only kind of alienates me from that. I think that if you form a part of this community then you form a part of the Québécois. But I also recognize that according to some people, you have to be a naturalized Francophone in order to be part of the club.

The third category represents participants like John, who self-identified as bilingual as an identity in and of itself, and not solely as a technical terminology paralleling fluency. John simply identifies as a hybrid. John is from an exogamous family and he is part of the 25% of Quebec English-speakers who now identify as bilinguals (Jedwab 2012:114).

> John: I would say I am bilingual. I am Anglophone and Francophone. I am both. […] I think I have a hybrid Anglophone Francophone identity.

Overall, like in previous studies, the responses varied along a continuum between Anglophone and bilingual, with 1) Anglophones, 2) Anglophones with a certain degree of French fluency, 3) and bilinguals. The descriptions of their linguistic identity were influenced by a) the prominent language(s) of socialization and social interactions, b) self-assessment of fluency in French, and c) attachment to French and/or English culture.

From Francophone to bilingual: a continuum

Similarly to Quebec English-speakers, the narratives of Franco-Ontarians can be organized in three categories: 1) Francophone, 2) Francophone bilingual, and 3) bilingual. Some participants identified solely as Francophones with specific identity expressions such as Franco-Ontarians or French Canadians. Participants in the first category, Francophone, referred to fluency in French, to socialization and social interactions like Quebec English-speakers. Thierry discussed political challenges such as assimilation, the role of bilingualism in the community and service delivery in French. As such, his comments on bilingualism and assimilation resonate a little with Castonguay (2005) and Bernard (1996)'s assessments about bilingualism as a form of progressive assimilation.

> Thierry: Franco-Ontarian. […] We are stuck between a rock and a hard place. So, having a Franco-Ontarian identity which is quite bilingual, we don't have the same interests or the same aspirations or the same ability to see that there is still assimilation or that language is an issue, that there is still a long way to go. Sometimes, we just take refuge in bilingualism. If a Franco-Ontarian reaches out to the government and, wants to be served in French, the person will just switch to English. […]

Emma also distinguished herself from Quebec to explain her preference for the identity name «Canadienne-Française», French Canadian. As Juteau (1994) explains, since the seventies, several expressions are used in Francophone communities.

> Emma: I am French-Canadian. […] Since I do not have a specific birth place, I cannot consider myself as a Franco-Ontarian or as a Quebecer. I am an individual who lives in Canada, very proud of my nationality and Francophone. Therefore, I see myself as French-Canadian.

Among the participants who identified strictly as Francophone, Jean not only distinguished being Franco-Ontarian from being a «Québécois», but he defined his identity in opposition to being a "sovereignist Québécois". Raoul also specifies that he does not like to be called «Québécois» because he wants to be recognized as a Franco-Ontarian. Raoul's assertion refers to the politics of recognition where a group seeks to have its specific collective identity, heritage and rights to be recognized by others and the state (Dick 2011; Lamont and Bail 2005). Jean refers to Franco-Ontarian history, Franco-Ontarians' rights struggles to resist assimilation, and the non-existence of a separation movement in the community.

> Jean: Hm…How would I describe this? It's to be proud of my history and knowing that you know, knowing that I am not a Quebecer. I don't know how to say. I don't know how to explain it, like… […] It means that we do not want to separate from Canada. […] It means that… You know, often like Quebecers, some are separatists, some of them are … they are kind of extreme. They feel strongly about keeping French, and all that. […] And I don't know. For me in all cases, the Franco-Ontarians, yes, we are really proud of our language and… […] And we try very hard to keep it too. But like, we are not going to get to the point where we are going to *threaten the government to separate*.

Raoul asserts like Jean that Franco-Ontarians have a specific identity that should be

recognized. He adds that it is counterproductive for Francophones living in a linguistic majority (from Quebec or France) to insult Francophones living in a linguistic minority situation (Acadians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans…). He is right since studies show that these insults, which are a form of linguistic intimidation, feed linguistic insecurity, which makes it more likely that an individual will stop speaking French (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014; Larouche and Hinch 2012; Leblanc 2010; Sioufi, Bourhis and Allard 2015).

> Raoul: No. No. But as a French for example with people that I meet in Ottawa, I am told that I am a Quebecer. I am not a Quebecer. I am so Franco-Ontarian. Like we know that French is like, threatened, but if we continue to insult each other among Francophones, it's not going to help, I mean…

The second category includes participants who identified as Francophones or Franco-Ontarians, and chose to add that they are bilingual as well. This is similar to Quebec English-speaking participants who identified as Anglophone and referred to their degree of fluency in French as well. These participants also detailed their daily social interactions in French and in English, as well as their socialization experiences in linguistic homogenous or heterogeneous families.

> Alphonse: A big mix. [Laughs] I know that my French is not as strong as my English, but still, I am proud to be Franco-Ontarian. Moreover, I think that it's very rare that you see people like me in a big English city speaking French. So, a mix, a mix of pride. [Laughs]

Adelaïde explains why she identifies as bilingual. Like John, a Quebec-English speaker, she has Anglophone and Francophone family members and she speaks English and French fluently. We can see explicitly how exogamy influences official language

minorities' communities' dynamics, including linguistic affiliation (Dalley 2006; Gaudet and Clément 2009: 215; Gilbert and Lefebvre 2008: 45; Landry 2014: 126; Mougeon and Beniak 1994:123).

> Adelaïde: Like…Oh, my God. Well, I speak both languages, you know. Like I have Anglophone family members. I have Francophone family members. So, it's like, I think that I am able to manage both languages quite well.

Like in the case of Quebec English-speakers, a group of participants strongly identified as bilingual, even if French is the first language that they learned. For example, Charles believes that his fluency in French is not sufficient enough for him to identify as Francophone, even if French is his first language. Therefore, he prefers to identify as a bilingual. One will notice that among Quebec English-speakers, it is the opposite; it is because they consider themselves sufficiently fluent in French that they identify as bilinguals. This is because individuals English speakers do not experience linguistic intimidation like members of Francophone communities outside of Quebec (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014; Larouche and Hinch 2012).

> Charles: Bilingual, always. I will never say that I am Francophone first. I am comfortable identifying myself as bilingual even if my mother tongue is French. French is the first language that I learned. When I think in my head, it's happening in English… *So* sometimes, it's not natural, and it's not at the level of other people's French. So, I am not really comfortable to identify myself as Francophone first, but bilingual, I would say.

Charlotte said that she would tailor her response to the question depending on her audience when she self-identifies. If she speaks to someone from France, she would identify as Anglophone. If she speaks to someone who is Anglophone, she would self-identify as Francophone. In her narrative, she refers to fluency and the fear of being

corrected by other Francophones because of the way she speaks. This is another example of the consequence of linguistic insecurity, associated with the lack of recognition of the legitimacy of the wide variety of French spoken by Francophones living in a linguistic minority situation outside of Quebec (Boudreau 2014; Boudreau and Dubois 2001; Chevalier 2008; Leblanc 2010; Lozon 2002). Once again, there are references made to Quebec and the lack of recognition by Francophones from linguistic majority situations (Quebec, France) of one's claim to be Francophone.

> Charlotte: […] I would say French. If I spoke to an Anglophone, I am going to say French. But if I speak to someone from France, I am going to say English. I am not sure why, but it happens all the time. I think that it is because I speak French better when I am in an Anglophone environment like here in Toronto. Like, let's say I speak to [name of a friend], I find that I speak better with him than if I would speak with him in Quebec because around us, people would speak French only. I am always afraid that they are going to tell me: "this, this is not how you should say this", to correct me and all. […]

Overall, Franco-Ontarian participants identified along a continuum as 1) Francophones, 2) Francophone bilinguals, 3) and bilinguals. They discussed: a) the prominent language of socialization and social interactions, b) the degree of self-assessed fluency in French, c) attachment to French culture, d) acknowledgement by others of belonging to a distinct Franco-Ontarian identity, and e) the political challenges of the Franco-Ontarian community. In the next chapter, I will analyse further the boundaries within each linguistic community as well as those between the majority and the minority in each province. While it is possible to find common parallel themes in the narratives of Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians in the way that they choose to self-identify, there are also differences. Quebec English-speakers emphasized socialization and social

interactions, the degree of self-perceived fluency in French and attachment to French culture in their narratives. Meanwhile, Franco-Ontarians also highlight the contentious arguments surrounding who belongs and who does not belong in Francophonie, or who is *really* Franco-Ontarian as well as the challenge of recognition by others of one's distinct Franco-Ontarian identity.

Civic Engagement

Breton (1994) suggested that there are three modalities of commitment to a social identity. In order to assess if Breton's model can be easily applicable to Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians, two questions were asked about attachment. These questions were: *How would you describe your attachment to your linguistic identity?* and, *How do you believe you enact your attachment to your linguistic identity?* The responses varied from one category to another, with an overwhelming number of responses falling under pragmatism. Indeed, for several Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students, language is a medium of communication and not a salient aspect of their identity. Yet, among Franco-Ontarians, several participants are engaged and committed to the collective goals of their linguistic community.

Quebec English-speakers' commitment to linguistic identity

Although there was a wide range of responses, Quebec English-speakers presented a unique category of responses that cannot be found among Franco-Ontarians: some participants expressed no attachment whatsoever to their linguistic identity until they were prompted. Yet, like in the Franco-Ontarian group, some participants were proud of

their heritage and showed great attachment to their linguistic identity and acted accordingly. There were three categories of responses: 1) those who are attached with an interdependent modality, 2) those who are attached with a pragmatist modality, and 3) those who are not attached, unless they are prompted. Very few English-speakers expressed interdependence between their well-being and the advancement of the community or a strong attachment to a social identity with a distinctive culture, history or heritage. The first category includes Matilda who exemplifies interdependence, as defined by Breton (1994). Despite experiences of discrimination based on language or linguicism, Matilda believes that she belongs to Quebec society and she feels the need to share with other members of her community her experiences because it is therapeutic.

> Matilda: […] but I guess linguistic racism kind of thing. You know what I mean. I've definitely been on the receiving end of a lot of hate because I am an Anglo.[…]I have a lot of talks with people about Anglos in Quebec who were born here. I find it really therapeutic actually. Because most of the people that I speak to, not all, but most, when we talk about what it means to be Québécois, most of them are really open and receptive to the idea of me feeling though I am part of that community. And it really helps me kind of deal with some of the negative rejecting experiences that I've had. […]

The overwhelming majority of Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students fall under the secondary category composed of pragmatists. These participants do not express a desire for cultural reciprocity with other members of the community or an attachment to a historical-cultural English heritage. William explains that they enact their linguistic identity simply by using English on a day-to-day basis.

> William: I mean very attached. I mean I think everyone is, whether they realize it or not. […]By operating on a daily basis. By speaking in that language, by writing in that language, by reading in that language, by watching TV in that language, by listening.

Gloria, a self-identified multi-lingual Quebec English-speaker, described how she is attached to every language she speaks and how she enacts each of them. She also exemplifies how language is not necessarily the most salient aspect of her identity and how she identifies to her religious identity as well. She enjoys the fact that she can speak Hebrew, as a young Jew living in Montreal. As mentioned in the literature review, the Quebec English-speaking community is heterogeneous and is often described as a "community of communities" (Heritage Canada 2011: 3).

> Gloria: I am very attached to my linguistic identity. French, it means a lot to me because my family's French and so does Spanish because my Mom's side of the family is Spanish. I love those languages. I enjoy speaking them. I think they are very useful. Hebrew is my religion so I want to learn more of it. I want to perfect it. And English is the way I communicate every day.

Despite or perhaps because of the social-political context, Edmund expressed a strong attachment to his linguistic identity.

> Edmund: I'd say fairly strong because of the political climate in Quebec and in Montreal. I think it's got to be probably one of the most dynamic places in terms of language politics and really both sides, Anglophones and Francophones really feeling they are getting the short end of the stick. And so, I feel that sort of galvanizes you to one side and so I definitely feel strongly attached to being an Anglophone in Quebec. But I also feel that's because of, on the other side, strong nationalism, of French, of Québécois. […]

Like Edmund, other participants also referred to the distinct Quebec social-political context, but still, they expressed no attachment to their own linguistic identity. For example, Jane described the tensions between both linguistic communities in Quebec like Edmund, but expressed no attachment to her linguistic identity. She only acknowledged

some sense of attachment when she was prompted with a scenario of exile as described in the methodology section.

> Jane: Not very. I think I'm not as attached to it as other Anglophones are in Quebec. A lot of people get really upset about separation and referendums and PQ and [former Premier] Pauline Marois and stuff like that. For me, I think, because I've had so many friends especially at the [CEGEP] Student Union who are Francophone, I understand it more now. I used to, when I was a kid, all I heard is my parents say oh the PQ oh referendums oh separation, Canada, Canada, Canada. But now it's more like I understand it.

Jane is referring to the political rhetoric associated to linguistic conflicts of past Anglophone militant movements such as *Alliance Québec* or *The Equality Party* (Bourhis 2012:33) and current editorialists of the English-speaking community. Some Quebec English-speakers do not express attachment to their linguistic identity because they equate attachment to a political positioning in the historical conflict opposing Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec. These participants may not agree with the Parti Québécois or nationalists' law proposals, but they understand Francophones' claims and concerns, and they have Francophone friends as well. As the literature review indicated, they are mostly bilingual (Heritage Canada 2011:5). They prefer to distance themselves from a strong affirmation of Anglophone pride because they believe that they have a more nuanced attitude towards French-English relations in the province than other vocal members of their community. Meanwhile, participants who identified as bilingual with the self-identification question like John, were strongly attached to a bilingual identity.

> John: I am attached to both, English and French. That's why I live in Montreal, because there is a vibrant English and French community.

Quebec English-speakers provided three categories of attachment: 1) those who are attached with an interdependent modality, 2) those who are attached with a pragmatist modality, and 3) those who are not attached, unless they are prompted. The responses were influenced by a) past and current socialization or social interaction experiences, b) an association between attachment and an oppositional political discourse which is highly antagonistic to Francophone nationalists, and c) the salience of language in one's identity. Overall, participants expressed that language was a useful tool of expression, but besides Matilda, no one discussed their attachment as interdependence or a strong attachment to a social identity as defined and conceived by Breton (1994).

Franco-Ontarians' commitment to linguistic identity

The responses of Franco-Ontarians varied from a strong attachment to very little. Contrarily to Quebec English-speakers, participants did not feel compelled to assert their attachment to Ontario. However, Franco-Ontarians referred at times to the internal debates surrounding who is *really* Franco-Ontarian. The majority of the responses fell under the modalities of interdependence or a strong attachment with a commitment to a social identity. There were three categories of responses: 1) strong attachment with a commitment to a social identity, 2) strong attachment with interdependence, 3) attachment or no attachment as a pragmatist. Thierry is a good example of what Breton identifies as the modality of commitment to a social identity because he mentions history, as well as active engagement in the community for the maintenance of their social-cultural heritage.

> Thierry: It takes shape through the activities and the choices that I make. So this identity is enacted through my membership in certain associations or through the Franco-Ontarian historical society that I created. Just before that, I was a member of the [regional] heritage society that was supposed to be bilingual, but everything happened only in English.

Judith falls under the second category with a strong attachment with interdependence. She expressed a strong attachment to French and this attachment goes beyond the use of the language on a regular basis. Indeed, although she has few opportunities to speak French at work and in the public sphere, she intends to send her children to school in French. This demonstrates that she will need the community and that simultaneously, she wants to contribute to the community as well in the future.

> Judith: I think that on a daily basis, unfortunately, I don't speak French as often as I would like to. It's just happened that often when there is someone who is predominantly Anglophone, everyone ends up speaking in English. I find this unfortunate because there are some relationships, some friendships with people that I have developed in English, but that in other contexts I know that it could have developed in French. […]

Agnès also expresses that she makes conscious choices to engage in daily activities in French. Yet, she explains that she is not more involved in the community or often entertained in French because opportunities to do so are not readily available around her. Her cultural environment is overwhelmingly English in Ontario. Yet, she is happy to be able to study and work in French in Ottawa.

> Agnès: I want to say strong, but it is not necessarily true. In terms of being able to speak in my mother tongue, opportunity to study, opportunity to work, I find that very, very important. But I have to admit that I will not really be a contribution….You know, I do not go to the movies to watch movies in French. I do not necessarily contribute, to living in French or to request

> services in French. I do not play an active role in that sense. So, is it important to me? Yes. 100%. Is there room for improvement to make this need known? Yes, absolutely. […] I go to school in French. I work in French. More and more, I am requesting services in French. I will always say "bonjour" at the beginning of a conversation or "Allo". So, sometimes it works, sometimes it does not work. […] I don't do it and it is not because I am not interested. It's just…It's not really in my face and I don't make the effort to. Perhaps I should make the effort, you know.

Thierry, Judith and Agnès mirror what previous studies indicated. While socialization in the family and at school matter, individual choices matter as well (Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort 2010). Yet, as Agnès says, choosing activities in French can be difficult because the social environment is overwhelmingly English (Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002). Charles, who self-identified as bilingual, is strongly attached to his identity and considers that he enacts it by defending the relevance of bilingualism for job hiring, and by taking a stance against the assimilation of Franco-Ontarians.

> Charles: I find that it is very important. Sometimes, there are arguments. Let's say that someone says that it is not really useful. Let's say that to work in the government, you have to be bilingual and sometimes the arguments about that, they make me feel *weird*. I feel like : "Why?". They say things and sometimes, I feel it, but it's not something that I think about everyday. "Oh, my Francophone identity, it's very important to me." But when there is an argument, I am the first to defend my identity. I am the first to defend it against them.

The third category includes participants who expressed a pragmatist attachment to their linguistic identity. Louis expressed clearly that French is a vehicle of communication, and that he is not particularly attached to French.

> Louis: My attachment, it's…I would rather say that language is a method of communication so whatever language I use, it's really to pass a message. I am not attached particularly to French[…]

Hugues and Alphonse identified as bilingual and explain how French is the language of their private lives, while English is the language of their professional and public lives. They also refer to the disproportionate educational and professional opportunities available in English, but not in French. These are clear examples of pragmatism.

> Hugues: […] This is something that defines me like, it's like something connected to my family, my friends and it is less superficial than English maybe. Like, English is my language of choice, to study and for my career. It's just more accessible for studies and career. […]
>
> Alphonse: […] But first, it's always in English here because there are not really opportunities to speak in French. It's sad. But if I speak with my father or my mother, I try to always talk to them in French. So, if I call them or something like that, it's my French moment of the day.

Overall, a majority of Franco-Ontarians are attached to their linguistic identity and can be categorized with the three modalities of Breton: 1) strong attachment with a commitment to a social identity, 2) strong attachment with interdependence, 3) and attachment or no attachment as a pragmatist. Participants' responses were influenced by a) the language of socialization and social interactions, b) the different contexts in which they can speak French (private/public), c) their self-assessment of their efforts to maintain the French language in their lives and in their communities, and d) the salience of language in their lives. Franco-Ontarians differ from Quebec English-speakers because they tend to reflect on their social commitment and they seek opportunities to engage with their linguistic community. To understand the emphasis of Franco-Ontarian participants on the different contexts where they can speak French and their personal efforts to maintain the French

language in their lives, the interview responses to questions about the language of current and past employment are relevant.

The interview included questions about past employment experiences as well as the language(s) of employment. Some participants had no past or current work experience, while others had several. I chose to compile all the past and current employment experiences of Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian participants as reported during the interview. I coded the work experiences of the participants in 5 categories according to the linguistic environment of the workplace: a) English, b) bilingual but mostly in English, c) bilingual, d) bilingual but mostly in French, e) French. In order to create Figure 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 below, I combined a) and b), as well as d) and e). Therefore, Figure 1 has three columns: English or mostly English, bilingual, and French or mostly French. Although the following figures only represent the overall employment experiences of the participants of this study, they inform a major contextual difference. Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students are more concerned about the salience of their language in their lives than Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students living in Montreal because since they are more dispersed throughout the province than Montreal English-speakers, they have more employment experiences in English than Quebec English-speakers have in French. Although many Franco-Ontarians have worked or currently work in French, compared to Quebec English-speakers, a larger proportion of their employment history takes place in the language of the linguistic majority in Ontario. It is important here to remind the reader that Quebec English-speakers outside of

Montreal, in isolated regions, are more similar to Franco-Ontarians in that regard (Bourhis and Landry 2012; Jedwab 2012: 185; Lamarre 2007:112). The majority of Quebec English-speaking participants were from Montreal and this is why they often have the opportunity to work in English. Since the figures present the overall work experiences, the total is not equal to the number of participants, but represents all the work experiences cumulated by all the participants in each group. Living in French in Ontario is more challenging for Franco-Ontarians and many other Francophones living in a minority situation across the country than it is for Montreal English-speakers.

Figure 3.1 Language(s) used in past employment as reported by Franco-Ontarian participants

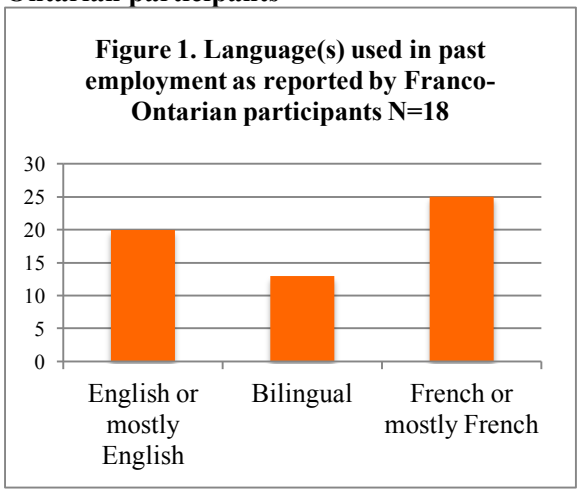


Figure 3.2 Language(s) used in past employment as reported by Quebec English-speaking participants

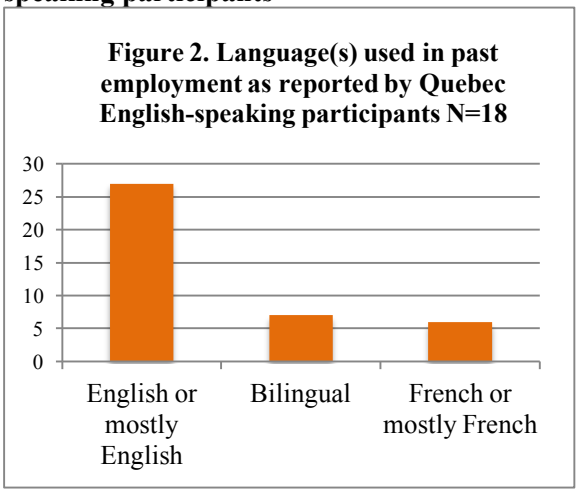


Figure 3.3 Language(s) used in current employment as reported by Franco-Ontarian participants

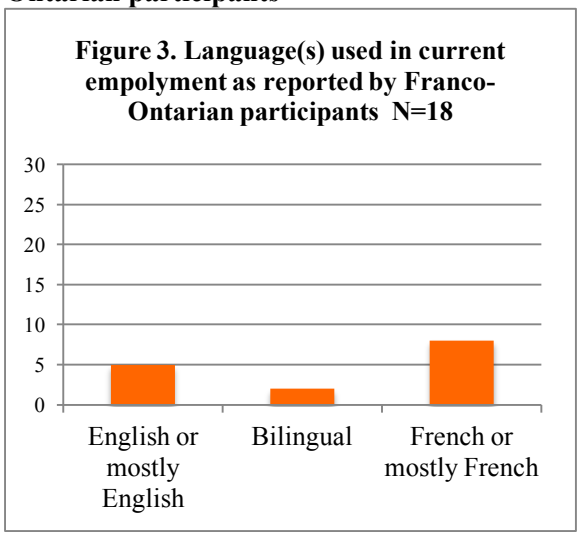
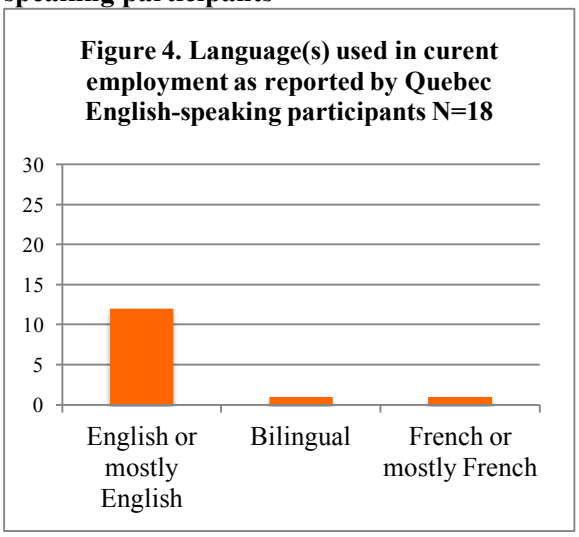


Figure 3.4 Language(s) used in current employment as reported by Quebec English-speaking participants



Conclusion

In both social groups, the language of socialization and social interactions, fluency in French, the salience of language in their identity, and the political debates in the community influenced the participants' narratives of self-identification and attachment. Participants referred regularly to past social interactions, current social situations, hypothetical situations, as well as their socialization in the family and in school to justify how they choose to identify. Participants also elaborated on how "important" language is to them. Some define language as a vehicle of communication with no connection with a social-historical-cultural community, while others expressed that they belonged to a distinct linguistic group. The political debates in Quebec, the rights of Anglophones, as well as the political discussions in Ontario about who is authentically Francophone, who

is authentically Franco-Ontarian, and how to position oneself to Quebec's political environment was also present.

Quebec English-speakers self-identified along a continuum with nuances from 1) Anglophones, 2) Anglophones with fluency in French to 3) bilinguals. Quebec English-speaking participants discussed about a) the prominent language(s) of socialization and social interactions, b) self-assessment of fluency in French, and c) attachment to French and/or English culture in relation to their identity. They expressed their attachment to their linguistic identity: 1) as attached with an interdependent modality, 2) as attached with a pragmatist modality, and 3) as not attached, unless prompted. They also characterized their attachment based on a) their past and current socialization and social interactions, b) an association between attachment and past militant Anglophone movements and a few current editorialists in response to linguistic conflicts, and c) the salience of language in their identity.

On the other hand, Franco-Ontarians self-identified as: 1) Francophones, 2) Francophone bilinguals, and 3) bilinguals based on: a) the prominent language of social interactions and socialization experiences, b) the degree of self-assessed fluency in French, c) attachment to French culture, d) acknowledgement by others of belonging to a distinct Franco-Ontarian identity (by Quebecers, by other Francophones, or by Anglophones), and e) the political challenges of the Franco-Ontarian community. Breton's model, which proposes three modalities for Francophones in a minority situation, can be completely applied to Franco-Ontarians' narratives: 1) strong attachment with a commitment to a

social identity, 2) strong attachment with interdependence, 3) and attachment or no attachment as a pragmatist. Franco-Ontarians explain their attachment with: a) the prominent language of socialization and social interactions, b) the different contexts in which they can speak French (private/public), c) the self-assessment of their efforts to maintain the French language in their lives and in their communities, and d) the salience of language in their identity.

In essence, many participants' responses reveal that linguistic symbolic boundaries are relatively porous and fluid because they often interact with individuals in both languages in their private and in their public lives. As we will see in the next chapter, their narratives highlight that code-switching is normative because they constantly navigate socially between two worlds. In addition, many participants self-identify as bilingual and this self-identification goes beyond the mere ability to speak two languages; they claim it as an identity state as suggested by Gérin-Lajoie (2011b). Nevertheless, several Franco-Ontarian participants refer also to their self-assessed lack of fluency in French to explain their reluctance to identify solely as Francophone. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students insist on characterizing their level of fluency in French and if they are secure enough, they prefer to identify as bilingual. On the one hand, many Quebec English-speakers are ambiguous about their attachment to their linguistic identity, but they insist on reaffirming their attachment to Quebec, their respect for the French culture, their desire to improve their ability to speak French in the future, and their understanding of the fragility of the French language in North America. This apparent non-attachment

to the English language may be explained by findings from previous research indicating that Quebec English-speakers are more worried about losing their institutions than they are about losing the ability to speak English (Gérin-Lajoie 2011b: 193). Although English is not threatened in North America, the ambiguity seems to originate partially from the linguistic conflicts in the Quebec social-political context and the lack of consensus about the existence of an English culture. On the other hand, the majority of Franco-Ontarians are eager to express their attachment to the French language, to their culture, to their history and to their political struggles, even when they claim to be bilingual. They are also concerned by the fact that Francophones from linguistic majority situations (Quebec, France) do not recognise them completely as authentic Francophones. Most importantly, Franco-Ontarian participants are frustrated by the fact that these Francophones know nothing about Franco-Ontarian culture, history and political struggles. Young Franco-Ontarians are aware that they have to fight to continue to exist as a linguistic community as they feel that the French language is fragile in Ontario. I believe that the context of daily life is essential to understand the discrepancy in expressed attachment between Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers. While it is true that many Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students expressed a certain understanding of the Quebec nationalists' concerns, their ability to frequently interact socially in English may also influence the fact that they express little or no attachment to the English language. In contrast, Franco-Ontarian participants stress the importance of finding opportunities to socialize in French as their community is dispersed throughout the province and their language of employment is often English.

Self-identification and attachment have implications for postsecondary institutions that serve official language minorities. First, the wide range of responses provided by the participants indicate that the postsecondary institutions attended by youth from official language minorities' communities should be prepared to adjust their services to a linguistic heterogeneous population. For instance, while most Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students clearly expressed the need to find more space and time to speak French with other students, others who clearly consider themselves as having a bilingual identity enjoy experiencing campus life in English and in French. Second, while Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students in Montreal have several opportunities to work in English, Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students have fewer similar opportunities and for a large proportion of young Franco-Ontarians the use of French remains confined to private spaces as previous studies indicate as well (Dallaire 2008:372; Gaudet and Clément 2009:225; Landry, Allard and Deveau 2013). Therefore, postsecondary institutions that serve Francophones in Ontario should expect students who defined themselves linguistically in a varied way, and should take into account the scarce opportunities to speak French in public spaces. The promotion of economic development in Franco-Ontarian communities and the creation of partnerships with employers who offer French-language internships are examples of initiatives that can enable Franco-Ontarian graduates to live in French in the public sphere. The following chapter will unpack the different linguistic symbolic boundaries perceived by these young adults within their communities, as well as with the majority group. The lack of recognition by

Quebecers of other Francophone minorities legitimate belonging to “Francophonie” has been found in previous studies as well (Pilote and Magnan 2012: 179).

CHAPTER 4

LINGUISTIC SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

There has not been an in-depth examination of official language minorities' postsecondary students. Several theoretical concepts can help us understand how symbolic boundaries are experienced and understood among Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers. These concepts are relevant to understand how boundary-work, the permeability of symbolic boundaries, cultural frames, and cultural repertoires are expressed in the participants' narratives. Participants were asked what makes someone French, English or bilingual: *Who do you believe belongs in this linguistic group? What characteristics make someone French, English or bilingual?* Boundary work and the permeability of boundaries allow investigating who belongs as well as the possibility to interact with members of both linguistic groups. Cultural frames enable us to determine how participants understand cognitively their reality, their social world. Cultural repertoire indicates the set of attitudes, beliefs and practices that participants mobilize in their daily lives.

Who do you believe belongs to this linguistic group? What characteristics make someone French, English or bilingual? These questions aimed to encourage participants to define and characterize linguistic symbolic boundaries between them and the linguistic majority of their province. For Quebec English-speaking participants, among the most important factors to establish who belongs in the linguistic group were: speaking the language

fluently, the first language learned or the predominant language of social interactions and socialization, as well as self-identification. For Franco-Ontarian participants, among the most important factors to establish who belongs in the linguistic group were: speaking the language, socialization, self-identification but also a connection to territory, culture and history. In addition to characterizing linguistic groups, participants provided narratives, which draw on distinct cultural frames and cultural repertoires.

Cultural frames do not refer to norms and values to evaluate the good and the bad in a community. They refer to the cognitive perception of individuals of the world around them (Lamont and Small 2008: 80). It is relevant to analyse how participants frame what belonging means because our social relations and experiences are interpreted through these cognitive perceptions. There are three cultural frames that dominate Quebec English-speaking participants' understanding of their linguistic identity: 1) using the language, 2) the existence or non-existence of an Anglophone culture, and 3) the politics of recognition involving out-group relations within the Quebec social-political context. There are three cultural frames that Franco-Ontarian participants often refer to: 1) the politics of the pursuit of recognition from in-groups and out-group(s) with an emphasis on the impact Quebec past and current social-political context, 2) a globalized Francophone identity "Francophonie", 3) and using the language while being aware of the territory, the history and the culture of the community. Along with how participants condense their social world, their narratives also provide elements of their cultural repertoire.

A cultural repertoire consists: "of practices, beliefs, and attitudes that individuals call forth at the time of action" (Lamont and Small 2008: 81). These attitudes, beliefs and practices can be understood as a set of tools to manage daily life experiences (Lamont and Small 2008: 81). In terms of cultural repertoire, Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians differ. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students' cultural repertoire includes: 1) code-switching and 2) an ambivalent attitude towards the Quebec social-political context. Meanwhile, the cultural repertoire of Franco-Ontarian participants includes: 1) code-switching and 2) affirmation and pride.

Overall, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students are solely concerned about their out-group relationship with the French-speaking linguistic majority when they engage in boundary work. Based on the participants' narratives, it seems that no other group of Canadian Anglophones seem to question whether or not Quebec English-speakers speak English. On the other hand, Franco-Ontarians are concerned about out-group (the English-speaking linguistic majority) and in-group (other Francophones from majority linguistic situations such as Quebec or France) relationships when they engage in boundary work. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students do not have a sense that they share a collective English heritage as opposed to Franco-Ontarians who are conscious of a Franco-Ontarian heritage and who are often politically mobilized to protect their collective identity. Indeed, Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students are concerned for the survival of their linguistic communities while Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students are not the least worried about the future of English and rightly so

because after all, English is an international language widely spoken in North America. Yet, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students feel the constant need to assert that they are full citizens of Quebec and that they belong while Franco-Ontarians do not feel compelled to constantly assert that they belong in Ontario. If Franco-Ontarians are insecure for the future of their linguistic communities, they are far more confident that they are recognized as legitimate Ontarian citizens than Quebec English-speakers are of being recognized as legitimate Quebecer citizens.

Boundary work and the permeability of symbolic boundaries

Lamont and Molnár (2002) explain that the study of symbolic and social boundaries has been applied to the study of social and collective identities. Who belongs to "us" and who belongs to "them"? In-group and out-group relations are greatly influenced by the way boundary work is exercised. Permeability or the degree of porosity refers to the ability to transcend boundaries and it is influenced by the strength of boundaries between social groups (Lamont and Aksartova 2002:18). The study of the permeability of symbolic boundaries between different social groups is of great concern because perceived low-permeability parallels greater likelihood of social mobilization or action for change (Lamont and Molnár 2002: 170). As mentioned in the previous chapter, some participants expressed a detachment from their linguistic identity and a degree of identification to both linguistic groups. In this chapter, I will present interview excerpts that exemplify how a majority of participants perceive the boundaries between their linguistic community and

the linguistic majority as relatively porous. The questions asked to understand boundary work and permeability were: *Who do you believe belongs in this linguistic group? What characteristics make someone French, English or bilingual?*

Quebec English-speakers, boundary work and permeability

Some participants had a very clear understanding of who is Anglophone, bilingual or Francophone. For example Harold emphasized that the mother tongue is the main criterion.

> Harold: I would say if I am going to describe someone as an Anglophone it is mother tongue. So it is still a language thing but it's their first language. […]

For Edmund, the boundaries are not porous at all, but rigid. He even distinguishes different categories of Francophones, from "real Québécois", to those from North Africa and other countries, to those from France.

> Edmund: Anglophones are like I said. Francophone I would say the opposite in terms of you speak French at home. And yeah I was going to say I feel there is different categories of Francophones. So there's real Quebecois or whatever. There is a Quebecois even though there are obviously many accents and what not. And then there's let's say you're Francophone from North Africa or something like that well then your French is different and your identity is different so you are not really the same type of Francophone at all. Or even somebody from France they speak a very different French and there's quite a few of them living in Montreal now. But in terms of just Francophone somebody who speaks French. […]

For Jane and Henry, linguistic identity is based on self-identification. This leads to a very inclusive definition.

> Jane: I think it's whatever you identify yourself as. […]

> Henry: […] There's a strong Anglophone population in Quebec for historic reasons. But who belongs in it? Whoever wants to identify themselves in it.

According to Anne, being Francophone, bilingual and Anglophone are not mutually exclusive.

> Anne: I think you can be Francophone and bilingual and you can be Anglophone and bilingual. And I think they cross over a lot. And I think someone could be Francophone and Anglophone. They don't have to be mutually exclusive. I don't think there needs to be dividers between them, it's what you are most comfortable speaking in. The main characteristic would be your level of comfort speaking in each language.

Gloria as well proposes very flexible criteria of inclusion since fluency is not even required to be included. The simple fact that someone uses the language is sufficient.

> Gloria: Not necessarily fluency. I feel anybody who can speak or understand, who actually uses the language would be considered an Anglophone. […].

Quebec English-speaking participants referred to several criteria to belong in the group: mother tongue, socialization experiences, primary language used, fluency, speaking the language, or self-identification. These participants differ from Franco-Ontarians since they do not systematically include territory, culture and history in their responses and do not claim to have a shared English heritage or collective identity. While race and language are different identity markers, English is discussed like the invisibility, neutrality of Whiteness strongly associated to dominance and normativity (Lee and Bhuyan 2013:99; Levine-Rasky 2011:247; Vargas 2014). English, a global and dominant language for business, sciences and technology (Brumfit 2004; Ives 2010) seems to bear no collective culture or history for Quebec English-speakers. This might be because of the

emigration that started in the seventies where many Quebec English-speakers with long roots in Quebec left (Bourhis and Landry 2012: 24; Lamarre 2007:113) and the heterogeneity of the Quebec speaking-English community where members have different racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds ((Heritage Canada 2011: 3).

Franco-Ontarians, boundary work and permeability

As with Quebec English-speaking participants, characterizing who belongs to the Franco-Ontarian or Francophone community varies widely. While for some the mother tongue and the early years of socialization matter, for others self-identification or being a Francophile can be sufficient. Across the spectrum, culture, territory and history are regularly mentioned and this was not the case for Quebec English-speakers. Yet, the question did not refer to a specific Francophone group with a specific territorial reference such as Acadian or Franco-Ontarian. The question only asked generally: *What characteristics make someone French, English or bilingual?*. The participants' narratives indicate that Franco-Ontarian participants have a unique understanding of their history of migration, settlement, culture and struggles. This is not surprising since French school boards are governed by Francophones and efforts are made across the country in all Francophone communities to promote pride in one's identity and history (Isabelle 2013; Leurebourg 2013; Leurebourg and Isabelle 2014). In sum, there are so many different criteria cited and the spectrum of characteristics is so wide that establishing who belongs remains challenging. Some participants like Raoul believe that mother tongue is key to characterize who belongs. This indicates some rigidity.

> Raoul: Me, I believe that it is linked to birth because even if someone learns French later, it is still someone who is trilingual, I mean. The mother tongue, I believe that it is usually your identity unless you renounce it.

Adelaïde cites fluency, speaking one language, studying in one language, and after being prompted, she added extracurricular activities as well. In other words, fluency and socialization are essential.

> Adelaïde: Well, people who can speak both languages. Well, not Francophone, but kind of bilingual, who are able to speak French and English well. Those who are Franco-Ontarian or Francophone, those are people who speak French well, probably also people who speak French more than they speak English. This is what comes to my mind when I think about Francophones. Yes, like people who complete their studies in French, you know, things like that. […] Someone who is part of the socialization, in both languages? So, they do activities you know like outside of school. I don't know, with the school. […] It can exist. Yes. I mean: I live in Ontario, I am still Francophone and I am pursuing my studies in French. I am able to express myself, socialize, and do things in English too. Yes, that makes sense.

For Charlotte, culture comes first.

> Charlotte: I find that to be French, you must know the culture first. For me, to be a Quebecer or a French-Canadian, you must know a little about the food, the music and things like that. The same goes for Spanish, you know or even like places, things like that, first. I think that this, it would be more like culturally like knowing the …*like knowledgeable*, things like that.

Agnès identifies many elements to establish who belongs: culture, territorial roots in Ontario and using French. She also explains the difference between a Francophone and a Franco-Ontarian.

> Agnès: I would say that anyone who speaks French in Ontario, who has francophone roots living in Ontario. I think that it's less limited than someone who is native and it's an expression that for me is more inclusive than Franco-Ontarian. […] But like…Ok, yes, there are cultural instances. There are things

> that a Francophone does that an Anglophone does not do or that an Anglophone does that a Francophone does not do. […]

For several participants, Francophiles can be full members of the community. For example, Béatrice cites speaking the language, the worldwide Francophonie, the diversity of expressions according to the region, pride, history, and socialization as well as the inclusion of Francophiles. Béatrice emphasizes also that belonging is more than a form of "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 2009), it means to actively engage in activities in French and in social activities in the community.

> Béatrice: Well, Francophones, I think that all individuals who speak French. It doesn't have to be people with Canadian origin. Francophonie is experienced worldwide, but there are different types of francophonies for me. The expressions are not the same everywhere, and all that. I think that people in immersion, Francophiles, are also individuals who can be considered Francophone if they believe that they live their francophone pride to speak French even if their mother tongue is English. […] It's like history. I think that history unites us. […] Well, I think that speaking the language. Someone who is Francophone for me, who reads material in French, who lives in French everyday speaking it, communicating with others, by sharing this ideology. […] Well, yes. I think that yes. That too, that helps. I think that our parents give us our mother tongue. So, the French who see themselves as French, it comes from somewhere. Yes, so it has a link also with our innate or acquired identity, I don't know exactly. But, it's a little of both, for me.

Overall, Franco-Ontarians enumerated as potential criteria to belong: the mother tongue, socialization, extracurricular activities, choosing to study in French, speaking the language regularly, fluency, territory, history, culture, the global and international Francophone community, self-identification, and being a Francophile. In the end, the boundaries seem very permeable with several points of entry in the Franco-Ontarian community.

Cultural frames

Cultural frames, the cognitive perceptions of the social world, are important because some participants do not consider language to be a salient aspect of their identity, and a few even believe that language is simply a vehicle of communication. Cultural frames are critical and explain why in the same context, different individuals will develop different behaviours, actions, or strategies in a minority group.

Quebec English-speakers' cultural frames

Among Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students, three cultural frames were uncovered in the interviews. These cultural frames are: speaking the language, the debate about the existence or the non-existence of an English culture, and out-group relations with Francophones of Quebec within the current social-political context.

Speaking the language

Several participants discussed being a Quebec English-speaker as simply speaking English. For instance, Stephen and Mary made no reference to history or culture. Speaking English is a criterion to belong to the linguistic group, but it is also how they see themselves in Quebec where language is still a contentious topic.

> Stephen: Okay. I guess speaking both languages and having a mastery of both languages and being able to speak fluently and express yourself in both languages would make you bilingual. And each one individually would be the corresponding thing individually.

> Mary: I guess people who speak English people whose initial kind of operating language is English. Yeah. […]

Culture or no culture

According to Fishman (1977), language is a carrier of culture. Francophones inside and outside of Quebec often refer to their distinct identity from the rest of Canada based on a unique culture connected to language. However, as understood in the above interview excerpts about speaking English or French, several participants do not connect their linguistic identity to a specific culture. Harold suggests that while Francophones have a culture, Anglophones do not have a specific one. This can be because the English language is like a big tent spoken by national and ethnic groups with different histories, cultures and religious traditions. English, an international language is tied to a diversity of cultural forms, not a specific one.

> Harold: Well I think when you are using the word Anglophone it's entirely based on language. It doesn't enact too much of a cultural element as if you were to say to me French culture. When you say Anglophone to me it's mainly a language thing. […]

Yet, John and Catherine acknowledge that French and English are languages associated to specific cultures and they allude to multiculturalism.

> John: Well, I think the first characteristic is the ability to speak the language. And I think attachment to the culture associated with that language, or one of the cultures associated with that language.

> Richard: People that I know, family and friends. Because I have friends that are half-Irish, French but they have relatives with different languages in their family. Multi-cultural if you're part of more than one culture you're multi-cultural in my eyes.

So far, being Anglophone in Quebec comprises speaking English, the uncertain existence of a common English culture, and a high level of awareness of the Quebec social-political context. Do English speakers share a common culture or not? English is the overwhelming majority language in North America and takes in many millions of new speakers from around the world. As a result, it is possible that English is less and less associated with a particular culture. In the previous chapter, several participants hesitated to express their attachment to their language because they did not wish to associate themselves to neither the Francophone nationalists nor to the past militant Anglophones in Quebec. When I asked the question about who is Anglophone, Francophone or bilingual, several participants did not answer the question directly. Rather, they spontaneously discussed about who belongs in Quebec society and they explained how they belong. This reflects the desire of Quebec English-speakers to be recognized as participating citizens of Quebec society. As explained in the methodology chapter, the interviews took place during the *Bill 60: Charter of Quebec Values* debate and an electoral campaign, which highlighted the provincial linguistic divide. This contentious time period may explain why participants did not answer my question first, but sought to reassert that they belong in Quebec society.

Politics of recognition

The concept of the "politics of recognition" reflects the need of some groups in nation states to have their historical, social and political contributions recognized and acknowledged (Lamont and Bail 2005). Some participants, like Matilda, expressed that

they did not wish to be excluded from Quebec society on the basis of language. As I asked Matilda who belonged to the Quebec English-speaking group, she started to discuss who belongs to Quebec society overall.

> Matilda: Yeah I mean I think that they are still part of the society of Quebec. I think if they identify themselves as part of the community then they're certainly a member of it, but in terms of specifically the linguistic group? But, even if you're an Allophone, I don't know I try really hard not to base my inclusion on language because it's been the one thing that has made me feel excluded. So it's difficult for me to reverse that kind of thinking and make language the basis for whether you are in or out. Because that's the whole point for me is that it shouldn't be important. But then again I understand why French is important and I think French is beautiful and I love that we speak French here. […] But I don't think we should be using it as a tool to exclude people from being accepted here which are unfortunately the views of certain amongst our brothers and sisters in Quebec.

Alfred describes in his own words the linguistic tensions in Quebec, acknowledging the past hegemony of Anglophones (Mann 2014) and some empathy towards Francophones.

> Alfred: For sure right there's a really sort of damaged political history to both Francophones and Anglophones in this region I would say right. The Francophones were historically oppressed by Anglophones and to have that taken away from you is definitely going to engender some attachment to your language for sure.

Edgar discussed Bill 101's restrictions for school attendance in English in Quebec when he was asked about who belongs to each group. He considers that the law is not sufficiently inclusive and does not reflect the diversity of the English-speaking community (Heritage Canada 2011), which includes Middle-Eastern and South-Asian members who are often not eligible for English schools.

> Edgar: […] I think any one who speaks English as a first language or as a second language but their first language for instance if they are an Anglophone they might come from Egypt or they might come from India or

> they come from the UK or the United States or wherever. […] I know quite a few people who are either Sri Lankan or Indian I know a few people from Pakistan as well whose families are from Pakistan I actually believe most of them were born here but their ethnicities are Indian or Pakistani or Sri Lankan. In my mind I think that that they're Anglophone even if their first language isn't English because they seek primarily English in terms of interacting with people outside their immediate family in terms of going to English schools.

Being a Quebec English-speaker can simply mean speaking English. It can also involve the existence or non-existence of a common culture associated with the English language. The politics of recognition and out-group relations are important to Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students within the Quebec social-political context. However, for Franco-Ontarians, in-group relations also matter because boundaries exist among Francophones.

Franco-Ontarians' cultural frames

Several cultural frames are found among Franco-Ontarians: the politics of recognition, being Francophone as a global phenomenon "Francophonie", and a connection to territory, history and culture.

Politics of recognition

The fact that some Franco-Ontarians have an English accent does prevent them from strongly identifying as Franco-Ontarians. Yet, they do not want to be considered as less Francophones than other Francophones. Charles explains how different Franco-Ontarian accents are associated to different regions of origin in Ontario.

> Charles: But also, like I know Franco-Ontarians like from the north of Ontario, who don't have a strong command, but if you said that they were not Franco-Ontarians, they would be insulted a little. So, a strong command of the language is not all. It's complex enough, I find. I think that the difference is that the language is not a language learned, but a language that you live with. I don't know.

Some Franco-Ontarians are singled out because of their accent and are disappointed by the fact that they are not accepted by other Francophones, including many Quebecers, as legitimate Francophones. For example, Judith would prefer to be recognized as Franco-Ontarian and as an authentic Francophone by everyone.

> Judith: Well, Franco-Ontarian, but in some contexts sometimes I am going to say Francophone because for me, I could not speak English. I could not engage in a conversation in English before the age of ten or eleven years old. Sometimes, I find that Franco-Ontarians, because of my accent, and perhaps because overtime it changes a little, I find that my accent is influenced by English, whether I like it or not without doing it on purpose. But sometimes, Franco-Ontarians find that I have a Francophone accent. Quebecers think that I have an Anglophone accent. So, like it is kind of funny anyway. But, so sometimes, I am just going to say Francophone, but most of the time, I identify as Franco-Ontarian.

Emma thinks that the expression "Franco-Ontarian" can be exclusive at times and can form a "closed club" excluding anyone who is not White. She is rejecting the strictly genealogical definition (Catholic French-Canadian descent) embraced by some older Franco-Ontarians as discussed in the literature review. Emma's view is similar to previous studies that indicate that many young Francophones and Francophone organizations outside of Quebec embrace inclusive definitions rather than genealogical basis of belonging to signal that immigrants and non-White minorities are welcome

(Dallaire 2008:360). Emma prefers to identify as French-Canadian because she believes that this terminology is more inclusive.

> Emma: I find that Franco-Ontarians, it's a little small closed club. Often, I speak to Franco-Ontarians and I feel a little like if you are not White, full-blooded Canadian, with roots from Quebec, you are not…[Laughs] This, this is my perception of Franco-Ontarians. […] Yes, yes. I think that it's quite exclusive. However, in reality, the segment of the francophone population that is growing faster, it is the immigrant segment and so, the Franco-Ontarian reality is really changing, changing fast and significantly. So, the Franco-Ontarians who are still in charge of all the activities, whether it's like francophonie- I think especially of Ottawa, Toronto, it's a different reality- but in Ottawa, when we think of the celebration of the Franco-Ontarian flag, of the Franco-Ontarian day, the Association of Francophones in Ontario, they are all White with White hair. Yes, White heads.

Francophonie or being Francophone as a global identity

"Francophonie" is the word commonly used for the global Francophone world and there is an acknowledgement that the community has been enriched by the contribution of Francophones from every part of the world in Ontario.

> Judith: […] For Franco-Ontarians who are Francophones, but who live in the province of Ontario, for Francophones in general, I think that you can meet people who are Francophone in Ontario, in Canada, in Quebec, or anywhere else in the world. […]
>
> Béatrice: Well, Francophones, I think that all individuals who speak French. It doesn't have to be people with Canadian origin. Francophonie is experienced worldwide, but there are different types of francophonies for me. The expressions are not the same everywhere, and all that.

Beyond speaking a language: territory, history and culture

While there is an acknowledgement that there is a global Francophone community and that speaking a language is formative of a linguistic identity, Franco-Ontarians differ

greatly from Quebec English-speakers. Alphonse talks about where he comes from: Eastern Ontario.

> Alphonse: People who come from eastern Ontario. [Laughs] People from Ottawa, people from… small villages like me. Yes. It's more or less people who… if people come from a small village or people who come from Quebec. *Does that answer your question? Do I make sense?*

Hugues explicitly mentions territory as well with the example of Orléans. Orléans is an historical Francophone neighborhood in Ottawa. Hugues also includes an attachment to Franco-Ontarian culture. These debates are not unique to Francophones. Other groups like the Métis also share different perspectives about genealogy, territory, and socialization in their debates about their communities (Barman and Evans 2009). Hugues also discusses how Francophones from other countries may distance themselves from the terminology Franco-Ontarian and embrace the terminology Francophone because of the historical and genealogical implications of being Franco-Ontarian.

> Hugues: Ok. I am going to say that it depends on how you see yourself. My friends, probably they consider themselves only as Francophones, period. But this, it's because I am from Orléans, and the majority of my friends are from another cultural background, whether it's as I said, one of my friend comes from Israel, I have another friend who comes from Haiti, another is from Mauritius island, and two are from Egypt. You know, these are all people who are not necessarily like Canadian, even if they were born in Canada, Ontario. They might not consider themselves Franco-Ontarian, even if they have a hard time to speak English, they might consider themselves Francophone more than Franco-Ontarian. Yes, but that's just because their parents come from another country and perhaps, they have less of an attachment to my culture.

Béatrice cites history, territory and pride when she talks about a Franco-Ontarian identity. She mentions the impact of Bill 17, which forbidden access to French education, she also

talks about Orléans like Hugues, the importance of history and the pride of being Franco-Ontarian.

> Béatrice: I think that what makes someone a Franco-Ontarian, it's to believe in the Franco-Ontarian history. How did we get here? How we evolve? Things that happen in our midst, bill 17 that forbidden us from...yes, this is it…When we were denied the right to teach in French, but we still struggled to be able to teach in our own mother tongue. I think that this, it shaped the Franco-Ontarians. I think that the founding father of Orléans, François, I don't know, I forgot the last name, but he really established a Francophone community in Orléans to have its own village. Yes, it's about it. It's like history. I think that it's history that unites us. Many Franco-Ontarians have migrated south, in the north a lot to go work in the mines, but they started in the east of Ontario. But we are all connected together and I think that there is a pride. Not all Franco-Ontarians have this pride to be Franco-Ontarian, but yes. I think that it should…well, not push people, but we must find back this fire in young people.

Constance as well values history and adds a few thoughts about inclusion of newcomers with a different ancestry.

> Constance: […] I know visual artists who are Franco-Ontarian with improvisation leagues. I think that there are collective struggles in relation to history. We will celebrate soon 400 years of history, the whole history of French Ontario. And even if some people who live in Ontario do not have ancestors with 400 years of history, I think that it's still a community that desires to be welcoming and that can be diverse, so, in…it would be…[Laughs]

Being a Franco-Ontarian implies the use of several cultural frames such as the politics of recognition through in-group relations involving the Quebec social-political context, the global Francophone community or Francophonie, and speaking French while being attached to territory, history, and culture. The politics of recognition are important for in-group and out-group relations among Franco-Ontarians.

Cultural repertoires

Culture can be considered as: "a repertoire of practices, beliefs, and attitudes that individuals call forth at the time of action" (Lamont and Small 2008: 81). Cultural repertoire does not determine behaviours in an absolute way, rather it serves as a "tool kit" of resources that can be mobilized in different circumstances. Here the emphasis is on attitudes and practices. Members of both groups code-switch as a practice, but Franco-Ontarians describe an attitude of pride while Quebec English-speakers describe an attitude of ambivalence.

Quebec English-speakers' cultural repertoire

Code-switching

According to the circumstances, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students code-switch. Some participants explained how they code-switch from English to French to be respectful and sensitive or to avoid conflict. This tendency of code-switching can be associated to "cultural straddling" (Carter 2006) which I apply as "linguistic straddling" in this dissertation. Anderson (1999) used the concept code-switching in reference to "decent people" in impoverished neighbourhoods who adopt the "street code" in their interactions in public as a survival strategy. The linguistic conflicts that originate from Quebec's history can explain code-switching to avoid discrimination and stigma as detailed in the next chapter. As exemplified by John, code-switching is also practiced in exogamous or mixed linguistic families.

> John: In the first five years of my life he spoke to me in French. Now, we do a lot of code-switching. We start the sentence in English and end in French. So we speak both. My Dad's a bit like me. He grew up in a bilingual household as well.

Ambivalent attitude

Another aspect of Quebec English-speakers' cultural repertoire is their attitude vis-à-vis two identified social-political camps with vocal politicians, spokespersons, legal advisors, newspaper commentators, and radio columnists: the past militant Anglophones and contemporary vocal editorialists and columnists from an older generation and the past and contemporary militant nationalist Francophones. Many young Quebec English-speakers prefer to remain ambivalent and to not identify with either group. This attitude reflects their empathy for Francophones' concerns about the French language in North America without a complete approval of all the policies suggested by militant Francophone nationalists. However, there is also some exasperation with vocal Quebec English-speaking editorialists or columnists who exaggerate or amplify rhetorically the negative experiences of Quebec English-speakers. By extension, this ambivalence reflects Quebec English-speakers' sense of belonging to their province, their attachment to the French culture as well as their desire to preserve their linguistic rights. Oppositional political discourses continue to polarize both linguistic communities and at times, laws or public incidents reported in the media ignite members of both groups. Mary exemplifies this ambivalence.

> Mary: To be perfectly honest, it's not something I really think about. Because I guess, I find there's a lot of animosity from Anglophones against Francophones because they assume that Francophones, especially Québécois, want to force their language on everybody and they are really militant about

> it. And I have a really big problem with that because I don't think that's necessarily the case and so my attachment to being an Anglophone is pretty minimal just because it's not something I really think about I guess.

Quebec English-speaking participants reported that code-switching is an important aspect of their life. They are also torn by the Quebec social-political context and they have an ambivalent attitude towards militants of both camps.

Franco-Ontarians' cultural repertoire

Code-switching

Franco-Ontarians refer to code-switching as part of their cultural repertoire. Like Quebec English-speakers, they are "cultural straddlers" or "linguistic straddlers". For Raoul, code-switching plays an important role in his life. It is necessary, especially for future employment opportunities.

> Raoul: […] "we must maintain…Francophonie, it's important. It is our whole history." But then, we would get to the 7th and 8th grades, we would be told: " Well, now, we are going to learn advanced English." It is often at that time that I noticed that we were told: "it is important to be bilingual for future jobs, if you want to go to university, for future positions, you will have more chances if you are bilingual than if you are unilingual." […]

Pride and attachment

Marguerite clearly establishes that she chose on purpose to study in Ontario in French, not in English or in Quebec because Franco-Ontarians fought to have access to postsecondary programs in their own province. The idea that to be Francophone involves explicit choices to partake in activities in French for Francophones living in a minority

situation is found in other studies (Gérin-Lajoie, Gosse and Roy 2002; Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort 2010).

> Marguerite: I did not want to because of my principles, because for me, I am Franco-Ontarian. Out of principle, I did not want to study in Quebec. […] I said to myself, we have programs in French, so I am going to fight to be able to complete my bachelor's degree from A to Z in French.

In sum, several Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students share in common code-switching as a regular practice. This means that young Franco-Ontarians are also "linguistic straddlers", similarly to "cultural straddlers" (Carter 2006). In addition to code-switching, Quebec English-speaking participants have developed an ambivalent attitude towards the Quebec social-political context and Franco-Ontarians have developed a sense of attachment and pride in the face of adversity. Several Quebec English-speaking participants understand the views of both camps in Quebec, but they remain ambivalent.

Conclusion

The permeability of boundaries varies from one participant to another and parallels the difficulty to clearly delineate linguistic symbolic boundaries. Therefore, as introduced in the literature review, whether we discuss government officials' multiple quantitative definitions, or the input of community members, the challenge of an encompassing definition remains. Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students provided many common characteristics to establish who belongs such as: the mother

tongue, socialization experiences, fluency, and self-identification. Franco-Ontarians refer often to territory, history, culture, the global francophone community «Francophonie», and sometimes, they even include Francophiles in their definition of who belongs in the community. Perhaps, it is because linguistic symbolic boundaries can be porous and are somewhat context-dependent. Currently, these boundaries are not hardened. There is no contemporary political movement or political party similar to the Parti Québécois in Ontario to harden or thicken linguistic symbolic boundaries. The Quebec social-political context explains to some extent why Quebec English-speakers lack confidence, are more hesitant and inarticulate in their answers. They seem more invested in seeking to be recognized as full-fledged Quebecers.

Cultural frames that are predominant among the participants of this study mirrored in some ways their criteria of who belongs in the linguistic group. Analyzing the interviews of Quebec English-speaking participants, we can identify the following cultural frames: 1) speaking English, 2) the ambiguity about the existence of an English culture (paralleling Whiteness), 3) and the politics of recognition within the Quebec social-political context. Analyzing the interviews of Franco-Ontarian participants, we can identify the following cultural frames: 1) the politics of recognition in relation to the Quebec social-political context, 2) the global Francophone community, and 3) speaking French while being connected to territory, history, and culture.

Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarians share one thing in common in their

cultural repertoire: code-switching. The majority of the participants of this study are "linguistic straddlers", similar to Carter's "cultural straddlers" (Carter 2006), with different levels of fluency in both languages. Quebec English-speakers have an ambivalent attitude towards the Quebec social-political context because both sides have merits, but also exacerbate linguistic tensions. Franco-Ontarians also develop a strong attachment and pride to their culture as part of their cultural repertoire, especially in response to discrimination.

Quebec historical social-political turmoil casts a long shadow on Quebec English-speakers, but also on Franco-Ontarians. Indeed, the Quebec social-political context influences the politics of recognition of both groups profoundly. Quebec nationalism and independence militants affect how Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students envision language and linguistic symbolic boundaries. Quebec English-speakers are preoccupied by who belongs in Quebec society and they want to be acknowledged as full citizens of Quebec, whereas Franco-Ontarians are preoccupied by who is *really* or authentically Franco-Ontarian or Francophone and they want their unique history, culture and social contributions to be acknowledged by all Francophones, including Quebecers.

Linguistic insecurity was already mentioned in the previous chapter in both groups. In this chapter, linguistic insecurity can be clearly associated to specific concerns. For Franco-Ontarians, linguistic insecurity can be associated to the fear of not being

acknowledged by Francophones from majority linguistic contexts as a legitimate Francophone because of a peculiar accent or lexicon. For Quebec English-speakers, linguistic insecurity can be associated to the fear of altercations and discrimination with the Quebec French-speaking linguistic majority in public spaces. It is notable that for Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians, French is the language that provokes linguistic insecurity for different reasons. This clearly illustrates how the French language is precarious in North America. This fragility has an impact on second language learners and Francophone community members.

CHAPTER 5

DISCRIMINATION BASED ON LANGUAGE OR LINGUICISM

Stigma, prejudice, stereotypes and political conflicts can lead to experiences of discrimination. An unexpected finding of this research project is how the analysis of symbolic boundaries can be substantiated with the participants' narratives about discrimination. Indeed, whether we are discussing intra-group dynamics or inter-group dynamics, cultural repertoires and cultural frames influence the understanding and the responses of Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians. Although I did not plan to discuss discrimination in depth, the participants' responses to the question of discrimination were so insightful that I believe that it is worthwhile to dedicate a chapter to this topic. As explained in the literature review, discrimination is a process by which members of a social group are treated differently because of their membership to that group (Krieger 2001: 693) and it is often shaped by prejudice (Bourhis et al. 2007) and power struggle (Krieger 2001). Discrimination based on the language spoken by someone is called linguicism (Bourhis et al. 2007). The experiences of perceived linguicism of the participants can be better understood with the theoretical concept of stigma defined by Goffman (1963).

For the purpose of analysis: "the term stigma, then, will be used to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed. An attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm the usualness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a

thing in itself (Goffman 1963:3).” A stigma can be compared to a shortcoming, a failing, or a handicap (Goffman 1963:3), but it has meaning in a relational context between two groups. Several examples of such relationships can be found in this inquiry: a Quebec English-speaker in relationship with French-speakers, a Franco-Ontarian in relationship with English-speakers, and a Franco-Ontarian in relationship with Quebecers or other Francophones. When they encounter individuals with the potential to stigmatize, individuals with ‘spoiled’ identities can be either *discredited* or become *discreditable* (Goffman 1963:5). When individuals around them know that they have a ‘spoiled’ identity, they are discredited. When they do not, they are discreditable. Discredit is substantiated with a stigma-theory: “an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class (Goffman 1963:4).” Goffman (1963) explains that once discredited individuals realize that they are stigmatized and understand the stigma-theory justifying their stigmatization, they attempt to manage their selves. There are several potential responses to stigmatization ranging from avoidance, confrontation, to denial (Lamont and Mizrachi 2012). Stigmatized individuals can also resort to passing (Goffman 1963: 80), a practice that can be found for example among some Indigenous Canadians who can pass for White (Denis 2015: 232). While it is usually mentioned for race, linguistic passing can be associated to code-switching with the purpose to avoid stigmatization.

There are two reasons why the concept of stigma is ideal to analyse the responses in this chapter. First, the concept of stigma encompasses the discriminatory experiences or unfair treatments reported by the participants as well as their feelings of exclusion and non-acceptance related to specific incidents. Second, the relational aspect of Goffman's definition of stigma is central for my analysis. Quebec English-speakers will not be stigmatised in the rest of Canada when they speak English in relation to other Canadian English-speakers. However, in Quebec, in relation to Quebec Francophones, they are stigmatised. The attribute is not as important as the existing intergroup relationships in a specific context at a specific period of time. Otherwise, the experiences of stigmatization of Quebec English-speakers living in Quebec can be easily dismissed because English is the current dominant North American language, Quebec English-speakers used to be the dominant group in the province, and French is currently a minority North American language. Stigma is used here in the context of linguistic normativity and abnormality in a contemporary fashion. In other words, while Goffman (1963) exemplifies his concept of stigma with race, disability, mental health, past imprisonment, and homosexuality in his book, I am using it for the analysis of a contemporary linguistic social context in Canada.

The study of discrimination in Canadian sociology scrutinizes gender and sexuality, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity. Gender and sexuality topics have been studied extensively: gender and sexual orientation in the legal profession (Adam 1981), gender and linguistic inequality in Quebec (Béland and Sève 1986), sexual harassment (Lenton et al. 1999; Krauchek and Ranson 1999), gender income inequality (Goyder 1981; Robson

and Wallace 2001), sexual orientation and high school experiences (Taylor and Peter 2011), blood donation and sexual orientation (Smith et al. 2011), and AIDS and policy (Ornstein 1992). Some race and ethnicity articles analyse discrimination including antiracist education for change (Ruemper 1996), Chinese immigrants (Li 1982), Indigenous experiences of racism (Denis 2015) and assimilation in relation to racial minorities (Myles and Hou 2004). Some articles discuss income inequality and elites: business cliques in Delhi, Sydney and Montreal (Ross 1979), income differences between Anglophones and Francophones (Lanphier and Morris 1974), and Toronto elites (Tepperman 1977). Basically, official language minorities' experiences of linguicism have not been sociologically investigated in breadth or depth.

Opportunely, all the participants were asked: *Have you ever-experienced discrimination on the basis of language and if so, how did you respond? Did this experience affect your sense of identity and status?* The responses to these questions shed light on a dark side of navigating two linguistic worlds as a linguistic minority. They illustrate how the Quebec social-political context, and the impression of being caught between two militant camps are prevalent themes among Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students' stories of discrimination. The narratives of Franco-Ontarian postsecondary participants reveal two commonalities with young Quebec English-speakers: they are deeply affected by the Quebec social-political context and in response to stigma, Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers code-switch to avoid discrimination. In addition, Franco-Ontarian participants reported experiences of discrimination from the English-speaking linguistic

majority group in Ontario as well as within the larger Francophone community. In response to in-group and out-group discrimination, Franco-Ontarian participants react with pride in their heritage.

The answers of Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students to the questions about discrimination combined: 1) the cultural frame of the politics of recognition within the Quebec social-political context, 2) the practice of code-switching to prevent altercations and discrimination, and 3) an ambivalent attitude towards two political camps. The answers of Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students combined: 1) the cultural frame of the politics of recognition and its connection to the Quebec social-political context, 2) an attitude of affirmation of pride, and 3) the practice of code-switching to avoid experiences of discrimination.

Quebec English-speakers and discrimination

The experiences of discrimination reported by Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students happened within out-group dynamics, in relationship with the French-speaking linguistic majority. William reported several incidents where he considers that he was a victim of discrimination because English is his mother tongue. One of these incidents happened on Canada Day with a co-worker. William had to prove that he spoke French because he was identified as a Quebec English-speaker. This happened despite the fact

that a majority of young Quebec English-speakers are bilingual today (Heritage Canada 2011:5).

> William: During Canada Day, a few years ago now, we had our staff party at work. […] Yeah. I was at a table, and we were all talking. And anyways, one of the waiters I work with, had a conversation with me, saying that I needed to prove to him right now that I can speak French. And he said he was offended that I speak English and whatever.

Matilda has been strongly influenced by her experiences of discrimination. At school, teachers and children would stigmatize her as someone who does not belong in Quebec and should consider "going back" to Ontario.

> Matilda: The West Island. So I mean I had gone from a community that was more or less an English ghetto in a city that's really multi-cultural and really diverse into something that was predominantly French, white, kind of discriminatory in some cases, community. And it was a little bit of a shock when I got there. Because even though I was going to an English speaking school, there were like 50 kids in the whole school. All of them were French kids whose parents were putting them through English school. And we got made fun of. French classes were really hard because they were for French kids. We had a very difficult time catching up. Our French teacher would actually make fun of us and would pick on us. Kids would make fun of us. They would tell us to go back to Ontario. There was a sense of, even though that we were born here, it was sort of annoying for them that we were born here.

The abnormality that justifies the stigmatization of Matilda and William is that they speak English in Quebec. As such, they have 'spoiled' or undesirable linguistic identities and are discredited and stigmatized.

Out-group related discrimination

Anne discussed a very recent experience that she considers discriminatory. As an active member of her CEGEP student association, during the electoral campaign, all political parties were invited to send a representative to answer students' questions during a debate. As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, most interviews were completed before the Quebec elections held on April 7th 2014. In this excerpt, "they" refers to representatives from Parti Québécois, a nationalist and sovereigntist party. All the other parties sent a representative except for them. While Anne considers this experience discriminatory, it could be considered exclusionary or signalling that CEGEG English-speaking students are not worth debating during a political campaign for some nationalists and sovereignists.

> Anne: Right. So I first asked if they had someone who could speak to me in English and they said no. So I said okay and I just continued. I figured if they are not going to accommodate me for my language, then I would just accommodate them I guess. So I just spoke in French. […] They did not come. They said they were going to come. We found a representative and then he didn't show up. Yeah and then we called and he said, sorry I can't make it.

In terms of his identity, Edward associated the animosity of some towards him to the lack of acknowledgement that he belongs in Quebec.

> Edward: Well I guess the people who are acting this way towards me view me as not a true Quebecer or something like that.

Edmund is very much aware of the public political debate about postsecondary education in English and the fact that some Québécois nationalists, including la Société St-Jean-Baptiste, were suggesting that Quebec English-language universities such as Concordia

University, Bishop University and McGill University should have their funding decreased.

> Edmund: […]There's sometimes examples like that or I remember there was an open letter from a lot of professors from UDM[Université de Montréal] mostly and other Quebec universities who were saying: "oh we've talked about university funding and they were like let's not stop there let's look at the linguistic, oh McGill, Concordia, and Bishop's get more than their fair share and whatever." I think you can still promote the French language, and bilingualism, by letting someone learn conceptually in English.[…]

John does not believe that he has been discriminated against, but rather he explained that he was teased in high school. He has been called "Bloke" and he was told to "go back" to Ontario. This infers that he is not normal, that he does not belong to Quebec society.

> John: Casual. I think in high school, going into French high school it was used against me. *A toi t'es le bloke*. […] You know, I was told to go back to Ontario. There's a lot of teasing that goes on in high school. And they will just use whatever they can to tease you. I don't see it as being that significant. I see it as a lot of adolescent teasing.

Gloria further explains that she believes that even bilingual individuals can be considered as traitors threatening the French language in Quebec. In other words, bilingual individuals can be considered as abnormal because in Quebec nation building process, the predominance of French is central and bilingualism is considered a threat.

> Gloria: I would say mostly Anglophones. But there is some discrimination against bilinguals. Because people who are very strong with the French are like: "Oh you're giving in to the English. You're giving into the Anglophones, why are you changing for them? This is Quebec, we're Francophones." Being bilingual isn't a bad thing, it's actually an ability.

So far, Quebec English-speakers are discredited because a citizen who speaks English cannot be considered as belonging to the Quebec nation whether or not they

were born in the province or have roots in Quebec.

Responses to stigma and discrimination

As an emotional response to stigma or discrimination, participants expressed distress or anger.

> Stephen: I guess I felt a little oppressed in a way especially in that school I felt very oppressed because I couldn't speak. I understand I'm trying to be more fluent in French and master the language better. But the language I speak to my friends shouldn't have anything to do with my education. So I felt a little oppressed. I couldn't even order a croissant or something in English.

Elizabeth asserted that she experienced discrimination and that her first reaction was anger, especially when she spoke in French and was mocked because of her accent.

> Elizabeth: I got upset. I was pretty angry. So we were just in a circle discussing things and we were going to say all our names just to make it easier to discuss things. And when I talked, I spoke in French, obviously with an accent. And after I finished talking, I said everything I communicated fine and then this person was like: " oh you know if you want us to speak in English we can translate for you." And it was just very belittling and I was like phhh and I left because I was pretty angry at her. Stuff like that. So that was obviously yes a form of discrimination which is horrible but it's very rare. […]

Avoiding discrimination: code-switching and fluency

Here, code-switching is considered essential to avoid stigmatization. In the previous chapter, several participants expressed their desire to become more fluent in French. Like others, Matilda considers that becoming fluent facilitates code-switching to prevent negative interactions or stigmatization.

> Matilda: I got really tough, and I learned French really fast, let me tell you. Because I was scared shitless at some points. […]

Meanwhile, Morgan claims that she was not really affected by these experiences.

> Morgan: Not really it didn't affect me. These are obviously like exceptions not everybody is going to get mad. But it made me realize that I should be speaking more French to people. I shouldn't be assuming.

The desire of some participants to become fluent in French can be interpreted as linguistic passing to render one's undesired linguistic difference inaudible to become discreditable rather than discredited. As William expressed it so clearly: " to fool someone into thinking I was Francophone".

> William: I would say it makes my desire to be more fluent in French just a little bit stronger. I'd like to be able to fool someone into thinking I was Francophone in one of those situations. […]

For Jane, Anglophones and Francophones should meet halfway. She is ready to try to be understood, but she also hopes that her interlocutor will try to understand. Although she claimed that she usually ignores negative reactions, she further added that she should speak French more often to avoid conflicts in the future. Once again, speaking French is a strategy to avoid negative interactions.

> Jane: Yeah, but if someone can't understand me it's my job to try and work with them and it's also their job to try and work with me and there's no reason to get angry at people. It's automatic for me to speak English but people shouldn't get mad at me for that just like I shouldn't get mad at them if they don't understand me. […]

In order to avoid negative experiences, some participants speak French or English depending on the context. John explains how in a social setting, there can be differential

treatments if someone is singled out as not speaking French.

> John: Depends on the neighborhood. In this area I will speak in French. You listen to the language around you. My default is to speak French. But if I'm around Concordia University or NDG I will sometimes speak both. Sometimes I will speak in French and they will answer back in English. It's a mix. […]

Some participants asserted that they never experienced discrimination. However, it is only with further questioning that they probably realized as I did, that it might be because they systematically speak French in public spaces. For example, Mary reported that she never experienced discrimination, but she always speaks French in public spaces.

> Mary: I mean I would like to hope it isn't. I have heard enough about negative reactions. But I think honestly even more than that it's just out of respect and out of desire to practice. Because there have been times when I have been speaking French and the person I am talking to for whatever reason will switch to English and that always kind of frustrates me because I want to practice and I want to get better.

Victoria disclosed that she probably avoids experiences of discrimination because she speaks French often. Nevertheless, she witnessed others' experiences of discrimination and she strategically and consciously engages in code-switching.

> Victoria: Because of the fact that I can kind of weasel my way into speaking enough French to get me out of being pegged as: "oh no you are one of those English speakers in Montreal." […]

Catherine engages in a sort of experiment where, in an almost militant way, she speaks English first, even if she identifies as fully bilingual and is completely fluent in English and French.

> Catherine: Yeah I choose to not do it because as a human being myself, I am allowed to speak in the language I am comfortable with. And coming from a

> bilingual province, we should be allowed to speak English or French or both. And so that's why I choose to speak English because I have a right to do so. […]

William and Jane concur with Catherine about access to services, especially when it comes to healthcare. The difficulty to communicate and to be understood in English when one is sick can be stressful. This reflects the difficulty to access healthcare for Quebec English-speakers, especially for those who live outside of Montreal (Carter 2012).

> William: A restaurant or a store is French. The difference there is when I need to very clearly express myself because it's a matter of health or glasses or whatever. Whereas one is more frivolous it's more laid back. And I guess that's the other thing too. It's more stressful in a health care situation then it is buying shoes.
>
> Jane: In [NAME OF CITY] sometimes you'll get a doctor that's French so sometimes it's hard to explain what the problem is if it's not your language and he just doesn't understand. And he gets frustrated. So sometimes those situations can be tough.

Ambivalent attitude towards the Quebec social-political context

Several participants expressed their disappointment that tensions between the two linguistic communities lead to stigma or discrimination, but they were able to contextualize these experiences in perspective with Quebec's history and current geopolitical situation. Edmund speaks in French when he attends public institutions. He also tries to assess the linguistic context of private and public places such as restaurants to avoid confrontations. Furthermore, Edmund understands the unique situation of Quebec and he is even sympathetic to Francophone minorities outside of Quebec.

> Edmund: Oh French. Always French. […] To be honest, I feel that the accommodations should probably be done more on the Anglo side. So if the person serving you is good in English and they are willing to serve you in English then that's good and that's nice. I feel that is an asset. But at the same time I'd say the prerogative is more on the Anglophone. And I think that might be a change in culture from the last generation. But it's the same thing that one would expect if you were a Francophone living in Ontario or the rest of Canada. In fact it's way worse for them, from my understanding. The majority of the Quebec population speaks French, the official language of Quebec.

Yet, despite having witnessed several confrontations, with no personal experience of it, Victoria and Harold admit that they can spend most of their lives in English in Montreal.

> Victoria: […] Montreal is an interesting city, because I feel you can completely function here in English and not everyone is going to be happy about it but you can get by. I think that there is a bit more status though placed on those who can speak the language.

> Harold: […]I think it gets a little blown out of proportion. And I think a lot of the times my friends who are Anglophone do really appreciate that we do have it very good here. And as long as I am making an attempt to speak French and as long as they make an attempt to speak French, I don't feel oppressed in Quebec. I feel like I have equal opportunity.

Henry has experienced discrimination, but can still contextualize Quebec's unique situation in North America. This resonates with the ambivalent attitude of Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students in the previous chapter. Participants understand the fragility of French in North America, love Quebec culture, want to belong, both do not necessarily support the agenda of Francophone nationalists or Anglophone militants.

> Henry: I would say yes, especially when I wasn't as comfortable in French. Sometimes, not all the time, but occasionally you get judged by that, especially in a Francophone province. But to be honest, it doesn't happen that often. And I try to just let it go. I try to see it from the point of view of where the person is coming from. And more often than not it's coming from a place where maybe they are scared. I really have a lot of empathy for

> Francophones in Quebec. They are in an island surrounded by an English population surrounded by an even bigger English population to the south and the culture that comes out of the United States and from the English part of Canada, is very very powerful. And for Francophones I can really respect the fact that there's a different identity that they have that a lot of people can be scared of losing because of this overwhelming culture that is kind of involved with the world a little bit. The American culture to be fair. The Canadian one to a lesser extent but I can see where there's this desire to protect culture because even in English Canada there's this desire to protect our culture from the American influence. So when you're in Quebec it's protecting itself from Canada, Canadian English influence and from American English influence. And so I can emphasize a lot with people when they want to protect their heritage and they see people speaking English in what they might think is their home. People are protective of that.

Franco-Ontarians and discrimination

Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students reported out-group and in-group experiences of discrimination. Their narratives contained: 1) the cultural frame of the politics of recognition within the Quebec social-political context, 2) their attitude of affirmation and pride, and 3) their practice of code-switching to avoid discrimination. Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students disclosed that they experienced discrimination from the English-speaking linguistic majority in Ontario. Some participants reported that they have been called names, teased or mocked because of their difficulties in English. They were discredited as such due to their linguistic 'spoiled' identities.

> Marguerite: […] Otherwise, I am going to be called *the frenchie*, and *the frog*, and…
>
> Pierre: Yes, at the computer sciences students' association. It was a totally Anglophone team. And at the beginning, I joined as a Francophone, and there were people in the association who were making fun of my accent as you know, like I try a lot to speak in English, but sometimes, I make mistakes. I am not perfect. So… you know, like in other places, some people will correct

> me or you know, they will just help me, but than they gave me a hard time, because they were making fun of me. " This, this did not make any sense." They would make games with words a little based on what I would say. So, at the beginning, I found that extremely difficult. Well, today I have developed a little more tact. I am able to turn this a little against them also. I have been able to reverse the situation, a little. I would tell you that it is not the majority of people in my association, but some specific individuals.

Several participants interpreted their difficulties to access postsecondary education in French as discriminatory, especially when they were promised that it would be possible. These participants were referring specifically to the University of Ottawa, which is officially bilingual, and brands itself as *the Canadian University* in promotional and recruitment campaigns. Judith and Thierry had a lot to say about their disappointment with the University of Ottawa. This relates to institutional discrimination, meaning that an institution partakes in subtle implicit or explicit discriminatory practices (Payne-Pikus, Hagan and Nelson 2010).

> Judith: […] But I think that in daily life, the fact that we never have a guarantee to have access to services in French that sometimes, we are promised things as Francophones, but these promises are not kept. Like sometimes, courses are not available in French on campus. We have to plan our courses ahead of time as Francophones daily if we want to accomplish things in our own language. We are disadvantaged in some things if we want to live in our own language 100%.
>
> Thierry: There is also a symbolic discrimination, that is much more subtle that intervenes in chances. For example, postsecondary education is not the same for Francophones, Anglophones, if we agree that high schools and elementary schools are doing well. I have the impression at least. Then we get to postsecondary education in Ontario. There is no university that is really francophone like Université de Moncton in New Brunswick. […]

Some participants did not consider that they have experienced discrimination per say, but they witnessed tensed interactions like Louis.

> Louis: I have never experienced linguistic discrimination. No, for the most part. Discrimination I imagine that it happens in schools, and I have never experienced this for my language. In the workplace, I have witnessed a client or an individual who was a little, I don't know, I would say in French "*rude*". […]

Charles, like other Franco-Ontarians, is torn. He does not consider himself to be fully understood and respected by neither Ontario English-speakers, nor Quebec French-speakers.

> Charles: But yes. I would say like in two manners. There are Anglophones who wish a little to assimilate the French […] But there is also the other side. I do not find myself accepted by Quebecers or French (France) because of my accent, and I am not at the same level. I have only spoken in French my whole life, but I have also spoken in English half of my life.

In addition to interpersonal and institutional discrimination experienced with the linguistic majority group, Franco-Ontarians disclosed experiences of discrimination by Francophones from linguistic majority situations (Quebec, France). The experiences occur because their French is not believed to be 'standard' or appropriate (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014; Gaudet and Clément 2009; Larouche and Hinch 2012) and because there is a lack of recognition of the variety of French spoken by Francophones outside of Quebec (Boudreau 2014; Boudreau and Dubois 2001; Chevalier 2008; Leblanc 2010; Lozon 2002).

In-group related discrimination

Franco-Ontarian participants reported that they also experienced in-group dynamics related to discrimination: with French-speakers from Quebec or France. Therefore,

Franco-Ontarians differ in a significant way from Quebec English-speakers in the Canadian context. It is difficult for many Quebecers to acknowledge the existence of Franco-Ontarians; they believe that a fluent Francophone in Ontario must be from Quebec. Marguerite and Béatrice discuss that misconception.

> Marguerite: I think that there is a lack of information that happens somehow and people think that there are Francophones only in Quebec. I think that they assume that if I speak French in Ontario and I speak it well, it's because my family is from Quebec.
>
> Béatrice: Well, I don't know. If a Quebecer calls you Anglophone, is that discrimination? […] Well, *I guess* that yes. Okay, yes. When you are called an Anglophone by Quebecers and your mother tongue is French and all your life you went to school in French, you are making efforts to listen to music in French, TV shows in French, and then you are called an Anglophone…It's a little like discriminatory because perhaps they do not understand our reality.

According to Emma, the current educational curriculum that focuses only on Quebec history is to blame for the ignorance of many Quebecers about French-Canadians and Acadians.

> Emma: Oh! In Quebec, they think that I am an Anglophone. But what do you want? [Laughs] In Quebec, it's like that. Once again, I gave a 2 to Quebec because of their close-mindedness. [Laughs] […]We know that since the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, the Quebec educational model is closed to the rest of Canada. They don't learn about the different francophone communities outside of Quebec in Canada. They don't learn about Canadian history from the perspective of the Anglophones, the English. They don't learn…so yes. However, I cannot mock them, in Quebec. They just try to speak to me in English, and they force themselves to speak to me in English.

Overt experiences of discrimination by fellow French-speaking Quebecer classmates hurt profoundly Franco-Ontarian young adults who choose to pursue their postsecondary education in French. This lack of acceptance discredits Franco-Ontarians as legitimate,

normal, or authentic Francophones.

> Blanche: Ah, you know what? I find that Quebecers discriminate Franco-Ontarians a lot. This, I never thought about it, but now that you mention it. You know, I remember last year in my French class, here at [name of College] like it was an advanced French level class, compared to what we have in Ontario. *I guess*. And, there were professors with master's degrees, like, in French, who were teaching us. So, I was really having a hard time because it was like a new French and also the French, it changed, and all. And us, we had not learned it in school, so I experience a lot of difficulties with that. You know, the Quebecers, they were like: "Oh…damn Ontarian…. You don't understand anything in French?". […] The students. You know, there is a guy that I think about often. His name is Vincent. We would argue with each other often in class because he would say: "Damn it! Don't you know anything?". He would rant about something connected to Toronto. I was like: "between you and me, my family comes from Toronto. I know Toronto more than you do." He would argue on things like that and he would say: "Ah, damn Franco-Ontarians! Me, I am going to get out of here!". So once, he did not even want to have dinner with us in Ottawa because he did not want to eat Ontarian food. So, it's a lot of discrimination like that like: "Ah, you can't even speak French…you, you are English, and that's all."

The lack of knowledge and awareness about Francophone communities outside of Quebec is not exclusive to Quebecers. Charles' linguistic identity was discredited in France and he felt humiliated.

> Charles: I would not say discrimination. I don't think that they do it on purpose. You know, we are going to say that anytime…When I was in France…Each time that I talked, they would respond to me in English. So, they think that I am an American who learned like three words of French so that: "Oh, this is France. I am going to learn a few words and I am going to speak French." But they don't understand and it's humiliating.

Responses to stigma and discrimination

Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students respond to stigma and discrimination with affirmation and pride in their heritage or by code-switching to English to avoid conflict. As such, they are similar to Quebec English-speakers when they seek

avoidance with code-switching, but they differ with their affirmation of pride in their heritage. Fleming, Lamont and Welburn (2012) found that among African Americans, some strategies were more prevalent in response to racism. Each social group develops its own range of responses to discrimination depending on the context.

Affirmation and pride

In response to discrimination from Québécois, Béatrice reaffirms her identity and pride. Here are a few examples of this attitude, but there are several more participants who reported the same strategy.

> Béatrice: Yes. Well, I think that it gives you even more the desire to be proud and speak both languages and be Francophone in Ontario. So, I think that it puts oil on the fire and gives me more strength, you know, to be able to do it even if you don't believe in us. Even if we are a minority, we still have a voice, we are still strong and we are still here. So, I take the negative and I turn it into positive.
>
> Constance: But me, I am a person who struggles. So, it just gave me another reason to continue to fight, I would say. It has not necessarily brought me down. It's certain that something that was supposed to take me five minutes can take me two hours. […]

For Thierry, experiences of discrimination strengthen the Franco-Ontarians' collective consciousness.

> Thierry: It is certain that each time that there is an event like that, some arrogance from a unilingual Anglophone, which is what it is. It reinforces Franco-Ontarians' conviction. And to live an experience that differs from someone who is just bilingual, or obviously someone who is Anglophone. It contributes to shape the Franco-Ontarian identity. And it is the same thing also for postsecondary education. I mean, I attended francophone elementary and high schools; my whole life was in French.

Avoiding discrimination: code-switching and fluency

Franco-Ontarian participants share in common with Quebec English-speaking participants the fact that they code-switch to avoid negative interactions. Some participants, like Louis, Jean and Charles, recognize that being fluent in English probably explains why they have never experienced discrimination based on language. By being fluent in English, he can pass and become discreditable rather than discredited.

> Louis: […] I am happy that I know both languages. I feel better like, I start at a better level than other people who speak less languages. I don't have to fear discrimination because of my language.
>
> Jean: An Anglophone? No, because I can express myself so well in English. I think that they assume at first sight that I am an Anglophone. So, they will not discriminate me because I can speak a second language. Since I am going to talk to them in their language in the right way without an accent, I think that they are happy. […]
>
> Charles: Me, I would say that no because I am truly advantaged to be bilingual. But if I were a unilingual francophone, I would have heard these comments. Since I understand English a little, I would not feel comfortable. Yes.

Raoul also code-switches depending on where he is in Ontario.

> Raoul: No, because I have always had a good command of English and I haven't felt threatened. Once again, depending on the region, if I was in Ottawa, I would speak in English. […]

Conclusion

The perceived experiences of discrimination affect Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students. While some of the experiences reported can be qualified

as exclusionary (non-acceptance) rather than discriminatory or denoting and unfair treatment, the participants qualified them as discriminatory. The theoretical concept of stigma enables to analyze the relational aspect, the stigma theory and the different responses to these perceived experiences of discrimination. Quebec English-speaking participants discussed their experiences with the linguistic majority in Quebec, while Franco-Ontarian participants disclosed discriminatory experiences from the English-speaking linguistic majority in Ontario and from other Francophones. These experiences also demonstrate how different cultural frames and repertoires are mobilized in different situations and how different set of responses can be mobilized. Hence, elements of the cultural repertoires of Quebec English-speakers such as code-switching and an ambivalent attitude in the Quebec social-political context are apparent. In addition, the cultural frame of the politics of recognition within the Quebec social-political context is also manifest. Elements of the cultural repertoire of Franco-Ontarians are notable such as code-switching and an affirmation of pride and attachment to their own culture. Moreover, the cultural frame of the politics of recognition and the Quebec social-political context affect Franco-Ontarians' narratives of discrimination. It should be noted that some of these experiences took place in postsecondary institutions and participants were frustrated because of negative interactions with instructors and fellow students. This implies that especially in Ontario, there is a need to raise awareness about linguistic diversity among Francophones from majority and minority linguistic contexts to foster respect, tolerance and solidarity in French-language and bilingual postsecondary institutions. Participants clearly expressed that students and instructors can contribute to

these negative interactions. Therefore, all staff and members of bilingual and French-language postsecondary institutions should be trained about the complex reality of Francophone minority communities. While it is true that immigrants can be discriminated on the basis of their accents (Creese and Kambere 2003; Munro 2003), Quebec English-speaking participants did not report in-group discrimination based on language by English-speakers from other provinces or other countries.

On the one hand, official language minorities are stigmatized in relationship to the linguistic majority in the media or in specific public and social situations. Thereby, they experience circumstantially a lower status in their respective provinces. On the other hand, official language minorities may also experience a higher status on the labour market if they are bilingual, and they can also conceive themselves as cosmopolitan citizens because if they are fluent enough in their secondary language, they can straddle between two different linguistic communities. Hence, they can experience discrimination, but they can also access unique employment opportunities while navigating different linguistic social networks. The next chapter will attempt to make sense of these contradictions as well as the complexity of their social status as bilingual Canadians.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL STATUS, COSMOPOLITANISM, THE COMMODIFICATION OF LANGUAGE AND POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION EXPERIENCES

This chapter investigates if Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students equate bilingualism with a higher social status and cosmopolitanism, and if they consider that bilingualism is a simple commodity. While participants had different levels of fluency in English and French, their responses revealed different cultural status beliefs pertaining to bilingualism. Their responses also address sociological theoretical concepts such as cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. To gauge participants' views about bilingualism as a social status, the following questions were asked to interviewees: *What are the benefits and disadvantages of speaking both official languages? Does speaking both official languages make you any different from other Canadians? What do you believe you share in common with other bilingual Canadians? Do you know how individuals who speak both official languages are perceived in the general population?* The last section of this chapter explores the postsecondary experiences of participants in relation to their identity and the question that was asked was: *How do you believe your postsecondary institution has influenced your sense of linguistic identity?*

The evidence suggests that most participants associate bilingualism with a nuanced higher social status, more specifically, as a status-enhancer. Quebec English-speakers' responses

indicate that bilingualism: a) shows respect for the linguistic French-speaking majority, b) corresponds to positive attributes, c) can be detrimental in some social-political contexts, d) and overlaps with cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. Franco-Ontarians' responses indicate that bilingualism: a) corresponds to positive attributes, b) can be negative in social-political contexts and can ignite jealousy, c) can be a threat to a collective Franco-Ontarian identity, d) and overlaps with cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. While some Franco-Ontarian participants express apprehension for the threat of bilingualism to their collective identity, Quebec English-speaking participants do not because English is not threatened. While some Quebec English-speaking participants express concerns for respecting the linguistic majority in their province, the majority of Franco-Ontarian participants do not.

For Quebec English-speaking participants, linguistic cosmopolitanism is valuable because: a) it facilitates the appreciation of arts and entertainment in another language, b) it enables social interactions with individuals from different cultural backgrounds, c) it opens the doors to other cultural worldviews, d) it deepens their relationship and their understanding of the linguistic French-speaking majority of Quebec, and e) it signals "openness". For Franco-Ontarian participants, linguistic cosmopolitanism is valuable because: a) it enables social interactions with individuals from different cultural backgrounds, b) it opens the doors to other cultural worldviews, and c) it signals "openness". In sum, both groups are very similar and their thoughts reflect that depending on their level of fluency, they can act as "linguistic straddlers" by code-

switching, but that they also equate bilingualism to a form of "linguistic cosmopolitanism". It is important to highlight that self-perception of cosmopolitanism does not exclude perceived experiences of discrimination or stigmatization as discussed in the previous chapter. One can experience stigmatization in one context, and experience satisfaction by enacting linguistic cosmopolitanism in another context.

Alongside linguistic cosmopolitanism, the commodification of language, which refers to the market value attributed to fluency in a language (Heller 2010), is a social process cited by interviewees with nuances. Quebec English-speaking participants acknowledge: a) that it is necessary to be bilingual to work in Quebec, b) that being bilingual can be advantageous to find work in Canada in general, c) but that bilingualism can also elicit jealousy and sentiments of injustice among some unilingual Canadians. Franco-Ontarian participants consider: a) that it is necessary to be bilingual to work in Ontario, b) that being bilingual can be advantageous to find work in Canada in general, c) and that bilingualism is not necessarily a prerequisite to be among the wealthiest in this country. I argue that because a majority of participants consider bilingualism as necessary, even if it gives them a competitive advantage at times on the labour market, the commodification of language only applies partially, with nuances. A necessity that can be advantageous remains a necessity, especially when a social group is a minority. Most participants would be confined to few professional opportunities if they did not speak the language of the majority, especially Franco-Ontarians dispersed across the province as chapter 1's figures about employment illustrated.

Finally, participants in both groups discussed their impressions, sentiments and attitudes about their postsecondary education. While Quebec English-speaking participants focused on the appreciation of their program of study or the overall environment of their institutions, Franco-Ontarian participants reflected on more issues. Franco-Ontarian participants expressed their dissatisfaction about the lack of opportunity to speak French on campus, their difficulty to access undergraduate courses in French to graduate on time, and the quality of the French language used by some instructors. This striking difference between the two groups can be explained by the fact that many participants attended the University of Ottawa, a university that claims to serve Francophones in a minority situation with a bilingual campus, but that has been criticized for not fulfilling its promises. Participants who attended predominantly French-language institutions such as La Cité Collégiale or Université St-Paul did not express such a high level of dissatisfaction about language and education, or institutional discrimination. On the other hand, Franco-Ontarian participants who attended English-language institutions experienced linguistic isolation due to the scarce opportunities to speak French.

Social status

Most participants acknowledge that bilingualism is favourable. The most outstanding result is that several Quebec English-speaking participants feel compelled to be bilingual in order to respectfully speak French with the majority French-speaking population of

Quebec. In contrast, only one Franco-Ontarian participant estimates that speaking English is important to exchange with the English-speaking majority of Ontario. Several Franco-Ontarians are concerned that bilingualism might be a threat to their collective Franco-Ontarian identity. In contrast, like in the previous chapters, no Quebec English-speaker refers to social cohesion or collective identity.

Social status among Quebec English-speakers

Overall, participants associate bilingualism with a higher social status. It is telling that Quebec English-speakers reiterate that they speak French to further a better social integration in Quebec and to avoid stigma. Comparatively, Franco-Ontarians do not express such anxiety about the linguistic English-speaking majority in Ontario. By and large, participants report that bilingualism reflects respect for the linguistic majority and furthers social integration. Bilingualism equates a higher social status, but can be problematic in politically related situations. Quebec English-speaking participants' responses often overlap with cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. When asked about bilingualism, several participants spontaneously explain why it is important to speak French in Quebec. The reasons to do so include: respecting the French-speaking linguistic majority, being a bridge between Anglophones and Francophones, and avoiding stigma or discrimination. Stephen and Matilda are examples of participants who value bilingualism because it is respectful and it furthers social integration.

> Stephen: I just find it out of courtesy I guess. It's the main language right. Because I expect there are more people in Quebec that are Francophone then Anglophone. So when I talk to somebody at first, I address them in French.
>
> Matilda: […] And also as an Anglophone if you demonstrate a willingness to learn French and be proficient in French, it's taken as a sign of respect for the French language by a lot of people who are Quebecois, who are French. […]

Edgar is attached to his linguistic identity. Despite the linguistic conflicts, he is proud to be a Quebec English-speaking citizen. He sees himself as a bridge between the two linguistic groups.

> Edgar: And I don't see that somehow as selling out my linguistic identity. I am very proud to live in Quebec. I would prefer that we didn't have so many linguistic squabbles especially that it be such a politicized issue. But I have great respect for French people a lot of the people in my neighbourhood immediately around me are Francophone so I don't really have a problem speaking in a public space like a restaurant or store in French. […] I see myself maybe as bridging a little bit of that divide linguistically.

Like other participants in the previous chapter, Edward uses bilingualism in an effort to avoid stigma or discrimination.

> Edward: Okay in the world I think it's great to be able to speak as many languages as you can because you can meet new people and you can interact with them without getting confused. Within Quebec, if you don't know a little bit of French you're going to be segregated. You're not going to be served and you're not going to receive opportunities. You have to learn French to live in Quebec.

Jane and Mary do not believe that bilingualism gives them an advantage or that it makes them different in any way.

> Jane: No I don't know.
>
> Mary: I am honestly not sure.

Jane and Mary are exceptions since a majority of Quebec English-speaking participants associate bilingualism with a higher social status. Several positive qualifications such as pride, prestige, admiration, intelligent and smart are used to describe how they believe bilingual individuals are perceived. These words can be understood as cultural status beliefs (Ridgeway 2014) about bilingualism.

> Elizabeth: As being efficient. […] More versatile they can speak with more people so it's very just efficient and approachable. Because you can speak to them in whatever language so approachable is one. Smart for being able to speak two languages, I guess. […]
>
> Victoria: I think they are kind of seen as a bit more educated. A bit more committed. […] You're seen as smarter from my perspective.
>
> William: I think they're perceived as better in a way. More employable, probably more intelligent. I would say they are perceived as being more intelligent. Yeah I would say it's very positive. The general perception of bilingualism is very positive.

Participants explain the implications of the political tensions between the two linguistic groups in Quebec and in Canada. In some social contexts, bilingualism can be a reminder of the linguistic conflicts of the present and past decades.

> Edmund: […] But that's saying oh you're open to English which is not politically good in lots of Quebec. […]
>
> Harold: […] I think that realistically there is still a lot of harsh sentiments towards people who only speak English in Montreal and Quebec.

While a majority of participants associate bilingualism to a higher social status, their narratives also substantiate the relevance of cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. In the next sections, cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language are analysed further.

Social status among Franco-Ontarians

Overall, Franco-Ontarians perceive bilingualism in a positive light. However, while participants claim that bilingualism can be negative in social-political contexts and can ignite jealousy, Franco-Ontarians stand out with their concern about community cohesion and collective identity. Several participants' contributions resonate as well with cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language. Raoul is the only Franco-Ontarian participant who views bilingualism as a tool to foster integration with the English-speaking linguistic majority in Ontario. Yet, at the end, he reflects that in many instances, he would prefer to speak French.

> Raoul: […] I find it important that we keep French, but like I also found important that we speak English too. It's not to speak only one language?, it's not to choose between French and English, it's to manage in both, I think. So the disadvantage is that being able to speak English, I would still have preferred to speak in French, for example, when I worked at the Subway in high school.

Overall, mirroring Quebec English-speaking participants' responses, Franco-Ontarians consider that bilingualism warrants a higher social status and they use positive attributes such as: admirable, privilege, better, and intelligent. These cultural status beliefs are similar to Quebec English-speaking participants' thoughts.

> Judith: […] It's still a privilege, it is an advantage to be bilingual. But, I think that in a certain way too, there is some admiration on the part of people who are unilingual, who would like to be able to be bilingual, who see it as an advantage, that it is an asset.

> Adelaïde: Well, like I told you previously, I feel a little superior. It's really mean to say so, but I don't know. I feel almost better, on a higher ground than

> those who only speak just one language. […] I would not say more intelligent, but like more advanced. […]
>
> Alphonse : I think that people who are bilingual, there is like… *like there is a… Does that make sense ? Like there is almost a pride to it.*

Several participants highlight the social-political tensions between Anglophones and Francophones that can emerge in different contexts.

> Robert: […]I think that sometimes there are conflictual discourses about the issue. […]
>
> Hughes: Yeah, that and also, I think that there is like some stigma associated to French and Francophones. […]

Judith and Charles mention the jealousy of some Anglophones because of access to some job opportunities.

> Judith: […] I think that some people are frustrated by the fact that there is an advantage that comes with bilingualism and that they might be a little jealous sometimes.
>
> Charles: I think that …like I would not say jealous, but I would say that there are some people who are a little jealous. They would like to learn both languages because for the many advantages when you know both in Canada.

Politically, Thierry suggests that a bilingual identity is a threat to collective consciousness and the recognition of a Franco-Ontarian community.

> Thierry: […] So sometimes it undermines people to the extent that they don't really identify as Franco-Ontarian anymore. So in their identity, it has an impact and after that, there is an impact due to the fact that we are too open to bilingualism. There is one of the two languages that is going to take over the other. That's my impression. […]

Several responses corroborate the significance of cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language among Franco-Ontarian participants. Raoul is a clear example of this overlap: he cites employability, education and openness to the world.

> Raoul: […] In terms of employment, even at school, I would say, at the University of Ottawa, we can take courses in English, and still be credited in our program if we take them in French. It is still a great openness to the world also, I mean.

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism refers to the belief that someone has the ability to understand and to appreciate different cultural contexts and artefacts. Several participants value bilingualism because it allows them to communicate in multiple social contexts at ease. According to the participants in both groups, being bilingual facilitates traveling, working, enjoying entertainment, and social encounters in general. In other words, bilingualism facilitates shifting from the "localist" to the "cosmo" and presenting oneself as a progressive cultural omnivore. In fact, several participants asserted that speaking many languages made them more open to cultural diversity.

Cosmopolitan Quebec English-speakers

Linguistic cosmopolitanism allows Quebec English-speakers to appreciate entertainment in French, to interact with individuals from different backgrounds, to discover other cultural worldviews, to strengthen their relationship with the Quebec linguistic majority, and it makes them more "open". Jane explains how she can enjoy entertainment in

English and in French, specifically in the language in which it was produced. Therefore, she has an advantage that her unilingual friends do not have; she is able to fully appreciate the sense of humour in movies.

> Jane: […] You could work anywhere you could watch any show you could watch anything listen to any music and understand it. […] Sometimes you just can't translate a joke. […]

Like Jane, Elizabeth enjoys books and movies in both languages, but she also mentions that she can interact with more people.

> Elizabeth: […]You just get to communicate with more people. Because you know more languages. There's less division. […] You get to experience more culture you get to read more books you get to see more movies. Everything that is happening in that language you get to experience it.

William and Anne that we understand the world through the language that we speak. Therefore, speaking several languages facilitates understanding other cultural perspectives.

> William: […] It relates to how you see the world. Language is the lens through which we understand the world so if they are unilingual you are seeing the world through that one lens whereas if you are bilingual you are able to see it through two.

> Anne: […] I guess the ability like I said to access different cultures and to understand things through two different perspectives and be able to communicate with different kinds of people. And to have like I said the overlapping part of the identity. Where you can communicate with different people and not be limited to one language.

Stephen explains that every language is connected to a culture, a worldview, which provides a different cultural experience. He can illustrate this with his own family relationships since he is from Italian descent.

> Stephen: […] It's very strange because every language has it's own culture, there's a way of thinking. French people have their own way of thinking, Anglophones have their own way of thinking, the Italian culture is very different too. There's that whole change in going from one culture to another from one language to another is very interesting. When I go to my grandmother's house and everything's in Italian it feels like I got on a plane and I went to Italy.

Adding to what William and Stephen think about understanding someone else's perspective, Edgar highlights that bilingualism propels him to understand Quebec better: beyond Quebec's English-speaking social circles and media. For him, especially during the electoral campaign, access to media in English and French is important to gain a comprehensive view of Canada and Quebec's political issues.

> Edgar: And to go beyond just consulting English media I think it's pretty easy to live in a little bit of a bubble, and I think it's important to Anglophones. And I think case in point the provincial election. If you look at how the CBC has been covering the provincial election and how CTV has been covering it and the Montreal Gazette I would say is a really good source but I'm a little disappointed with how our local television outlets, English language outlets have been covering the campaign. I don't think they are doing enough coverage because I think it's almost seen as a fait accompli that a lot of Anglophones will vote for the Liberals. And I think to truly understand Quebec society you have to go beyond just the Anglophone bubble to consult French language media. […] So in that sense, I think being someone who is bilingual in Canada's two official languages, is an asset in terms of understanding the way our country functions and understanding Quebec as a component of that country.

Edward believes that if you do not speak French, you will be segregated in Quebec society. He also supports what is mentioned in the previous chapter, speaking French is paramount to avoid stigma and discrimination. At the same time, towards the end, indicative of several layers of meaning attributed to bilingualism, Edward refers to "openness".

> Edward: […] Within Quebec, if you don't know a little bit of French you're going to be segregated. You're not going to be served and you're not going to receive opportunities. You have to learn French to live in Quebec. […] Perhaps that I am more open to culture and that I am willing to learn more about different cultures other than my English culture.

Several of the ideas associated to linguistic cosmopolitanism among Quebec English-speakers can also be found among Franco-Ontarian participants.

Cosmopolitan Franco-Ontarians

Similarly to Quebec English-speakers, Franco-Ontarians believe that: bilingualism facilitates social interactions with individuals from different cultural backgrounds, allows them to discover other cultural worldviews, and means that one is more "open". Like William in the previous section, Charlotte sees an advantage in being able to interact with others in different social settings.

> Charlotte: The advantage, it's that it is easier to get a job, definitively. It's also, it is a good *ice breaker*, people…I find that people like it when you speak more than one language. It's seen as an *attraction*, I find.

Judith believes that language is attached to a specific culture, as well as history.

> Judith: […] There is a culture that comes with a language also, a history, a context. So I think that for me, it's one of the things that I like with the fact that I am Francophone also. I find that I have a history to tell when I meet Anglophones or people who have not been immersed in French Canadian traditions if you like. […]

For Béatrice, speaking English and French facilitates communicating with individuals from a wide range of countries. Bilingualism parallels an immersion in another culture.

> Beatrice: Okay. I think that anywhere you go in the world, speaking French and English, you can communicate with someone. […] Yes. Well, I think that it is to understand a similar culture. I mean, they have francophone traditions and also traditions from their country of origin or their language of origin. Comparatively to me, I have Francophone and Anglophone traditions. […]

Emma estimates that individuals who speak several languages are more open to the world than unilinguals.

> Emma: I believe that people who speak more than one language are more open to the world. […] Well, as I said previously, all the people who speak more than one language have greater openness and are more open. So, I share perhaps this capacity to approach problems with different angles with two languages like them. Yes.

Agnès subscribes to Emma's idea that multilingualism means an open mind.

> Agnès: […] Yes, but at the same time, no. Everyone, all Canadians should speak both languages, in my opinion. *It's a tall order.* I know, but that is it. I think that it makes a more open person. Like I mentioned before, we have access to different sources of information whereas someone who is a bit more closed or whatever […]

With the same line of thought, Thierry explains that bilingualism widens one's cultural horizons.

> Thierry: It enables…like, an advantage is that it opens cultural horizons. It means that it is a point of entry to another culture, to another way to see the world differently. […]

While both groups consider that bilingualism results in linguistic cosmopolitanism, they also recognize that bilingualism can be, only in some circumstances, a commodity. Indeed, since bilingualism is essential to work for both groups, bilingualism can be considered a commodity only to some extent.

The nuanced commodification of language

Commodification refers to the market value attributed to a specific skill, service or object. Official language minorities are often bilingual by obligation; they must acquire the language of the linguistic majority to live in their respective province. In some instances, their bilingualism can be rewarded in the labour market.

Nuanced commodification and Quebec English-speakers

Quebec English-speaking participants believe that bilingualism is necessary in the Quebec labour market, that it can be an asset in Canada, but that some unilingual Canadians sometimes believe that it is unfair that bilingual individuals have more opportunities for some positions. Elizabeth and Gloria acknowledge that fluency in English and French makes them more employable in general.

> Elizabeth: […]I could get jobs that they could never have […].
>
> Gloria: I think that later on in a career I think it's really important to speak both languages.

John, Mary, and Harold consider that in Quebec, it is necessary to speak French, as well as English. This necessity shows that language as a commodity should be understood as circumstantial.

> John: […]I think it opens up doors, it helps you get a job especially in Montreal where both languages are spoken on a regular basis.[…]
>
> Mary: I think it probably makes you a little bit better prepared for employment I think especially in Quebec. It makes you better qualified for certain jobs. […]

> Harold:[…]. You feel a sense of pride when you know a language and I think the job prospects you get in Quebec.[…]

According to Jane and William, employment prospects in the rest of Canada are better for someone who is bilingual.

> Jane: Disadvantages, I can't see any. Advantages you could work anywhere in Canada even in Ottawa or some places in Manitoba they want you to speak French. And if you want to work for the public service they want you to speak French. […]
>
> William: Endless. You're more employable. Besides being more employable, and getting better jobs and all of those things, you're able to travel more.[…]

Edgar recognizes the advantage that bilingualism provides for federal government employment positions, but is also aware of the animosity that this provokes among some, as reported by some Sun News Network anchors.

> Edgar: […] But aside from that I think it's well recognized throughout Canada and in Quebec that anyone who is bilingual has an advantage in getting a Federal government job. […] And now I am speaking of Sun News Network and I think sometimes people who are bilingual and speak both official languages are a little bit vilified as having that advantage in terms of getting a job with the federal government simply because for a lot of jobs especially higher up positions you need that fluency in both languages. […]

Franco-Ontarians as well describe bilingualism as a context-dependent commodity, meaning that they can derive a competitive advantage from it only in some circumstances. Otherwise, being bilingual is also an obligation for them.

Nuanced commodification and Franco-Ontarians

Like Quebec English-speakers, Franco-Ontarian participants believe that bilingualism is necessary to work in their province, that it is an asset in Canada, but that bilingualism is not a requirement to be among the wealthiest in the country. Constance and Louis consider that in general, bilingualism makes them more employable.

> Constance : The advantages, me, I would say that it opens many doors. Like for sure that for employment, it's obvious. […]
>
> Louis: Advantages, it's easy to get a job. […] Labour market. Yes, it's easier to communicate with customers, to share ideas, in comparison to people who only speak one language, so that they understand. […]

Thierry points out that, for French-speaking communities in a minority situation, a majority of employment opportunities require speaking English. In fact, being bilingual is an obligation.

> Thierry: Imperatively. Definitively. Postsecondary students when they want a job, in a minority situation, except for some jobs that I mentioned earlier that I did myself, there almost no jobs in French. […]

Alphonse explains that depending on where you live, one language will be more important than the other.

> Alphonse: Especially jobs, but I think it's a better deal in Toronto and a necessity in Quebec. If you do not speak…if you speak English it's a thing: Okay, well, that's rather good. But you must speak French *no matter what*.

Judith and Charles support the idea that overall, bilingualism increases employment opportunities.

> Judith: […]There are many job opportunities. […]
>
> Charles: […] In Canada specifically, job opportunities. […]

Agnès considers that bilingualism does not refer to an identity, but to a skill that can be convenient in a resume.

> Agnès: That's it. The labour market, yes, it's a good thing to be bilingual. But that's what it is: *it is a skill*, it is an ability. It is not a way to be. Like, it is a quality that you put on your resume.

Hughes is well informed, and he has a critical understanding of bilingualism's benefits. While several bilingual Canadians obtain mostly professional positions in the middle-class, the 20% wealthiest Canadians are in majority unilingual Anglophones.

> Hugues: […] I think that the majority of the top 20% are unilingual Anglophones and that the majority of the middle class was bilingual, or not the majority, but a lot of people, a lot of bilingual people are part of the middle class I think or something like that. It was just trying to show that knowing French can help you access the middle class but it can also prevent you from getting higher. I find that, I have seen Anglophones at the top that kind of insult Francophones, they feel kind of insecure. They feel uncomfortable around Francophones and they do not necessarily like the language.

So far, social status, linguistic cosmopolitanism and the commodification of language can be found simultaneously among Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians. However, their degree of satisfaction of postsecondary education differs greatly.

Postsecondary education experiences

Participants in this study attended CEGEP, colleges and universities in Quebec and in Ontario. During the interviews, a question was asked about their experiences in their postsecondary institution. One question that captured their impressions, their appreciation

and their experiences was: *How do you believe your postsecondary institution has influenced your sense of linguistic identity?*. Several participants elaborated beyond the confines of this question and provided meaningful insights about their postsecondary educational pathways. Nonetheless, there is an important distinction between the two groups: Quebec English-speakers' responses refer essentially to teaching and learning. They do not mention the role of their postsecondary institution for the collective identity of English-speaking Quebecers. English is not threatened in Montreal, and this is clear in their absence of concerns for their community. On the other hand, several Franco-Ontarians complained that their postsecondary institutions were failing to uphold their mission for the collective well-being of Francophone communities in a minority situation, especially bilingual institutions.

Postsecondary education experiences of Quebec English-speakers

Quebec English-speakers discuss mostly their satisfaction or their dissatisfaction towards their program of study or the CEGEP or university attended. Henry and Stephen are among the participants who enjoy their postsecondary experience greatly.

> Henry: Actually to be honest with you, I am very much satisfied with how my education has gone here. I feel like I've learned a lot. My supervisor has been fantastic with me. […]
>
> Stephen: It was a wonderful experience in terms of education and in terms of the people I met here were very welcoming. It's a very different environment from my high school and I really like it […].

Edgar expressed disappointment with his program in journalism.

> Edgar: I'm a little disappointed with the program actually the journalism

> program. I think it's very hands on and practical.. […]

Gloria did not enjoy her experience because she found that the teachers were not empathetic enough in the Natural Sciences program at Vanier College, especially with junior students.

> Gloria: In terms of the teachers, I feel like there are some teachers that need to revise their [inaudible] I feel like they need to step up on that because some teachers the way they speak to their students they don't really motivate, they're not okay with their students.[…].

Overall, Quebec English-speaker think about learning experiences, the social environment of their institution, but do not have any concerns about their language or their community. In contrast, Franco-Ontarians have a lot to say about French and the Franco-Ontarian collective aspirations.

Postsecondary education experiences of Franco-Ontarians

While two participants discussed their overall appreciation of their program of study, most Franco-Ontarians made many negative comments about the quality of language used in class, the availability of courses in French at the University of Ottawa, or the lack of opportunities to participate in activities in French at their bilingual institution or their English-speaking postsecondary institution. While some participants expressed that their postsecondary institution has not contributed to reinforce their linguistic identity, others felt compelled to struggle for their linguistic rights and assert their Franco-Ontarian

identity. This striking difference between Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians demonstrates that because Montreal provides access to several English-language institutions, they do not pursue postsecondary education with the same expectations, challenges, and needs as Franco-Ontarians. Emma enjoyed her experience at Université St-Paul, a predominantly French-language speaking postsecondary institution, which used to exclusively be a French-language Catholic seminary, but now offers a wide range of postsecondary programs as a federated institution of the University of Ottawa.

Emma : Excellent.

Agnès experienced a reinforcement of her linguistic identity at La Cité Collégiale, a French-language college. Yet, she was disappointed with her program. Nevertheless, having started her postsecondary education at the University of Ottawa before transferring to La Cité Collégiale a few years after, Agnès states that she prefers La Cité Collégiale to the University of Ottawa because her linguistic needs are better met at La Cité Collégiale.

> Agnès: I would say that it reinforced it since I am now studying 100% in French and I work 100% in French. I almost do not speak English anymore. […] Yes. It's unfortunate that my experience at La Cité Collégiale has not been of the highest caliber. It's unfortunate. Would I recommend to study at la Cité ? Yes, but not in my program. […] And whether it is in English or in French, in terms of social life, I think that life at La Cité Collégiale is much better in French than the University of Ottawa. […]

Sometimes, some professors' accent or language skills are identified as potential barriers to learning. As mentioned in the literature review, there is a wide range of French spoken in Canada and in the rest of the world (Boudreau 2014; Boudreau and Dubois 2001;

Chevalier 2008; Leblanc 2010; Lozon 2002). This can result in some challenges when Francophones from different regions try to communicate with each other with different intonations and expressions. Louis reports that it can be difficult to understand some instructors because of their accents.

> Louis: Well, some professors, not all professors who teach in francophone programs speak French well. So, I find it difficult sometimes to understand what they mean.

For several participants, their desire to fight for their linguistic rights originate from their dissatisfaction with the University of Ottawa, a bilingual postsecondary institution. In order to illustrate this, only a few excerpts were translated in this section, but they reflect the strong arguments of several participants. Constance complained about the fact that the required courses in her program were not always offered in French and that she had to take courses in English to graduate quickly. Therefore, she considers that the University of Ottawa is not really bilingual. Constance further contrasts her experience at La Cité Collégiale to her experience at the University of Ottawa. For her, being Franco-Ontarian is a struggle at the University of Ottawa where most activities are in English whereas at La Cité Collégiale, she felt more at ease. This is very similar to Agnès' contribution cited earlier, and it gives credibility to those who consider that there is a significant experiential difference between a bilingual postsecondary institution and a French-language institution for Francophone communities in a minority situation.

> Constance: […] For sure I chose La Cité Collégiale because it is entirely in French and there is no problem for courses. Knowing that the courses will be offered in my language, I really appreciate it. […] I really found it difficult to make public the fact that I am Franco-Ontarian at the University of Ottawa because I thought that it was a struggle. All students' activities, all the

> conferences, all of this, it was in majority in English. So to be able to find my place, it was very difficult to be completely Francophone. There is like no space. Sometimes, what's bilingual can seem to be in English only […]

Judith was reinforced in her desire to fight for her linguistic rights following her experience at the University of Ottawa. Like Constance, Judith's required courses were not always available in French, which caused her and other students to delay graduation to take their courses in French.

> Judith: […] I think that even then, my experience at the University of Ottawa strengthened me, it reminded me that we must continue to fight for our language. […] So, you can wait a year to register to course or you can take it in English. […]

Charles' linguistic attachment to bilingualism increased by attending the University of Ottawa because the first two years of his program were in French and his last two years were in English. Therefore, for participants with a strong bilingual identity, a bilingual postsecondary institution can provide a positive experience.

> Charles: It really reinforced it. I found that they put a lot of efforts on bilingualism. […]

Alphonse believes that attending an English-language postsecondary institution has weakened his ability to speak French due to a lack of opportunities to socialize in French.

> Alphonse: I think that it decreased my linguistic sentiment just because there is no program in French. They don't encourage people to speak French. […] Yes, that's it. Some of my friends, we are all Francophones or Franco-Ontarians. So when we see each other, we try to speak in French between us, but it shocks other people. […]

In sum, both groups consider that bilingualism is a status-enhancer, equates to cosmopolitanism and that their language skills can be commodified. During their postsecondary studies, Franco-Ontarians aspire to have their linguistic needs met along with an excellent learning experience, whereas Quebec English-speakers are only concerned about their campus and program.

Conclusion

Although the results indicate that bilingualism is associated with a nuanced higher social status, a cosmopolitan lifestyle and a competitive advantage on the labour market, these observations should be contextualized. In fact, participants also indicate: a) that bilingualism can be problematic because of past and existing social-political tensions, b) that it can be a strategy to avoid stigma or discrimination, c) that it can also ignite jealousy among some, d) and that it can be interpreted as a threat to a Franco-Ontarian collective identity. It should also be nuanced because of the reported experiences of stigma and discrimination of several participants detailed in the previous chapter. I suggest that in the Canadian context, from the perspective of official language minorities' postsecondary students in Ontario and Quebec, bilingualism provides overall a nuanced higher social status because it is a mild status-enhancer.

In general, Quebec English-speaking participants describe bilingualism as a mild status-enhancer, which includes linguistic cosmopolitanism and nuanced commodification. For

Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students, bilingualism: means respecting the linguistic majority of Quebec, reflects positive attributes, and can be conflictual in a social-political context. Furthermore, bilingualism results in a form of linguistic cosmopolitanism. Bilingualism enables to appreciate cultural artefacts in the language of origin, it facilitates interactions with individuals from different backgrounds, it enables the understanding of a different culture, it deepens one's relationship with the French-speaking linguistic majority of Quebec, and it signals "openness". Bilingualism has an added market value in Quebec, and in Canada, but it also provokes sentiments of jealousy and unfairness among some unilingual Canadians. Being bilingual is also obligatory to signal that one belongs to Quebec and to be minimally employable in the province.

Likewise, in general, Franco-Ontarian participants consider bilingualism as a mild status-enhancer encompassing linguistic cosmopolitanism and nuanced commodification. Bilingualism is equated to positive attributes, can be conflictual in a social-political context, can ignite jealousy, and can be a threat to a collective Franco-Ontarian identity. Simultaneously, it is a form of linguistic cosmopolitanism that facilitates interactions with individuals from different backgrounds, it enables the understanding of a different culture, and it signals "openness". Participants acknowledged that being bilingual has an added market value in Ontario and in Canada in some circumstances, but this advantage should be tempered since the wealthiest Canadians are in majority unilingual Anglophones. Most importantly, bilingualism is a social and professional necessity, not just a skill acquired voluntarily for economic benefits.

Being open to different cultures and worldviews certainly provides young Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers the ability to not only "straddle" between both linguistic groups and code-switch to maintain the peace, it allows them to draw different boundaries. Racial boundaries or even gender boundaries are not always so easily crossed and shifted. While there are contentious moments in Quebec political life and there are demands for linguistic rights in both social groups, the overall Canadian social context allows straddling because linguistic symbolic boundaries are relatively porous and blurred. Yet, it is important to remember that linguistic symbolic boundaries can thicken and harden during heightened periods of conflicts such as in Belgium where the Flemish and the Walloons are engaging in contentious politics (Mnookin and Verbeke 2009).

In both groups, there seems to be a consensus that it is essential to speak the language of the linguistic majority of the province. Therefore, I argue that if bilingualism is essential for official language minorities, even if in some instances it provides a competitive advantage, bilingualism is a nuanced, context-dependent, circumstantial commodity. As seen in previous chapters, several layers of understandings are involved with bilingualism, and language as a commodity represents a fragment of the complex implications of bilingualism for young Franco-Ontarians and Quebec English-speakers. For example, from the previous chapter, we learn that code-switching indicates that participants value harmonious relationships and that they wish to avoid contentious situations in the public sphere. From chapter 3, we read in the participants' narratives,

who self-identify as bilingual that they value the history, the culture and the social ties in both linguistic groups, particularly participants born in linguistically mixed families. Therefore, the commodification of language explains only partially the relationship that young Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians have with bilingualism.

The striking finding of this chapter is that while several thoughts overlap between the two groups, others highlight distinct contexts and social processes. While Quebec English-speakers speak French to signal respect for the French-speaking linguistic majority and hope to avoid stigma and discrimination, Franco-Ontarians do not disclose any concern for the English-speaking linguistic majority because the Ontarian political context does not require that. In contrast, while Franco-Ontarians perceive that bilingualism can threaten their collective Franco-Ontarian identity, Quebec English-speakers do not because they do not even refer to a common English culture and they do not fear for the survival of their language in North America. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students are likely reacting to the assertions and attacks of the French nationalist movement in Quebec. Franco-Ontarians do not face such a pressure from a similar Ontarian provincial political movement and therefore, they do not have to demonstrate that they are authentically "Ontarian". Let's remember that Quebec English-speakers became a political minority recently in the seventies, and English is the contemporary international language widely used in North America (Brumfit 2004; Ives 2010), which also explains why the interviewees do not seem overtly concerned about a collective Quebec English-speaking linguistic identity. On the other hand, Franco-Ontarians have

been a linguistic minority for decades and they have even experienced legal barriers to education in their own language. Francophone communities in a minority situation have mobilized over generations to be recognized and to claim their rights. Franco-Ontarians are bilingual because they want to find work and live. However, they do not stress the significance of bilingualism because of the English-speaking linguistic majority and social integration like Quebec English-speakers do. These findings highlight how various contexts will provoke different attitudes, beliefs and actions on the part of minorities.

If we cannot infer the general population's beliefs based on the participants' views about bilingualism, the salience of some ideas indicates strongly the existence of cultural status beliefs. Being bilingual is believed to reflect for instance some degree of intelligence and a cosmopolitan lifestyle strongly associated to "openness". Therefore, bilingualism is associated to linguistic cosmopolitanism, nuanced commodification, and is considered a mild status-enhancer. While many Franco-Ontarians complained about the availability of programs and/or courses in French in Ontario, or the quality of the French language spoken by their professors, most Quebec English-speakers focused on education and campus experiences. As is illustrated on two different maps attached (Appendix D and E), one could argue that Quebec English-speakers, especially from Montreal, enjoy a greater level of access to higher education institutions in English due to institutional completeness, in comparison to Francophones outside of Quebec. This can explain the differences in concerns. The map in Appendix E illustrates the different higher education institutions available to Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians.

While Franco-Ontarians have access to two French-language colleges in Ontario, they mostly attend bilingual university campuses (Laurentian University, University of Ottawa, or Glendon College at York University) that promise to offer programs and cultural activities in French. As several participants indicated, the efforts of these bilingual postsecondary institutions fall short of Franco-Ontarians' expectations. This finding has some policy implications. These findings support a recent report that promoted the idea of the creation of a French-language postsecondary institution in South-western Ontario (Office of the French Language Services Commissioner 2012). If it is true that some students like Charles enjoy a bilingual postsecondary institution, an overwhelming number of participants point out that their linguistic needs are better met in a French- language postsecondary institution. These findings also validate some claims that minority-serving institutions like *Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), Tribal Colleges and Universities* (TCU), and *Hispanic-Serving Institutions* (HSI) in the American context, provide unique learning and environmental experiences that mainstream postsecondary institutions, that strive for diversity and inclusion, cannot provide (Gasman, Baez and Viernes Turner 2008).

Diverging in their attachment to their language, in their belief in a linguistic collective identity, in boundary work with out-groups and in-groups' relationships, and in their linguistic higher education needs, Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students converge as linguistic straddlers who navigate two worlds with

relatively porous boundaries. They both identify along a continuum, they both code-switch to avoid contentious situations, they both have experienced stigma or discrimination, and they both experience bilingualism as a mild social-status enhancer linked to linguistic cosmopolitanism and nuanced commodification. Ultimately, their comparable and contrasting experiences revolve around different paramount high stakes. Quebec English-speakers long to belong in Quebec, Franco-Ontarians strive to survive in Ontario.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Access to higher education and community vitality for linguistic minorities is of great concern in Canada, but also in the rest of the world. In 1992, the Council of Europe introduced the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* which protect national linguistic minorities (Council of Europe 1992). Four years later, although never approved formally, the UNESCO adopted the *Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights* during the World Conference on Linguistic Rights, in Barcelona. In article 24, it is specified that: "All language communities have the right to decide to what extent their language is to be present, as a vehicular language and as an object of study, at all levels of education within their territory: pre-school, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, university, and adult education." (UNESCO 1996). Years before the UNESCO and Europe, Canada had adopted the 1969 *Canadian Official Languages Act* and the 1985 version which protects the rights of official language minority communities. In some ways, Canada is a pioneer in western countries leading the shift from linguistic assimilation to the recognition of linguistic minority rights.

This comparative study is a qualitative exploratory endeavour of linguistic identity, culture and social status amongst Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students. While these two groups are not perfectly similar, a comparison enables to highlight how different social processes and mechanisms emerge as a result of

different social contexts. This dissertation presented the analysis of 18 semi-structured interviews with Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students and 18 semi-structured interviews with Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students between January and June 2014 in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. It is important that the reader remembers that *Bill 60 Charter of Quebec Values* debate and the Quebec electoral campaign probably influenced all participants. These debates ignite Quebec linguistic lines and Franco-Ontarians are very much aware of Quebec political debates.

Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students identify themselves along a continuum. While a majority of Franco-Ontarians are attached to the French language, a majority of Quebec English-speakers reported minimal or no attachment to the English language, unless prompted. For a majority of participants in both linguistic groups, linguistic symbolic boundaries are relatively porous and context-dependent. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students engage in boundary work with the French linguistic majority. In contrast, Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students engage in boundary work with the English linguistic majority, but also with other Francophones who question their membership to «Francophonie» and do not recognize the existence of a distinct Franco-Ontarian identity. A distinctive finding is that while some Franco-Ontarian participants made references to history, territory and culture for belonging, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students were more hesitant to identify a specific culture.

In order to navigate between two worlds and face linguicism, Quebec English-speaking and Franco-Ontarian post-secondary students have developed different repertoires. Both groups code-switch and can be considered "linguistic straddlers", speaking English or French according to the context. However, some attitudes are unique to each group. Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students have an ambivalent attitude towards the Quebec social-political context, while Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students cultivate affirmation and pride in their heritage. For both groups of participants, bilingualism provides a nuanced higher social status, but remains a status-enhancer. Bilingualism as a circumstantial status enhancer overlaps with linguistic cosmopolitanism and a nuanced commodification of language. According to a majority of participants, speaking English and French makes someone more "open" and it is also valuable for some employment opportunities.

Results may have differed if the sample included a high number of foreign born official language minority members. However, the goal of this study was to focus on linguistic dynamics, not the intersection of race, ethnicity, religion and immigration status with language. The purpose of this thesis was to highlight the social processes of an understudied population, the unique linguistic identity, boundary work and social status of Canadian-born official language minorities' postsecondary students. Although the analysis is closely associated to sociological theoretical concepts, there are some policy implications. This dissertation highlights that postsecondary institutions should take into account the heterogeneity of official language minorities, but also their specific needs.

Although they are mostly satisfied with their linguistic experiential pathways in English-language postsecondary institutions, Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students yearn for acceptance and integration in Quebec. Several young Quebec English-speakers are anxious about their integration on the labour market (Heritage Canada 2011) and some equate social mobility with migration to another province (Jean-Pierre 2015). Beyond socio-economic integration, there is a need to address social integration and sentiments of belonging. Contrarily to Francophone minorities, Quebec English-speakers do not control their school curriculum. All Quebec students are taught history from the perspective of the Francophone majority, including Indigenous and Quebec English-speakers (Zanazanian 2014). While English is a global dominant language, participants may be unable to relate to a particular Quebec English-speaking heritage because they did not learn this heritage. Zanazanian (2015) explores the consequences of presenting a Franco-centric collective history on Quebec English-speakers sense of national identity and historical consciousness. Quebec English-speakers have a rich and diverse history that goes beyond the simplistic antagonistic dichotomy oppressor-oppressed often presented in Quebec history textbooks. Zanazanian (2015) found that like the participants of my study, young Quebec English-speakers yearn to be fully accepted. In another article, Zanazanian (2014) proposes that history can be a tool that can contribute to sentiments of inclusion, greater civic engagement and increased linguistic vitality. It is clear that postsecondary institutions, but also teachers and the Ministry of Education

should examine further how to promote the social integration of young Quebec English-speakers by delving into the history of Quebec English-speakers.

For Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students, facilitating access to courses and programs in French as well as campus opportunities to socialize in French matter. The idea of a French-language university in Central Southwestern Ontario (Office of the French Language Services Commissioner 2012) is certainly part of the solution. Nevertheless, some efforts are required to reduce or eradicate linguistic insecurity. It is clear that instructors and student bodies should become aware and culturally competent to the variety of French spoken in Canada and their legitimacy. This would reduce linguistic intimidation and Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students' negative interactions during their studies. Carter (2010) explores how school environments, social interactions and academic behaviours influence "cultural flexibility" across racial lines in the United States. In the Canadian context, French-language and bilingual postsecondary institutions should investigate how they can become more "linguistically flexible" to the wide variety of French spoken in Canada.

In the future, when possible, similarly to systematic gender-specific analysis, Canadian researchers could include official language minorities in their research projects. This would allow us to cumulate rich data on a variety of topics from a wide range of perspectives about Acadians, Quebec English-speakers and Franco-Ontarians for example.

Another future area of study is bilingualism as a social status or status enhancer and as a contested policy. While this dissertation explored the perspectives of some Franco-Ontarian and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students, beliefs and attitudes towards bilingualism probably vary by province, age group, gender, immigration status and linguistic group.

While the majority of participants' narratives point towards the existence of "linguistic cosmopolitanism", future research projects could explore "cosmopolitan canopies which are public places where individuals from different backgrounds interact comfortably" (Anderson 2011). While Anderson (2011) explored ethnographically cosmopolitanism along racial lines where dwellers engage in civil interactions in Philadelphia's diverse settings, this could be done in Montreal or Ottawa along linguistic lines where Anglophones and Francophones (among others) mingle.

The findings of this dissertation have implications for sociology of education, Canadian studies and minority groups' studies. This dissertation contributes modestly to the international literature on higher education for linguistic minorities (Davies and Trystan 2012; Rodriguez-Gomez et al. 2015; Larrinaga and Amurrio 2015). Across all the chapters this study reveals different collective aspirations. Franco-Ontarian postsecondary students strive to survive in Ontario and Quebec English-speaking postsecondary students long to belong in Quebec.

REFERENCES

Abada, Teresa, Feng Hou and Bali Ram. 2009. "Ethnic Differences in Educational Attainment Among the Children of Canadian Immigrants." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/ Canadian Journal of Sociology* 34(1):1-28.

Adam, Barry D. 1981. "Stigma and Employability." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 18(2):216-221.

Adamuti-Trache, Maria, Paul Anisef and Robert Sweet. 2013. "Impact of Canadian Postsecondary Education on Occupational Prestige of Highly Educated Immigrants." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 50(2):178-202.

Allard, Réal, Rodrigue Landry and Kenneth Deveau. 2010. *Et Après le Secondaire?: Aspirations Éducationnelles et Intentions de Faire Vie-Carrière dans leur Communauté des Élèves de 12è année des Écoles de Langue Française de l'Ontario*. Moncton : Institut Canadien de Recherche sur les Minorités Linguistiques/Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Anderson, Elijah. 1999. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Anderson, Elijah. 2011. *The Cosmopolitan Canopy: Race and Civility in Everyday Life*. W.W. New York: Norton and Company.

Andres, Lesley and Dianne E. Looker. 2001. "Rurality and Capital: Educational Expectations and Attainments of Rural, Urban/Rural and Metropolitan Youth." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 31(2):1-46.

Anuik, Jonathan and Carmen L. Gillies. 2012. "Indigenous Knowledge in Post-Secondary Educators' Practices: Nourishing the Learning Spirit." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 42(1):63-79.

Arcand, Isabelle and Raymond Leblanc. 2012. "L'Expérience de la Probation Académique Ou «C'tu Juste Moi Qui Est Pas Capable au Niveau Universitaire?»: Une Étude de Cas." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 35(4):31-61.

Barman, Jean and Mike Evans. 2009. "Reflections on Being, and Becoming Metis in British Columbia." *BC Studies* 161(Spring):59-91.

Beagan, Brenda L. 2001. ""Even if I Don't Know What I'm Doing I Can Make it Look Like I Know What I'm Doing": Becoming a Doctor in the 1990s." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 38(3):275-291.

Béland, François and Michel de Sève. 1986. "L'Inégalité et la Discrimination Sexuelles et Linguistiques au Québec." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 23(3):309-330.

Bélanger, Nathalie, Alexandre Audet and Jonathan Plante. 2014. "Dynamiques Concurrentielles et Collaboratives Entre des Écoles Secondaires de Langue Française en Ontario." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50:297-322.

Bernard, Roger. 1996. *De Québécois à Ontarois*. Hearst: Les Éditions du Nordir.

Boyd, Monica. 2009. "Social Origins and the Educational and Occupational Achievements of the 1.5 and Second Generations." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 46(4):339-369.

Bouchard, Gérard and Charles Taylor. 2008. *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation.* Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.

Boudreau, Annette. 2014. "Des Voix Qui se Répondent: Analyse Discursive et Historique des Idéologies Linguistiques en Acadie: L'Exemple de Moncton." *Minorités Linguistiques et Société/Linguistic Minorities and Society* 4:175-199.

Boudreau, Annette and Lise Dubois. 2001. "Langues Minoritaires et Espaces Publics: Le Cas de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick." *Estudios de Sociolingüistica* 2(1):37-60.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bourhis, Richard Y. 2012. "Group Vitality and French-English Relations in Quebec." Pp. 25-49 in *Wer Spricht Kanadisch? Who Speaks Canadian? Qui Parle Canadien?,* edited by H. Bories-Sawala and N. Schaffeld. Bochum: Universitatsverlag Norbert Brockmeyer.

Bourhis, Richard Y., Shaha El Geledi and Itesh Sachdev. 2007. "Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations." Pp. 15-50 in *Language, Discourse and Social Psychology*, edited by Ann Weatherall, Bernadette M. Watson and Cindy Gallois. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bourhis, Richard Y., Elisa Montaruli and Catherine E. Amiot. 2007. "Language Planning and French-English Bilingual Communication: Montreal Field Studies 1977-1997." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 36:601-616.

Bourhis, Richard Y. and Pierre Foucher. 2012. *Bill 103: Collective Rights and the Decline Vitality of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec*. Moncton: Institut Canadien de Recherche sur les Minorités Linguistiques/Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Bourhis, Richard Y. and Rodrigue Landry. 2012. "Group Vitality, Cultural Autonomy and the Wellness of Language Minorities." Pp. 23-69 in *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage/Patrimoine Canadien.

Breton, Raymond. 1964. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and Personal Relations of Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 70(2):193-205.

Breton, Raymond. 1994. "Modalités d'Appartenance aux Francophonies Minoritaires." *Sociologie et Sociétés* 26(1):59-69.

Brewster, Melanie E. and Bonnie Moradi. 2010. "Perceived Experiences of Anti-Bisexual Prejudice: Instrument Development and Evaluation." *Journal of Counselling Psychology* 57(4):451-468.

Brumfit, Christopher. 2004. "Language and Higher Education: Two Current Challenges." *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 3(2):163-173.

Bryson, Bethany. 1996. ""Anything but Heavy Metal": Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes." *American Sociological Review* 61:884-899.

Budach, Gabriele, Sylvie Roy and Monica Heller. 2003. "Community and Commodity in French Ontario." *Language in Society* 32:603-627.

Cardinal, Linda. 2012. "L'identité En Débat: Repères et Perspectives Pour l'Étude du Canada Français." *Revue Internationale d'Études Canadiennes/International Journal of Canadian Studies* 45-46:55-68.

Carter, James. 2012. "What Future for English-Language Health and Social Services in Quebec?" Pp.215-244 in *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec,* edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Ottawa: Patrimoine Canadien/Canadian Heritage.

Carter, Prudence. 2005. *Keepin'it Real: School Success Beyond White and Black*. New York: Oxford University.

Carter, Prudence. 2006. "Straddling Boundaries: Identity, Culture and School." *Sociology of Education* 79(4):304-328.

Carter, Prudence. 2010. "Race and Cultural Flexibility Among Students in Different Multiracial Schools." *Teachers College Record* 112(6):1529-1574.

Carter, Irene, James Coyle and Donald Leslie. 2011. "Easing the Transfer of Students from College to University Programs: How Can Learning Outcomes Help?" *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 41(2): 10-27.

Castonguay, Charles. 2002. Notre Critique: "Pensée Magique et Minorités Francophones." *Recherches Sociographiques* 43(2):369-380.

Castonguay, Charles. 2005. "La Cassure Linguistique et Identitaire du Canada Français." *Recherches Sociographiques* 46(3):473-494.

Chan, Tak Wing and John H. Goldthorpe. 2007a. "Social Status and Newspaper Readership." *American Journal of Sociology* 112(4):1094-1134.

Chan, Tak Wing and John H. Goldthorpe. 2007b. "Class and Status: The Conceptual Distinction and Its Empirical Evidence." *American Sociological Review* 72(4):512-532.

Charbonneau, François. 2015. "Un Dialogue de Sourds? Les Arguments Invoqués Par les Défenseurs et les Détracteurs du Bilinguisme dans l'Espace Public Anglo-Canadien." *Minorités Linguistiques et Sociétés/Linguistic Minorities and Society* 5:13-57.

Cheng, Simon and Joshua Klugman. 2010. "School Racial Composition and Biracial Adolescents' School Attachment." *The Sociological Quarterly* 51:150-178.

Chevalier, Gisèle. 2008. "Les Français du Canada: Faits Linguistiques, Faits de langue." *Alternative Francophone* 1(1):80-97.

Christofides, Louis N., Michael Hoy, Joniada Milla and Thanasis Stengos. 2015. "Grades, Aspirations, and Postsecondary Education Outcomes." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 45(1):48-82.

Christofides, Louis N., Jim Cirello and Michael Hoy. 2001. "Family Income and Postsecondary Education in Canada." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 31(1):177-208.

Christofides, Louis N., Michael Hoy and Ling Yang. 2009. "The Determinants of University Participation in Canada (1977-2003)." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur* /*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 39(2):1-24.

Council of Europe. 1992. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Strasbourg: Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

Corbeil, Jean-Pierre. 2003. "Les Groupes Linguistiques au Canada: 30 Ans de Scolarisation." *Tendances Sociales Canadiennes* (Hiver):9-14.

Corbeil, Jean-Pierre. 2011. "L'Information Démolinguistique et le Recensement Canadien (1969-2009): Reflet d'une Dualité Linguistique en Mutation." Pp. 29-51 in *Life After Forty: Official Languages Policy in Canada*, edited by Jack Jedwab and Rodrigue Landry. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Corbeil, Jean-Pierre, Brigitte Chavez and Daniel Pereira. 2010. *Portrait des Minorités de Langue Officielle au Canada: Les Anglophones du Québec*. Ottawa: Statistique Canada/ Statistics Canada.

Corbeil, Jean-Pierre, Claude Grenier and Sylvie Lafrenière. 2007. *Minorities Speak Up: Results of the Survey on the Vitality of the Official-Language Minorities*. Ottawa: Statistique Canada/Statistics Canada.

Corbeil, Jean-Pierre and Sylvie Lafrenière. 2010. *Portrait des Minorités de Langue Officielle au Canada: Les Francophones de l'Ontario*. Ottawa: Statistique Canada/Statistics Canada.

Creese, Gillian and Edith Ngene Kambere. 2003. "What Colour is Your English?" *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 40(5):565-573.

Dallaire, Christine. 2003. ""Not Just Francophone": The Hybridity of Minority Francophone Youths in Canada." *Revue Internationale d'Études Canadiennes*/*International Journal of Canadian Studies* 28(Fall/Automne):163-199.

Dallaire, Christine. 2008. "La Stabilité des Discours Identitaires et la Représentation de la Culture dans la Reproduction de l'Appartenance Francophone Chez les Jeunes." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 26:357-381.

Dallaire, Christine and Claude Denis. 2005. "Asymmetrical Hybridities: Youths at Francophone Games in Canada." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*/*Canadian Journal of Sociology* 30(2):143-168.

Dalley, Phyllis. 2006. "Héritier des Mariages Mixtes: Possibilités Identitaires." *Éducation et Francophonie* 34:82-94.

Dalley, Phyllis and Mark David Campbell. 2005. "Constructing and Contesting Discourses of Heteronormativity: An Ethnographic Study of Youth in a Francophone High School in Canada." *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 5(1): 11-29.

Davies, Scott, Clayton Mosher and Bill O'Grady. 1996. "Educating Women: Gender Inequalities Among Canadian University Graduates." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 33(2):125-142.

Davies, Andrew James and Dafydd Trystan. 2012. "'Build It and They Shall Come?' An Evaluation of Qualitative Evidence Relating to Student Choice and Welsh-Medium

Higher Education." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15(2):147-164.

DeKeseredy, Walter and Katharine Kelly. 1993. "The Incidence and Prevalence of Woman Abuse in Canadian University and College Dating Relationships." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/Canadian Journal of Sociology* 18(2):137-159.

Denis, Jeffrey S. 2015. "Contact Theory in a Small-Town Settler-Colonial Context: The Reproduction of Laissez-Faire Racism in Indigenous-White Canadian Relations." *American Sociological Review* 80(1):218-242.

DeVries, John. 1994. "Canada's Official Language Communities: An Overview of the Current Demolinguistic Situation." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 105-106:37-68.

Dick, Caroline. 2011. *The Perils of Identity: Group Rights and the Politics of Intragroup Difference*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Dinovitzer, Ronit, John Hagan and Patricia Parker. 2003. "Choice and Circumstance: Social Capital and Planful Competence in the Attainments of Immigrant Youth." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/Canadian Journal of Sociology* 28(4):463-488.

Donaldson, E. Lisbeth and E.A. Dixon. 1995. "Retaining Women Students in Science Involves More Than Course Selection." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 25(2):29-51.

Dubuc-Charbonneau, Nicole, Natalie Nurand-Bush and Tanya Forneris. 2014. "Exploring Levels of Student-Athlete Burnout at Two Canadian Universities." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 44(2):135-151.

Duneier, Mitchell. 2011. "How Not to Lie with Ethnography." *Sociological Methodology* 41(1):1-11.

Dupont, David. 2010. "Le Bénévolat". Pp. 285-302 in *Portrait Social du Québec: Données et Analyses*, edited by Sylvie Rheault. Québec: Institut de la Statistique du Québec.

Duquette, Cheryll. 2000. "Experiences at University: Perceptions of Students with Disabilities." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 30(2):123-142.

Dwyer, Sonya Corbin. 2000. "Overcoming Obstacles to Education: The Experience of Women University Students Diagnosed with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 30(1):123-148.

Erten, Ozlem. 2011. "Facing Challenges: Experiences of Young Women with Disabilities Attending a Canadian University." *Journal of Postsecondary Education and Disability* 24(2):101-114.

Farmer, Diane, Adrienne Chambon and Normand Labrie. 2003. "Urbanité et Immigration: Étude de la Dynamique Communautaire Franco-Torontoise et des Rapports d'Inclusion et d'Exclusion." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 16:97-106.

Farmer, Diane and Normand Labrie. 2008. "Immigration et Francophonie Dans les Écoles Ontariennes: Comment se Structurent les Rapports Entre les Institutions et le Monde Communautaire?" *Revue des Sciences de l'Éducation* 34:377-398.

Fédération de la Jeunesse Franco-Ontarienne. 2014. *Pour S'Exprimer Dans Notre Langue: Consultation sur l'Insécurité Linguistique et la Jeunesse Franco-Ontarienne*. Ottawa: Fédération de la Jeunesse Franco-Ontarienne.

Finnie, Ross, Andrew Wismer and Richard E. Mueller. 2015. "Access and Barriers to Postsecondary Education: Evidence from the Youth in Transition Survey." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 45(2):229-262.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1977. "Language and Ethnicity." Pp. 15-57 in *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, edited by Howard Giles. London: Academic Press.

Fleming, Crystal M., Michèle Lamont and Jessica S. Welburn. 2012. "African Americans Respond to Stigmatization: The Meanings and Salience of Confronting, Deflecting Conflict, Educating the Ignorant and 'Managing the Self'." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35(3):400-417.

Frank, Kristyn and David Walters. 2012. "Exploring the Alignment Between Post-Secondary Education Programs and Earnings: An Examination of 2005 Ontario Graduates." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 42(3):93-115.

Frempong, George, Xin Ma and Joseph Mensah. 2012. "Access to Postsecondary Education: Can Schools Compensate for Socioeconomic Disadvantage?" *Higher Education* 63(1):19-32.

Frenette, Yves. 1998. *Brève Histoire des Canadiens Français*. Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal.

Frenette, Marc and Kristyn Frank. 2016. *Earnings of Postsecondary Graduates by Detailed Field of Study*. Ottawa: Statistique Canada/Statistics Canada.

Frenette, Normand and Saeed Quazi. 1996. *Accessibilité et Participation des Francophones de l'Ontario à l'Éducation Postsecondaire, 1979-1994.* Sudbury: Collège Boréal.

Gadalla, Tahany M. 2001. "Patterns of Women's Enrolment in University Mathematics, Engineering and Computer Science in Canada, 1972-1995." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 31(1):1-34.

Gagnon, Alain-G. 2011. "The New Vivre-Ensemble and Interculturalism." *Social Alternatives* 30(3):43-45.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward. 2006. *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.

Gans, Herbert J. 1979. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2(1):1-20.

Gans, Herbert J. 1994. "Symbolic Ethnicity and Symbolic Religiosity: Towards a Comparison of Ethnic and Religious Acculturation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17(4):577-592.

Gans, Herbert J. 2009. "Reflections on Symbolic Ethnicity: A Response to Y. Anagnostou." *Ethnicities* 9(1):123-130.

Gaudet, Sophie and Richard Clément. 2009. "Forging an Identity as a Linguistic Minority: Intra- and Intergroup Aspects of Language, Communication and Identity in Western Canada." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33(3):213-227.

Gasman, Marybeth, Benjamin Baez and Walter R. Allen. 2008. *Understanding Minority-Serving Institutions*. Baltimore: SUNY Press.

Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2003. "Parcours Identitaires de Jeunes Francophones à l'École Secondaire." Pp.169-186 in *L'Éducation de Langue Française en Ontario: Enjeux et Processus Sociaux*, edited by Normand Labrie and Sylvie A. Lamoureux. Sudbury: Éditions Prise de Parole.

Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2011a. *Youth, Language and Identity: Portraits of Students from English-Language High Schools in the Montreal Area*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2011b. "Belonging to Two Worlds at Once." Pp. 179-198 in *Life After Forty: Official Languages Policy in Canada*, edited by Jack Jedwab and Rodrigue Landry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gérin-Lajoie, Diane, Douglas Gosse and Sylvie Roy. 2002. "Le Rapport à la Langue en Contexte Scolaire Minoritaire." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 14:71-80.

Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2014. "Identité et Sentiment d'Appartenance Chez les Jeunes Anglophones de Montréal." *Recherches Sociographiques* 55(3):467-484.

Gilbert, Anne and Marie Lefebvre. 2008. "Un Espace Sous Tension: Nouvel Enjeu de la Vitalité Communautaire de la Francophonie Canadienne." Pp. 27-72 in *L'Espace Francophone en Milieu Minoritaire au Canada: Nouveaux Enjeux, Nouvelles Mobilisations*, edited by Joseph Yvon Thériault, Anne Gilbert and Linda Cardinal. Québec: Les Éditions Fides.

Giles, Howard, Richard Y. Bourhis and D.M. Taylor. 1977. "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations." Pp. 307-348 in *Language Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, edited by Howard Giles. London: Academic Press.

Goffman, Ering. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Gosselin, Cheryl. 2005. "Assessing the Needs of Rural, Anglophone Women in Québec." *Canadian Women Studies/Cahiers de La Femme* 24(4):142-146.

Gosselin, Cheryl and Amanda Pichette. 2014. "Multicultural Common Spaces and The Negotiation of Belonging: The English-Speaking Communities of Quebec and the Integration of Newcomers." *Revue d'Études des Cantons-de-L'Est/Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* Fall(43):9-26.

Gouvernement du Québec. 2013. *Bill 60 Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism and Religious Neutrality and of Equality Between Women and Men, and Providing a Framework for Accommodation Requests*. http://www.nosvaleurs.gouv.qc.ca/medias/pdf/Charter.pdf

Government of Canada. 1982. *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms Constitutional Act*. http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-15.html

Government of Canada. 1985. *Official Languages Act*. http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/O-3.01/page-10.html#s-41

Government of Ontario. 1990. *French Language Services Act*. http://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90f32

Government of Ontario. 2014. *Canada-Ontario Agreement on Minority-Language Education and Second Official-Language Instruction 2013-2014-2017-2018.* https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/amenagement/ententeAgreementEd.pdf

Goyder, John C. 1981. "Income Differences Between the Sexes: Findings from a National Canadian Survey." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 18(3):321-342.

Grayson, J. Paul. 1995. "Does Race Matter? Outcomes of the First Year Experience in a Canadian University." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 25(2):79-109.

Grayson, J. Paul. 2008. "Linguistic Capital and Academic Achievement of Canadian and Foreign-Born University Students." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 45(2):127-149.

Guignard Noël, Josée, Éric Forgues and Rodrigue Landry. 2014. *Qui Sont les Francophones: Analyse de Définitions Selon les Variables du Recensement, Mise à Jour du Recensement 2011*. Moncton: Institut Canadien de Recherche sur les Minorités Linguistiques /Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.

Hamplová, Dana and Céline Le Bourdais. 2008. "Educational Homogamy of Married and Unmarried Couples in English and French Canada." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie* /*Canadian Journal of Sociology* 33(4):845-872.

Hampton, Mary and Joan Roy. 2002. "Strategies for Facilitating Success of First Nations Students." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education/Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur* 32(3):1-28.

Hare, Jan and Michelle Pidgeon. 2011. "The Way of the Warrior: Indigenous Youth Navigating the Challenges of Schooling." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 34(2):93-111.

Heller, Monica. 2010. "The Commodification of Language." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:101-114.

Heller, Monica. 2011. "Du Français Comme "Droit" au Français Comme "Valeur Ajoutée": De la Politique à l'Économique au Canada. » *Langage et Société* 136(2):13-30.

Heritage Canada. 2011. *A Portrait of the English-Speaking Communities in Québec*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Herry, Yves, Denis Levesque, Laverne Smith and David Marshall. 1995. "La Situation de l'Emploi Chez les Finissants Francophones des Institutions de Formation à l'Enseignement de l'Ontario." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 25(1):63-78.

Hughes, Karen D. and Graham S. Lowe. 1993. "Unequal Returns: Gender Differences in Initial Employment Among University Graduates." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 23(1):37-55.

Hou, Feng and John Myles. 2008. "The Changing Role of Education in the Marriage Market: Assortative Marriage in Canada and the United States since the 1970s." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/Canadian Journal of Sociology* 33(2):337-366.

Hunter, Alfred A. and Jean McKenzie Leiper. 1993. "On Formal Education, Skills and Earnings: The Role of Educational Certificates in Earnings Determination." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/Canadian Journal of Sociology* 18(1):21-42.

Ives, Peter. 2010. "Cosmopolitanism and Global English: Language Politics in Globalisation Debates." *Political Studies* 58(3):516-535.

James, Carl E. and Leanne Taylor. 2008. ""Education Will Get You to the Station": Marginalized Students' Experiences and Perceptions of Merit in Accessing University." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation*/*Canadian Journal of Education* 31(3): 567-590.

Jean-Pierre, Johanne. 2015. *Research Symposium on English-Speaking Immigration in Quebec Organized By Research and Evaluation/Citizenship and Immigration Canada Summary Report*. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Jedwab, Jack. 2012. "Determining Who is an English-Speaking Quebecer and Assessing Its Demographic Vitality." Pp.99-128 in *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec,* edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Ottawa: Patrimoine Canada/Canadian Heritage.

Juteau, Danielle.1994. "Essai-Multiples Francophonies Minoritaires: Multiples Citoyennetés." *Sociologie et Sociétés* 26:33-45.

Kamanzi, Pierre Canisius, Pierre Doray, Sylvie Bonin, Amélie Groleau and Jake Murdoch. 2010. "Les Étudiants de Première Génération dans les Universités: L'Accès et la Persévérance aux Études au Canada." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 40(3):1-24.

Kanouté, Fasal, Sébastien Arcand, Antoine Bilodeau, Yamina Bouchamma, Marie-Thérèse Chicha, Francisco Antonio Loiola, Maryse Potvin, Lilyane Rachedi and Bilkis Vissandjée. 2014. *Les Étudiants Récemment Immigrés: Mieux Comprendre le Processus d'Acculturation et d'Adaptation Institutionnelle pour Soutenir Efficacement la Persévérance aux Études Universitaires*. Québec: Fonds de la Recherche du Québec-Société et Culture.

Keast, David A. 2000. "Studying Part-Time at University: From Research to Policy to Practice." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 30(1):57-88.

Kenyon, Kristi, Hélène Frohard-Dourlent and Wendy D. Roth. 2012. "Falling Between the Cracks: Ambiguities of International Students' Status in Canada." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 42(1):1-24.

Krauchek, Vivian and Gillian Ranson 1999. "Playing By the Rules of the Game: Women's Experiences and Perceptions of Sexual Harassment in Sport." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 36(4):559-583.

Krieger, Nancy. 2001. A Glossary for Social Epidemiology. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 55(10): 693-700.

Kumar, Kari L. and Maureen Wideman. 2014. "Accessible By Design: Applying UDL principles in a First Year Undergraduate Course." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 44(1):125-147.

Kymlicka, Will. 2007. "Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model(s)" Pp. 39-86 in *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, edited by Keith Banting, Thomas Courchene and Leslie Seidle. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Kymlicka, Will. 2012. "A New Deal for OLMC's? Three Challenges." *Minorités Linguistiques et Société/Linguistic Minorities and Society* 1:248-258.

Labrie, Normand, Sylvie Lamoureux and Denise Wilson. 2009. *L'Accès des Francophones aux Études Postsecondaires en Ontario: Le choix des Jeunes.* Toronto: Centre de Recherches en Éducation Franco-Ontarienne.

Labrie, Normand and Marcel Grimard. 2004. "La Migration de Gais et Lesbiennes Francophones à Toronto: Violence Symbolique et Mobilité Sociale." Pp. 118-136 in *Lieux de Ville et Territoires: Perspectives en Sociolinguistique Urbaine*, edited by Thierry Bulot. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Lafortune, Gina. 2014. "Donner la Parole aux Jeunes et Faire Entendre Leurs Voix: Défis d'une Recherche Auprès de Jeunes d'Origine Haïtienne à Montréal." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 37(1):258-282.

Lamarre, Patricia. 2007. "Anglo-Quebec Today: Looking at Community and Schooling Issues." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 185:109-132.

Lamarre, Patricia, Julie Paquette, Emmanuel Kahn and Sophie Ambrosi. 2002. "Multilingual Montreal: Listening in on the Language Practices of Young Montrealers." *Études Ethniques au Canada/Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34(3):47-158.

Lamont, Michèle. 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lamont, Michèle and Sada Aksartova. 2002. "Ordinary Cosmopolitanisms: Strategies for Bridging Racial Boundaries Among Working-Class Men." *Theory, Culture and Society* 19(4):1-25.

Lamont, Michèle and Christopher A. Bail. 2005. "Sur les Frontières de la Reconnaissance: les Catégories Internes et Externes de l'Identité Collective." *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 21(2):61-90.

Lamont, Michèle and Virág Molnár. 2002. "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28:167-195.

Lamont, Michèle and Mario Luis Small. 2008. "How Culture Matters: Enriching Our Understanding of Poverty." Pp. 76-102 in *The Colors of Poverty: Why Racial and Ethnic Disparities Persist*, edited by Ann Chih Lin and David R. Harris. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lamont, Michèle and Ann Swidler. 2014. "Methodological Pluralism and the Possibilities and Limits of Interviewing." *Qualitative Sociology* 37(2):153-171.

Lamoureux, S., J.-L. Daoust, J. Bourdages, M.-J. Vignola and A. Malette. 2014. *Favoriser l'Accroissement des Compétences en Littératie en Français au Niveau Universitaire et Promouvoir la Réussite des Études Dans Toutes les Disciplines: Une Étude de Cas*. Toronto: Conseil Ontarien de la Qualité de l'Enseignement Supérieur/Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario.

Landry, Rodrigue. 2014. *La Vie Dans une Langue Officielle Minoritaire au Canada*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Landry, Rodrigue, Réal Allard and Kenneth Deveau. 2013. "Bilinguisme et Métissage Identitaire: Vers un Modèle Conceptuel." *Minorités Linguistiques et Sociétés/Linguistic Minorities and Society* 3:56-79.

Landry, Rodrigue, Kenneth Deveau and Réal Allard. 2008. "Dominance Identitaire Bilingue Chez les Jeunes Francophones en Situation Minoritaire." *Revue Canadienne de Recherche/ Canadian Journal of Social Research* 1:2-10.

Lane, Janet and T. Scott Murray. 2015. *Smarten Up: It's Time to Build Essential Skills*. Calgary: Centre for Human Capital Policy Canada West Foundation.

Lanphier, Michael C. and Raymond N. Morris. 1974. "Structural Aspects of Differences in Income Between Anglophones and Francophones." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 11(1):53-66.

Larouche, Frédéric and Chloé Hinch. 2012. *Bâtir sur le Roc: Prévenir l'Insécurité Linguistique*. Proposition d'Atelier sur l'Insécurité Linguistique dans le Cadre du Congrès d'ACELF.

Larrinaga, Ane and Mila Amurrio. 2015. "Internationalisation in Higher Education and Its Impact in Multilingual Contexts: Redefining Identities of Basque-Speaking Academics." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 28(2):158-169.

Leblanc, Mathieu. 2010. "Le Français, Langue Minoritaire, en Milieu de Travail: Des Représentations Linguistiques à l'Insécurité Linguistique." *Nouvelles Perspectives en Sciences Sociales: Revue Internationale de Systémique Complexe et d'Études Relationnelles* 6(1):17-63.

Leduc, Louise. 2014. "L'Appui à la Charte Est Maintenant Majoritaire." *La Presse*, March 3rd.

Lee, Eujung and Rupaleem Bhuyan. 2013. "Negotiating Within Whiteness in Cross-Cultural Clinical Encounters." *Social Service Review* 87(1):98-130.

Lenton, Rhonda, Michael D Smith, John Fox and Norman Morra.1999. "Sexual Harassment in Public Places: Experiences of Canadian Women." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 36(4):517-540.

Levine-Rasky, Cynthia. 2011. "Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness." *Social Identities* 17(2):239-253.

Li, Peter.1982. "Chinese Immigrants on the Canadian Prairie, 1910-47." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 19(4):527-540.

Livingstone, Anne-Marie, Jacqueline Celemencki and Melissa Calixte. 2014. "Youth Participatory Action Research and School Improvement: The Missing Voices of Black Youth in Montreal." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation*/*Canadian Journal of Education* 37(1):283-307.

Lozon, Roger. 2002. "Représentations et Sentiments Linguistiques des Francophones du Sud-Ouest de l'Ontario et la Reproduction des Variétés de Français." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 14:55-70.

Mady, Callie and Glenda Black. 2012. "Access to French as Second Official Language Programs in English-Dominant Canada." *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 57(4):498-501.

Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2010a. "Les Frontières Linguistiques à Québec: Le Rôle des Interactions Scolaires." *Études Ethniques au Canada*/*Canadian Ethnic Studies* 42(1):109-130.

Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2010b. "Franchir les Frontières Scolaires, Franchir les Frontières Identitaires? De l'École Anglaise Vers l'Université Francophone au Québec." *Ethnologies* 31(2):289-312.

Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2013. "L'Expérience Sociale des Institutions Scolaires: Construire son Identité Linguistique au Fil de la Transition à l'Enseignement Supérieur." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 43(1):44-62.

Mann, Jatinder. 2014. "Anglo-Conformity": Assimilation Policy in Canada, 1890s-1950s." *Revue Internationale d'Études Canadiennes/International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50:253-276.

Mann, Robin. 2007. "Negotiating the Politics of Language: Language Learning and Civic Identity in Wales." *Ethnicities* 7(2):208-224.

McAndrew, Marie. 2010. *Les Majorités Fragiles et l'Éducation: Belgique, Catalogne, Irlande du Nord et Québec*. Montréal: Presse de l'Université de Montréal.

Melançon, Jérôme. 2014. "La Philosophie et les Transformations de l'Identité Francophone au Québec: Fernand Dumont et les Possibilités du Nationalisme." *Revue Internationale d'Études Canadiennes/International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50:65-86.

Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. 2011. *Politique d'Aménagement Linguistique: French-Language Policy Framework for Postsecondary Education and Training*. Toronto: Gouvernement de l'Ontario/Government of Ontario.

Mintz, Eric. 1998. "The Effects of University Education on the Political Attitudes of Young Adults." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 28(1):21-40.

Mnookin, Robert and Alain Verbeke. 2009. "Persistent Nonviolent Conflict with No Reconciliation: The Flemish and Walloons in Belgium." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 72:151-186.

Mok, Diana. 2010. "The Spatiality and Cost of Language Identity." *International Regional Science Review* 33(3):264-301.

Morel, Sylvie and Kouadio Antoine N'Zué. 2010. "La Scolarisation et la Diplomation" Pp. 117-137 in *Portrait Social du Québec: Données et Analyses*, edited by Sylvie Rheault. Québec: Institut de la Statistique du Québec.

Mougeon, Raymond and Edouard Beniak. 1994. "Bilingualism, Language Shift, and Institutional Support for French: The Case of the Franco-Ontarians." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 105/106:99-126.

Munro, Murray J. 2003. "A Primer on Accent Discrimination in the Canadian Context." *Revue TESL du Canada/TESL Canada Journal* 20(2):38-51.

Murphy Kilbride, Kenise and Lucy D'Archangelo. 2002. "Meeting Immigrant Community College Students' Needs on One Greater Toronto Area College Campus." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 32(2):1-26.

Myles, John and Feng Hou. 2004. "Changing Colours: Spatial Assimilation and New Racial Minority Immigrants." *Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie/ Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29(1):29-58.

Nguyen, Mai. 2011. "Closing the Education Gap: A Case for Aboriginal Early Childhood Education in Canada, a Look at the Aboriginal Headstart Program." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 34(3):229-248.

Nobert, Yves. 2009. "Éducation, Insertion en Emploi et Formation Continue." Pp. 79-108 in *Données Sociales du Québec: Conditions de Vie*. Québec: Institut de la Statistique du Québec.

Office des Affaires Francophones. 2012. *Portrait de la Communauté Francophone de l'Ontario*. Toronto: Gouvernement de l'Ontario/Government of Ontario.

Office des Affaires Francophones. 2009. *Redéfinition de la Population Francophone*. Toronto: Gouvernement de l'Ontario/Government of Ontario.

Office of the French Language Services Commissioner. 2012. *The State of French-Language Postsecondary Education in Central-Southwestern Ontario: No Access, No Future*. Toronto: Gouvernement de l'Ontario/Government of Ontario.

Ornstein, Michael. 1992. "Aspects of the Political and Personal Sociology of AIDS: Knowledge, Policy and Risk." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 29(3):243-265.

Payne-Pikus, Monique R., John Hagan and Robert L. Nelson. 2010. "Experiencing Discrimination: Race and Retention in America's Largest Law Firms." *Law and Society Review* 44(3/4):553-584.

Peterson, Richard A. 1997. "The Rise and Fall of Highbrow Snobbery as a Status Marker." *Poetics* 25:75-92.

Peterson, Richard A. and Roger M. Kern. 1996. "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore." *American Sociological Review* 61(5):900-907.

Pidgeon, Michelle, Jo-ann Archibald and Colleen Hawkey. 2014. "Relationships Matter: Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Students in British Columbia, Canada." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 44(1):1-21.

Pilote, Annie. 2006. "Les Chemins de la Construction Identitaire: Une Typologie des Profils d'Élèves d'une École Secondaire de la Minorité Francophone." *Éducation et Francophonie* 34(1):39-53.

Pilote, Annie and Marie-Odile Magnan. 2014. "La Fréquentation Universitaire: Comparaison Entre les Minorités de Langue Officielle au Canada." Pp.147-172 in *La vie dans une Langue Officielle Minoritaire au Canada*, edited by Rodrigue Landry. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Pilote, Annie, Marie-Odile Magnan and Karine Vieux-Fort. 2010. "Identité Linguistique et Poids des Langues: Une Étude Comparative Entre des Jeunes de Milieu Scolaire Francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick et Anglophone du Québec." *Nouvelles Perspectives en Sciences Sociales: Revue Internationale de Systémique Complexe et d'Études Relationnelles* 6(10): 65-98.

Potvin, Maryse. 2014. "The Reasonable Accommodations Crisis in Quebec: Racializing Rhetorical Devices in Media and Social Discourse." *Revue Internationale d'Études Canadiennes/International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50:137-161.

Preston, Jane P. 2008. "The Urgency of Postsecondary Education for Aboriginal Peoples." *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy* November(86):1-22.

Rae, Hon. Robert. 2005. *L'Ontario: Chef de File en Éducation, Rapport et Recommandations.* Toronto: Gouvernement de l'Ontario/Government of Ontario.

Rawana, Jennine S., Daniella D. Sieukaran, Hien T. Nguyen and Randy Pitawanakwat. 2015. "Development and Evaluation of a Peer Mentorship Program for Aboriginal University Students." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 38(2):1-34.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2014. "Why Status Matters for Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 79(1):1-16.

Robertson, Lloyd Hawkeye, Kathryn Holleran and Marilyn Samuels. 2015. "Tailoring University Counselling Services to Aboriginal and International Students: Lessons from Native and International Student Centres at a Canadian University." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 45(1):122-135.

Robson, Karen and Jean E. Wallace. 2001. "Gendered Inequalities in Earnings: A Study of Canadian Lawyers." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 38(1):75-95.

Rocher, François. 2014. "Self-determination and the Use of Referendums: The Case of Quebec." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27(1):25-45.

Rocher, François. 2015. "Sur les Dimensions Constitutives de la Citoyenneté: Perspective des Minorités Ethnoculturelles et Religieuses dans un Québec à l'Identité Incertaine." *Recherches Sociographiques* 56(1):139-170.

Rodger, Susan and Paul F. Tremblay. 2003. "The Effects of a Peer Mentoring Program on Academic Success among First Year University Students." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 33(3):1-18.

Rodriguez-Gomez, David, Monica Feixas, Joaquin Gairin and José Luiz Munoz. 2015. "Understanding Catalan University Dropout from a Cross-National Approach." *Studies in Higher Education* 40(4):690-703.

Ross, Aileen D. 1979. "Businesswomen and Busineess Cliques in Three Cities: Delhi, Sydney, and Montreal." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 16(4): 425-435.

Ruemper, Wendy. 1996. "Models for Change: Antiracist Education for Universities and Colleges." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 33(3):317-335.

Sales, Arnault, Réjean Drolet and Isabelle Bonneau. 2001. "Academic Paths, Ageing and the Living Conditions of Students in the Late 20th Century." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 38(2):167-188.

Samuel, Edith and Shehla Burney. 2003. "Racism, eh? Interactions of South Asian Students with Mainstream Faculty in a Predominantly White Canadian University." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 33(2):81-114.

Schaefli, Laura M. and Anne M.C. Godlewska. 2014. "Ignorance and Historical Geographies of Aboriginal Exclusion: Evidence from the 2007 Bouchard-Taylor Commission on Reasonable Accommodation." *Le Géographe Canadien/The Canadian Geographer* 58(1):110-122.

Scowen, Reed. 2007. *Time to Say Goodbye: Building a Better Canada Without Quebec*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Simon, Rebecca A, Mark W Aulls, Helena Dedic, Kyle Hubbard and Nathan C. Hall. 2015. "Exploring Student Persistence in STEM Programs: A Motivational Model." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 38(1):1-27.

Sioufi, Rana, Richard Y. Bourhis and Réal Allard. 2015. "Vitality and Ethnolinguistic Attitudes of Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers: Two or Three Solitudes in Canada's bilingual belt?" *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* August:1-17.

Sinacore, Ada L. and Sasha Lerner. 2013. "The Cultural and Educational Transitioning of First Generation Immigrant Undergraduate Students in Quebec, Canada." *The International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance* 13(1):67-85.

Small, Mario Luis. 2009. "'How Many Cases do I need?': On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field-Based Research." *Ethnography*. 10(1):5-38.

Smith, André, Jay Fiddler, Kevin Walby and Sean Hier. 2011. "Blood Donation and Institutional Trust: Risk, Policy Rhetoric, and the Men Who Have Sex with Men Lifetime Deferral Policy in Canada." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/ Canadian Review of Sociology* 48(4):369-389.

Statistics Canada. 2009. *Survey on the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*. Ottawa: Gouvernement du Canada/Government of Canada.

Stelnicki, Andrea M, David W. Nordstokke and Donald H. Saklofske. 2015. "Who Is the Successful University Student? An Analysis of Personal Resources." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 45(2):214-228.

Taylor, Catherine and Tracey Peter. 2011. ""We Are Not Aliens, We're People, and We Have Rights": Canadian Human Rights Discourse and High School Climate for LGBTQ Students." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/ Canadian Review of Sociology* 48 (3):275-312.

Tepperman, Lorne. 1977. "Effects of the Demographic Transition Upon Access to the Toronto Elite." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/ Canadian Review of Sociology* 14(3):285-293.

Thésée, Gina and Paul R. Carr. 2014. "La (Re)Lecture des Mots, du Monde et des Maux des Jeunes Noirs: Apports de la Pédagogie Critique à la Recherche en Éducation en Contextes de Racialisation." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 37(1):308-329.

Thiessen, Victor. 2009. "The Pursuit of Postsecondary Education: A Comparison of First Nations, African, Asian, and European Canadian Youth." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 46(1):5-37.

Traisnel, Christophe and Éric Forgues. 2009. "La Santé et les Minorités Linguistiques: l'Approche Canadienne au Regard de Cas Internationaux." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 28:17-46.

Tremblay, Paul F., Roma Harris, Helene Berman, Barb MacQuarrie, Gail E. Hutchinson, Mary Ann Smith, Susan Braley, Jennifer Jelley and Kristen Dearlove. 2008. "Negative Social Experiences of University and College Students." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/ Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 38(3):57-75.

Ugland, Trygve. 2014. "The Quebec Charter of Values: A Solution in Search of Problems." *Revue d'Études des Cantons-de-L'Est*/*Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* Spring (42): 11-21.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1996. *Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights: World Conference on Linguistic Rights*. Barcelona: UNESCO Culture of Peace Program.

Urtnowski, Karen, Lorraine O'Donnell, Éric Shragge, Anne Robineau and Éric Forgues. 2012. "Immigration, Settlement and Integration in Quebec's Anglophone Communities: A Preliminary Report." *Revue d'Études des Cantons-de-L'Est*/*Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* Spring(38):7-103.

Usborne, Esther, Josephine Peck, Donna-Lee Smith and Donald M. Taylor. 2011. "Learning Through an Aboriginal Language: The Impact on Students' English and Aboriginal Language Skills." *Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation/Canadian Journal of Education* 34(4):200-215.

Vaccaro, Angelo. 2012. "An Analysis of Access Barriers to Post-Secondary Education." *College Quarterly* 15(4):1-13.

Van Rhijn, Tricia M., Trudy Smit Quosai and Donna S. Lero. 2011. "A Profile of Undergraduate Student Parents in Canada." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur/Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 41(3):59-80.

Vargas, Nicholas. 2014. "Off White: Colour-Blind Ideology at the Margins of Whiteness." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(13):2281-2302.

Vatz-Laaroussi, Michèle and Naoual Laaroussi. 2014. "Quand les Femmes Musulmanes Interpellent le Féminisme Québécois! Débats Féministes, Liberté Religieuse et Vivre

Ensemble au Québec." *Revue d'Études des Cantons-de-L'Est*/*Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* Spring (42):23-41.

Wanner, Richard A. 1999. "Expansion and Ascription: Trends in Educational Opportunity in Canada, 1920-1994." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 36(3):409-442.

Wanner, Richard A. 2000. "A Matter of Degree(s): Twentieth-Century Trends in Occupational Status Returns to Educational Credentials in Canada." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*/*Canadian Review of Sociology* 37(3):313-343.

Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wilkinson, Derek. 1994. "Education, Attitudes, and Language of Higher Education: Francophone Students in Northern Ontario." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 24(1):30-47.

Wong. Arch Chee Keen. 2015. "Understanding Student's Experiences in Their Own Words: Moving Beyond a Basic Analysis of Student Engagement." *Revue Canadienne d'Enseignement Supérieur*/*Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 45(2):60-80.

Wright, Laura, David Walters and David Zarifa. 2013. "Government Student Loan Default: Differences Between Graduates of the Liberal Arts and Applied Fields in Canadian Colleges and Universities." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 50(1):89-115.

Zanazanian, Paul. 2014. "History Is a Treasure Chest: Theorizing a Metaphorical Tool for Initiating Teachers to History and Opening Up Possibilities of Change for English-Speaking Youth in Quebec." *Revue d'Études des Cantons-de-L'Est*/*Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* Fall(43):27-46.

Zanazanian, Paul. 2015. "Historical Consciousness and Being Québécois: Exploring How Young English-Speaking Students' Interactions with Quebec's Master Historical Narrative." *Études Ethniques au Canada/Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47(2):113-135.

Zarifa, David. 2012. "Persistent Inequality on Liberation from Social Origins? Determining Who Attends Graduate and Professional Schools in Canada's Expanded Postsecondary System." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie/Canadian Review of Sociology* 49(2):109-137.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General questions for each participant:
First language:
City of residence:
Gender:
Year of birth:

1- What college/university are you currently attending and in what program are you registered?
2- Why did you choose to complete a postsecondary education?
3- How did you choose this program and was this school your first choice?
4- Did you work during your last years in high school and are you currently working? If yes, where and in what language?
5- Did you do any volunteer work in high school, in the past years and are you currently volunteering? If yes, where and in what language?
6- Were you and are you involved in any other type of recreational/community activities: sports, music, dance, scouts, students' associations, religious community or other? If yes, where and in what language? How many hours on a weekly or monthly basis do you spend in each of these activities?
7- What television programs, newspapers, magazines and films do you watch or read, and in which language? What programs do you like the most and the least?
8- How would you name and describe your linguistic identity?
9- How would you describe your attachment to your linguistic identity and how do you believe you enact it?
10- Who do you believe belongs in this linguistic group? What characteristics make someone French, English or bilingual?
11- What are the benefits and disadvantages of speaking both official languages? Does speaking both official languages make you any different from other Canadians? If so, how?
12- What do you believe you share in common with other bilingual Canadians? How do you think individuals who speak both official languages are perceived in the general population?
13- Have you ever experienced discrimination on the basis of language and if so, how did you respond and how? Did this experience affect your sense of identity and status?
14- Can you give me a list of close friends and their characteristics such as age, gender, racial/ethnic background and linguistic identity?
15- As an official minority who is bilingual, do you prefer to socialize with some individuals and circles rather than others and why?
16- How do you believe your postsecondary institution has influenced your sense of linguistic identity?

APPENDIX B

THERMOMETER

Now, I'd like to get your opinion on several groups in our society. For each, I'll ask you to tell me if you have strongly negative feelings, somewhat negative feelings, no feeling in either direction, somewhat positive feelings, or strongly positive feelings. If we come to a group that you don't recognize at all, you don't need to rate them. Just tell me, and we'll move on to the next one.

How would you rate this person or group?

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly negative feelings	Somewhat negative feelings	No feeling in either direction	Somewhat positive feelings	Strongly positive feelings

1. Canadians	1 2 3 4 5
2. French Canadians	1 2 3 4 5
3. English Canadians	1 2 3 4 5
4. Bilingual Canadians (who speak both official languages)	1 2 3 4 5
5. Bilingual Canadians whose first language is French	1 2 3 4 5
6. Bilingual Canadians whose first language is English	1 2 3 4 5
7. Bilingual Canadians (who speak 1 official language and another heritage language)	1 2 3 4 5
8. Quebecers	1 2 3 4 5
9. Ontarians	1 2 3 4 5
10. Multilingual Canadians (who speak both official languages in addition to other languages)	1 2 3 4 5
11. Multilingual Canadians (who speak 1 official language in addition to other languages)	1 2 3 4 5
12. First Nations, Metis and Inuits who do not speak an Aboriginal mother tongue and 1 official language	1 2 3 4 5
13. First Nations, Metis and Inuits who speak an Aboriginal mother tongue and 1 official language	1 2 3 4 5
14. First Nations, Metis and Inuits who speak an Aboriginal mother tongue and both official languages	1 2 3 4 5
15. Biracial individuals (one parent white, other parent Back; one parent Asian, other parent Aboriginal)	1 2 3 4 5
16. Bisexual individuals	1 2 3 4 5
17. Canadians with two or more ethnic backgrounds	1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX C

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES SERVING OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES

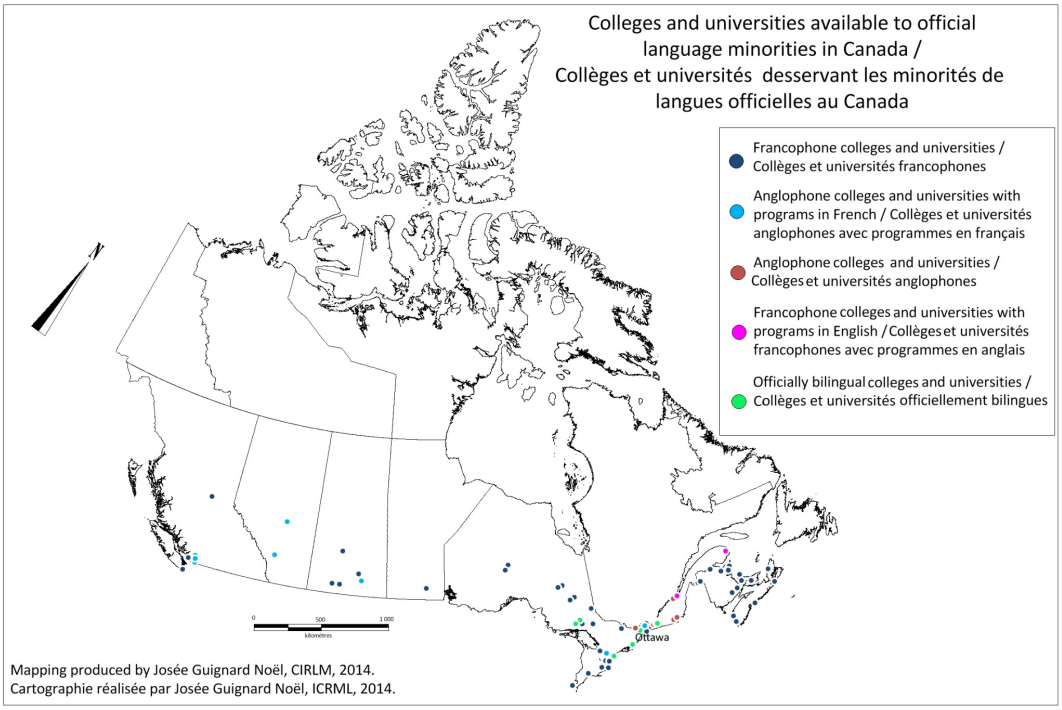
Province	Colleges	Founded
British Columbia	Collège Éducacentre	1976
Alberta	Centre Collégial de l'Alberta-Campus Saint-Jean	2009
Saskatchewan	Collège Mathieu	1917
Manitoba	École technique et professionnelle-Université de Saint-Boniface	1818
Ontario	Collège d'Alfred-Guelph University	1981
	Collège Boréal	1995
	La Cité collégiale	1989
Québec	Cégep de la Gaspésie	1967
	Champlain College	1971
	LaSalle College*	1959
	Le Collège O'Sullivan de Québec*	1942
	O'Sullivan College of Montreal*	1916
	Dawson College	1969
	Heritage College	1988
	John Abbott College	1971
	Marianopolis College*	1908
	Vanier College	1970
New Brunswick	Collège communautaire du Nouveau-Brunswick	1968
Prince Edward Island	Collège Acadie de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard	2008
Nova Scotia	Études collégiales-l'Université Sainte-Anne	1890

Province	Universities	Founded
British Columbia	Bureau des affaires francophones et francophiles-Simon Fraser University	2004
Alberta	Campus de la Faculté St-Jean-University of Alberta	1908
	Centre français-University of Calgary	1976
Saskatchewan	Institut français-University of Regina	2003
Manitoba	Université de Saint-Boniface	2011
Ontario	Collège universitaire dominicain	1900
	Royal Military College of Canada	1852
	Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario-University of Toronto	1979
	Université de Hearst[1]	1953
	Laurentian University	1960
	University of Ottawa	1848
	Université Saint-Paul[2]	1848
	University of Sudbury[3]	1960
	Glendon College-York University	1959
Québec	Bishop University	1843
	Concordia University	1974
	McGill University	1821
New Brunswick	Université de Moncton	1963
Nova Scotia	Université Sainte-Anne	1890

1-Federated College of Laurentian University
2-Federated College of University of Ottawa
3-Federated College of Laurentian University
*Private Institution

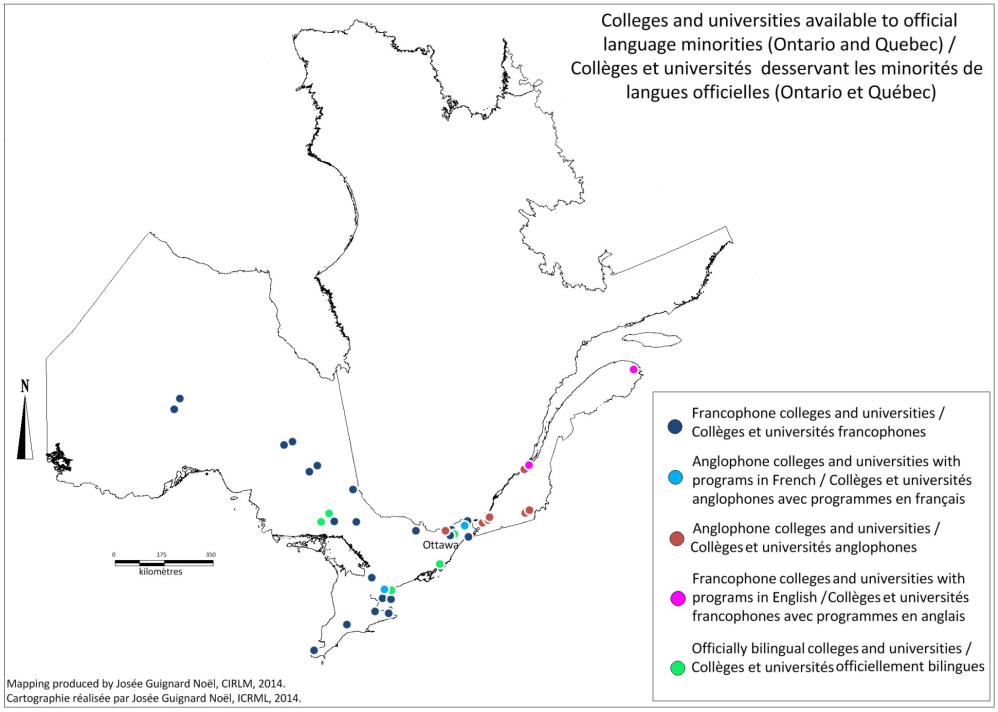
APPENDIX D

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AVAILABLE TO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES IN CANADA



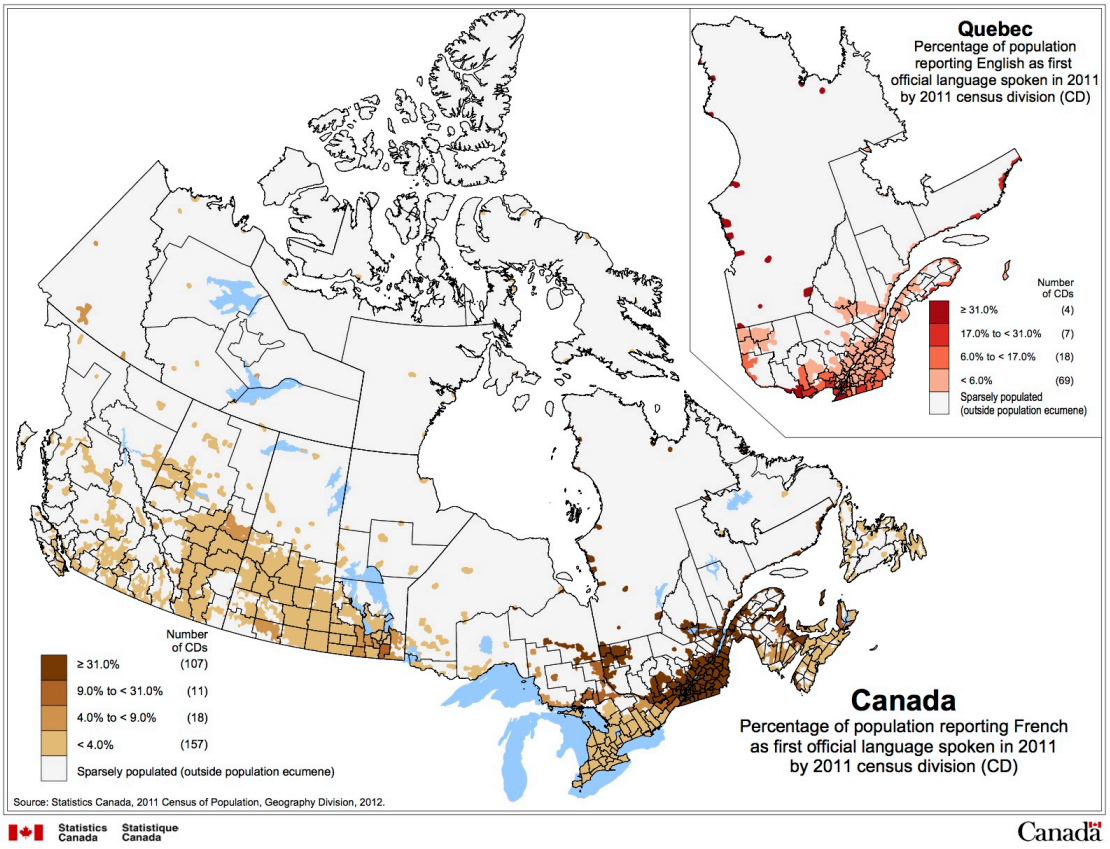
APPENDIX E

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AVAILABLE TO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES (ONTARIO AND QUEBEC)



APPENDIX F

STATISTICS CANADA MAP- PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION REPORTING FRENCH AS FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN 2011 BY 2011 CENSUS DIVISION/PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION REPORTING ENGLISH AS FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN 2011 BY 2011 CENSUS DIVISION



APPENDIX G

LIST OF NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND TERRITORIAL FRANCOPHONE ADVOCACY ASSOCIATIONS FOR COMMUNITIES IN A MINORITY SITUATION

Canadian Federation of Francophone and Acadian Communities- 1975 Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes du Canada (FCFA)-1975 (FCFA is the national federation that presides all the provincial/territorial and sectorial associations)	
Provincial and Territorial Associations (12)	Sectorial and Field Specific Associations (9)
Association Franco-Yukonnaise (AFY)	Alliance des femmes francophones du Canada (AFFC)
La Fédération Franco-Ténoise	Association de la presse francophone (APF)
Association des Francophones du Nunavut (AFN)	La Commission nationale des parents francophones (CNPF)
Fédération des Francophones de la Colombie-Britannique (FFCB)	Fédération des associations de juristes d'expression française de common law (FAJEF)
Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA)	Réseau pour de développement de l'alphabétisme et des compétences (RESDAC)
Association Communautaire Fransaskoise (ACF)	Fédération culturelle canadienne française (FCCF)
Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM)	Société santé en français (SSF)
Assemblée de la Francophonie de l'Ontario (AFO)	Fédération des aînées et aînés francophones du Canada (FAAFC)
Société de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick (SANB)	*La Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française (FJCF)-1974* *(see Appendix H)*
Société St-Thomas d'Aquin (Île-du-Prince-Édouard) (SSTA)	
Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE)	
Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador (FFTNL)	

APPENDIX H

LIST OF FRANCOPHONE ASSOCIATIONS PROMOTING EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR COMMUNITIES IN A MINORITY SITUATION

French Canadian Youth Federation-1974 La Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française (FJCF)-1974 http://fjcf.ca/	
Jeunesse Franco-Yukon (JEFY)	www.afy.yk.ca
Jeunesse TNO	www.comitejeunesse.ca
Conseil jeunesse francophone de la Colombie-Britannique (CJFCB)	www.cjfcb.com
Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA)	www.fja.ab.ca
Association Jeunesse Fransaskoise	www.ajf.ca
Conseil Jeunesse Provincial (CJP)-Manitoba	www.conseil-jeunesse.mb.ca
Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne (FESFO)	www.fesfo.ca
Fédération des jeunes francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick (FJFNB)	www.fjfnb.nb.ca
Jeunesse Acadienne-île-du Prince-Édouard	www.jeunesseacadienne.ca
Conseil Jeunesse Provincial (CJP)-Nouvelle-Écosse	www.conseiljeunesse.ca
Franco-Jeunes de Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador (FJTNL)	www.fjtnl.ca
Regroupement étudiant franco-ontarien (REFO)-2008-2009, partnership with FESFO	http://www.refo.ca/
Réseau des cégeps et des collèges francophones du Canada (RCCF)	http://rccfc.ca/

APPENDIX I

MCMASTER RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL

MREB Clearance Certificate Page 1 of 1

McMaster University
Inspiring Innovation and Discovery

McMaster University Research Ethics Board (MREB)
c/o Research Office for Administrative Development and Support, MREB Secretariat, GH-305, e-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS CLEARANCE TO INVOLVE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH

Application Status: New ☑ **Addendum** ☐ **Project Number:** 2013 057

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT:

Official language minorities' processes of identification, cultural boundaries and status in postsecondary institutions

Faculty Investigator (s)/ Supervisor(s)	Dept./Address	Phone	E-Mail
S. Davies	Sociology	23607	daviesrs@mcmaster.ca
Student Investigator(s)	**Dept./Address**	**Phone**	**E-Mail**
J. Jean-Pierre	Sociology	905-525-9140	jonathj@mcmaster.ca

The application in support of the above research project has been reviewed by the MREB to ensure compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the McMaster University Policies and Guidelines for Research Involving Human Participants. The following ethics certification is provided by the MREB:

☐ The application protocol is cleared as presented without questions or requests for modification.
☑ The application protocol is cleared as revised without questions or requests for modification.
☐ The application protocol is cleared subject to clarification and/or modification as appended or identified below:

COMMENTS AND CONDITIONS: Ongoing clearance is contingent on completing the annual completed/status report. A "Change Request" or amendment must be made and cleared before any alterations are made to the research.

Reporting Frequency:	Annual: May-10-2014	Other:

Date: May-10-2013 **Chair, Dr. B. Detlor / Vice Chair, C. Anderson:**

https://ethics.mcmaster.ca/mreb/print_approval_brian.cfm?ID=3026 5/13/2013

Appendix J: Letter of Information

Date:

Official language minorities in postsecondary institutions

Principal Investigator
Johanne Jean-Pierre
Department of Sociology, McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario
Tel: (647) 385-7280
E-mail: jonathj@mcmaster.ca

Faculty Supervisor
Dr. Scott Davies
Department of Sociology, McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario
Tel: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23607
E-mail: daviesrs@mcmaster.ca

You are invited to take part in this study on the experiences of official language minorities in postsecondary institutions. I am hoping to learn about different aspects of your postsecondary education experience. For example, I want to learn about your social networks and activities, your experiences of discrimination and how you compare a bilingual identity to other Canadian social groups and mixed identities (multilingual, biracial, multiethnic, bisexual…).

We will select a convenient place and time to conduct a face-to-face, one on one, 60 minutes interview. I will start by discussing the letter of information and consent. I will ask you for some demographic/background information like your age and education. With your permission, I would like to take handwritten notes and audio-tape the interview. The questions will look like*: Why did you choose to complete a postsecondary education?* Or *What are the factors that influenced your decision to attend this college/university?*

The risks involved in participating in this study are minimal. You may feel uncomfortable if we discuss painful and difficult experiences of discrimination as members of official language minorities.You do not need to answer questions that you do not want to answer or that make you feel uncomfortable. You can withdraw (stop taking part) at any time. I describe below the steps I am taking to protect your privacy.

The research will not benefit you directly. I hope that what is learned as a result of this study will help us to better understand what kind of resources and information facilitate the transition from high school to college of official language minorities' youth.

You are participating in this study confidentially. I will not use your name or any information that would allow you to be identified. No one but me will know whether you participated unless you choose to tell them. However, since your group (community) is small, others may be able to identify you on the basis of references you make. Please keep this in mind in deciding what to tell me. The information/data you provide will be kept in a locked desk/cabinet in my office where only I will have access to it. Information

kept on a computer will be protected by a password. Once the study is complete, an archive of the data, without identifying information, will be maintained for five years.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is your choice to be part of the study or not. If you decide to be part of the study, you can decide to stop (withdraw), at any time, even after signing the consent form or part-way through the study. If you decide to withdraw, there will be no consequences to you. In cases of withdrawal, any data you have provided will be destroyed unless you indicate otherwise. If you do not want to answer some of the questions you do not have to, but you can still be in the study. You can withdraw from this study up until approximately June 1st 2014 when I expect to start data analysis.

I expect to have this study completed by approximately *April 2015.* If you would like a brief summary of the results, please let me know how you would like it sent to you. If you have questions or need more information about the study itself, please contact me at: jonathj@mcmaster.ca.

This study has been reviewed by the McMaster University Research Ethics Board and has received ethics clearance. If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, please contact:

McMaster Research Ethics Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
c/o Research Office for Administrative Development and Support
E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENT

- I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Johanne Jean-Pierre of McMaster University.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study and to receive additional details I requested.
- I understand that if I agree to participate in this study, I may withdraw from the study at any time or up until approximately ***June 1st 2014.***
- I have been given a copy of this form.
- I agree to participate in the study.
- I agree that the interview can be audio recorded. Yes. No.
- I would like to receive a summary of the study's results.

Yes. Please send them to this email address or to this mailing address:

_____

_____

No, I do not want to receive a summary of the study's results.

Signature: _____

Name of Participant (Printed) _____